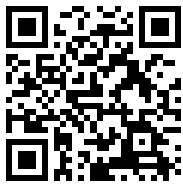
This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

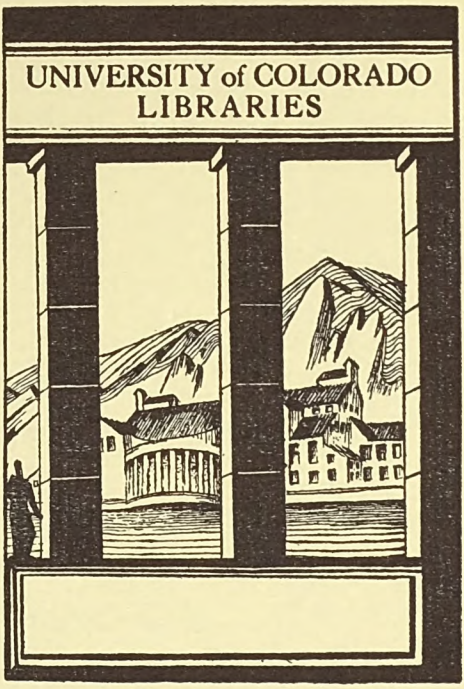
Google™ books

https://books.google.com



PASCAL
Dep Mod Ran Sect Shelf Tray Item
P 1 03 16 24 14 002

UNIVERSITY of COLORADO
LIBRARIES



Digitized by Google

University of Colorado at Boulder
U18302 1495171

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. V.

1918

915.05
K31
v.5-1
1918-22

PARTS III. AND IV.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

Digitized by Google

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Chairman of Council:

1917. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.

Vice-Presidents:

1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I.
1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.
1908. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.
1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P.
1917. THE RT. HON. SIR H. M. DURAND, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., ETC.

Hon. Treasurer:

1917. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E.

Hon. Secretary:

1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

Members of the Council:

1917. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.
1915. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I.
1915. T. J. BENNETT, ESQ.
1916. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
1916. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.
1916. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1917. J. F. BADDELEY, ESQ.
1918. COLONEL A. C. BAILWARD.
1918. CAPTAIN GEORGE A. LLOYD, M.P., D.S.O.

Assistant Secretary:

1917. MISS L. B. PHILLIPS.

Digitized by Google

. 284679

THE MOSLEM PROBLEM IN CHINA

By REGINALD FARRER

At a meeting of the Society on April 17, 1918, with Colonel Sir Henry Trotter in the chair, Mr. Reginald Farrer gave a lecture on "The Mahomedan Problem in China." He said:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—The first part of my address must take the form, to a certain extent, of apologies, because, perhaps, I have chosen almost too ambitious a title for my lecture; and what I propose to tell you about to-day is really more the record of my own personal observations and experiences among the various ethnological problems presented on the western borders of China. These matters, the Mohammedan Rebellion and so forth, you will find dealt with *in extenso* in other and more learned works. All I have to give you to-day is, as I say, the record of the troubles and the remarks that a traveller has occasion to make and to meet with in the course of exploration on the rather devious and difficult frontiers that separate China from Tibet—the frontiers of Kansu.

I journeyed from Peking in the very early spring of 1914, and worked my way through the southern borders of Kansu, up to Lanchow, and thus in 1915 up through the Alps by the Koko Nor, and then towards the end of the year down through Lanchow once more to Chung K'ing, on the Yangtse Chiang, and then back to what is called civilization.

Though the province of Kansu is all bravely marked China on the map, you have to remember that all the western side may be described as more Tibetan than Chinese. The map makes hard-and-fast lines, but the populations do not. If I wanted to describe the country to you roughly, I should say that where the mountains begin China leaves off, and that the Chinese, an eminently practical people, abandon the whole country, the worthless Alps, to the Tibetan population, who alone can make use of it.

As you know, the great Tibetan highland breaks down into China in a succession of enormous mountain ranges running, roughly, parallel to each other. (And I would like to say here in parenthesis that the map, like all the maps of Central China, is very largely erroneous.) The mountain ranges break down above the Blackwater River and above the Whitewater River, and then again in successive chains northward,

Digitized by Google

after which there are no more until you get the further descending range of the K'un-lun up north. All this country is Tibetan. Lower down you get a belt which runs through Yunnan and Szechwan, of the Mohammedan populations on which I am addressing you to-day.

As I told you, I do not propose to give you the history—which nobody knows—of the Mohammedan populations in Kansu, Yunnan, and Szechwan. I have no experience of Yunnan or Szechwan; but the legend goes that in the ninth century one of the Emperors of the T'ang Dynasty imported a body of Turkish mercenaries to fight for him, and that they gave, as mercenaries frequently do, trouble to the Central Government; that, after a great deal of difficulty and diplomacy, that band of Turkish mercenaries was settled on the remote borders of the Tibetan-Chinese frontier, where they have increased and multiplied for several centuries at such a rate as now to constitute a very serious menace to the Chinese Central Authority; for the Tibetans and the Chinese themselves are already on the worst possible terms. And when you add to this a very large population, amounting in Kansu, Yunnan, and Szechwan alone to more than thirty million of people, roughly speaking, who are on the very worst possible terms, not only with the Tibetans, but with the Chinese Authorities themselves, you will then gather that there is material for a very important and very serious cleavage to be made in the Government of the Chinese Empire. Europeans, perhaps, know too little, for the thing was far away and out of our time, of the history of the great Mohammedan Rebellion that filled the reigns of the Emperors Tao Kuang and Hsien Feng, and which was only extinguished, with great difficulty and after incalculable loss of life, during the first reign of the Empress-Dowager. What people do not realize is that all down the western border of Kansu and right down through Yunnan and Szechwan there exists this gigantic Mohammedan population, assimilated in many ways to the Chinese, but always at enmity with them, and always preparing, day by day, month by month, for a new outbreak which will repeat, equal and very likely surpass the appalling horrors of the Great Rebellion which only ended in 1877. Of that Rebellion the echoes still linger, and all up the country above Lanchow you will find the towns and villages, even to this day, still laid waste; and though the flood of the Chinese population is perpetually creeping back, yet it will take many years before the harm done by the Mohammedan Rebellion is wiped out, and before that happy date there is every reason to suppose that a new Mohammedan outbreak may take place. Which reminds me to give you another caution with regard to anything I may have to say to you. My own experiences are confined to the years 1914 and 1915, and though we say that the East and Asia never change, yet in those two years so much water has run under so many bridges, and so much of that which is thicker than water has run also, that who knows but the conditions on the Chinese-Tibetan frontier may be changed by now in a way that

Digitized by Google

I have not in my power to tell you, because from that very remote part of the world no news ever penetrates, and it remains a matter of doubt whether even the Central Authorities can be as fully aware as they should of the ever-changing conditions attending the problem of the Central Asiatic populations. This I will say before I come to the tale of my own adventures: that when you go up on to the remote borders where China and Tibet meet on the northern frontier, and you come in conflict also with the Mohammedan populations, you then realize that there are, so to speak, three dominant personalities with whom—I am speaking now for 1914-1915—you have to reckon. One of them is old and ailing; the second is remote geographically; the third is now remote, not only in geography, but in history. And each one of them corresponds to one of the three races involved in this vague and troubled corner of the world.

The first is Ma-an-liang, the old leader of the Mohammedan populations; he who signed the truce between the Chinese and the Mohammedans which is supposed only to last for his lifetime. He, though I never met him, is reported to be, as I say, old, and also, I regret to say, stupid; but he is the acknowledged leader of the Mohammedan populations in Western Kansu, and on his life hangs the peace between China and Mohammedanism. Not only that, but so definitely does that peace depend upon his life, that even now, during his declining days, or when I was there, the young bloods of the Mohammedan population were daily sharpening their swords in anticipation of the moment when his death should set them free to fly once again at the throat of the Chinese Empire.

The second personality on that northern border is, of course, his holiness the Dalai Lama. And the third, and, even to this day, you might say the most vital and the most dominant of all, is the Grand Dowager-Empress of China. One has to reach the remote extremities of the Empire to realize what a strong seal that tremendous personality has put upon the future of her race. We read "Lives" of the Empress-Dowager which give the different aspects of her character and diplomacy, but it is only when you get into the hinterlands of her dominion that you begin to understand what power she wielded, and still wields even to this day, though dead and buried nearly ten years since.

The Grand Dowager—to give her the title with which she died—as people do not sufficiently realize, had two distinct and different reigns. During the minorities of the Emperors T'ung Chih and Kuang-Hsu she reigned as Empress-Regent, but in 1898, in self-defence and in defence of the Empire, she executed the *coup d'état* which made her for the last ten years of her reign not only Empress-Regent, but virtually Empress-Regnant. And it is by the record of her last ten years of sovereignty that the Grand Dowager must be judged; and behind all

Digitized by Google

the petty tittle-tattle, behind the dust and the scandal and personal gossip and the various passions engendered by the currents of her diplomacy, you get the impression, overwhelmingly stronger as you advance in the wilds of the country, of the great and dominant character.

It was under the first reign of the Empress-Dowager that the Mohammedan Rebellion was brought to a conclusion, and it was by the energy of the Grand Dowager in her second reign that peace was restored upon the border and the various troubled populations were brought at last to heel. The years from 1898 to 1908 were marked all up the western borders of China by a great Imperialist outburst, effected by the Grand Dowager. The Viceroy of Szechwan, Jao-erh Fêng, was directed to produce law and order throughout the lawless monasteries and throughout the Mohammedan populations stretching up Western Szechwan and Western Kansu. And even to this day (I am speaking, as I remind you, of 1914-1915, for now that China has once more been thrown into the cauldron, who knows what the lot of the traveller might be ?) the result of the firm policy of the last years of the Grand Dowager's rule has been that law and order, perhaps for the first time in history, reign supreme up the borders of Kansu, and that the foreign traveller, armed with a passport from the Central Authorities, is safer and better looked after under the name of the Grand Dowager-Empress than he would be in any European country—certainly now, and I would say even before the days of the war.

I use the name of the Grand Dowager advisedly, because to this moment, up and down the border, it is her name that carries sway. You must not do this, you must not do that, to this moment, because it would be displeasing to the great Dowager-Empress. Wherever you go you meet the name; in every little village and in every little town that authority still holds sway; you cannot escape from it. And though people are well aware that she is dead and gone—for even up there there are changes and chances in the various cross-currents of modern Chinese government—yet it is still the shadow of the old Imperial authority that rules, and it is the memory of those last ten years of the firm and efficient personal government directed by the Grand Dowager that still guarantees the security and peace of the traveller and the native all up and down the Tibetan March and throughout the Mohammedan populations of Western Kansu. Even on the very edge of the border, in the little town of Siku, which is within some three miles of what is called the Tibetan frontier, to this moment, so far as I know, the half-dozen vagabonds, clothed in rags, who represent the Chinese garrison are still clothed and armed in the shabbiest and weirdest panoply of the old Imperial house. Though the population may do homage to the new authorities, yet it is always with the thought at the back of their minds of the old Imperial tradition. I need hardly

Digitized by Google

remind members of the Society that it was in Northern China that the new Imperialist movement had its strength, and that it was on North China's support that the late President, Yuan Shih k'ai, attempted to rear his perilous and precarious throne.

I talked to you of law and order, but in point of fact the year in which I first adventured up upon the borders of Kansu and Tibet was not a year favourable to law and order at all, for, as if for a forecast of coming events, the beginning of 1914 was marked by storms sweeping across China which, though they were relegated in the papers to small paragraphs of tiny print at the bottom of the main columns, yet, I can assure you, when you were in the country and travelling between storm-blast and storm-blast, were a very serious consideration not only to one's comfort, but to one's life. I am talking now of the White Wolf Rebellion which started towards the close of 1913, and in 1914 devastated the internal provinces of China in a way which perhaps the British public to this moment has no fair idea of. At least, I know for my own part that when I was in London, and even when I was in Peking, the White Wolf Rebellion sounded a curious, rather interesting, rather remote thing that one need never have any personal concern with. But as soon as I reached the centre of China, and all through the six months of the summer, I found that the White Wolf Rebellion was a very serious thing to reckon with. The Rebellion of the Bei Lang started down in Honan. There are many legends as to the personality of the White Wolf himself. There seem to have been, so far as I could collect, like Cerberus, "several gentlemen of the same name," but the main legend attaches to a certain official who was disappointed of the Viceroyalty of Honan, and accordingly started out on a rather aimless rebellion of his own. In course of time that rebellion developed into very large proportions, and it devastated the provinces of Honan and Hupeh and threatened the province of Shensi. When I arrived in Sian-Fu the Rebellion of the White Wolf was sweeping up the course of the Han River to the capital of Shensi, the Viceroy not knowing what to do, the troops half of them disaffected and the remainder not to be trusted from the point of view of courage or adequate ammunition. I succeeded, by dint of mere diplomacy, in leaving the town and escaping westwards towards the Tibetan border, and I was the last foreigner who was allowed out of the gates of Sian-Fu. After my departure the White Wolf Rebellion surged up into Shensi and occupied the whole southern province, with the sole exception of the capital itself, which, like a great walled island, stood intact and isolated in the midst of the surging waves of rebellion.

Meanwhile, I had gone westwards over the Tibetan border into the mountains of the Tibetan highland, secure in the confidence that the White Wolf and his minions would never by any possibility succeed in invading Kansu; that he neither wished to nor had the power. I need

Digitized by Google

hardly tell you after that that the first thing he did was to do so. Towards the end of April the White Wolf Rebellion swept up round the western corner of the Tsinling Range, passed out of Szechwan into Kansu, and within the first three weeks it laid waste and destroyed twenty-three walled cities in the southern half of the province, and was advancing upon the capital, Lanchow. I meanwhile was safe, or more or less safe, across the Tibetan frontier, where, to give you an idea of how careful the Chinese Government—as I say, by the tradition of the last ten years of the Grand Dowager—is of the welfare and comfort of foreigners, though the Viceroy and all the officials had their hands filled to overflowing with the perils and problems of the White Wolf Rebellion, yet all the time they found occasion to harry the wretched local Governors yet further out of their wits by perpetual inquiries as to two foreigners who had escaped out of the storm over into the borders of Tibet (where yet further storms were raging with which I will not trouble you to-day).

Meanwhile, I pursued my course in and out between the rebellious populations of the border, and the White Wolf Rebellion swept up into Kansu. We now come once more to the Mohammedan population. I have told you that all up the western borders of Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kansu there stretches this vast body of Mohammedans, hating the Chinese, hating the Tibetans, but willing to make common cause with the Tibetans against the Chinese, and sometimes with the Chinese against the Tibetans. It became there a question of practical politics which side the Mohammedan population would take during the course of the White Wolf Rebellion. I may tell you that all the soldiers of the army in Kansu, a very large proportion even of the bodyguard of the Viceroy of Lanchow, are composed of Mohammedans; and for a long time it remained doubtful, while the White Wolves were laying waste the walled cities in the southern province, what course the official troops in the employment of the Chinese Government would take. Kansu is a province really divided into two halves. Immediately south of Lanchow run the last few mountain ranges, the feeble outliers of the great Tibetan highland in which the Hoang-ho and the Yangtse Chiang are born, and thus the northernmost ranges of those mountains are the last defences of the northern half of the province. The White Wolf swept up from the south, ravishing, burning, and destroying; he came into conflict with both elements of the population; he even threatened the great Buddhist monastery of Jo-ni, which, after Labrang and Urga, is perhaps the most important point of Lamaism in North Central Asia. The White Wolf armies, amounting to some twenty or thirty thousand men, poured up through the various passes and openings from Szechwan towards Lanchow and Taochow, Old and New, both of them strongholds of the Mohammedan populations. Yet a little higher up we come to Hochow, which is of all the cities in

Digitized by Google

Kansu the essentially Mohammedan city, so intensely and essentially Mohammedan, indeed, that no Chinese dare trust himself in Hochow unprotected. Beyond that, again, there are the Tibetans, with the abbeys of Gumbum, Jo-ni, and Labrang. Labrang, though not sufficiently realized, is the important storm-centre of North Central Asia; it is the largest Lamaist monastery outside Lhasa. It contains at a minimum some 12,000 monks; it has eight living Buddhas; it has a corresponding complement of high ecclesiastical officials, and ever since its foundation, rather less than a hundred years ago, Labrang, with its population and its temperament, has been the most turbulent element with which the Chinese have had to deal all up the northern border. Over Urga and over Lhasa the Chinese Government has asserted a dim authority, more definitely recognized than definitely exercised. But Labrang, hidden as it is in the folds of the enormous Alps, is a point of which the Chinese themselves openly own they are afraid. Foreigners have been there, and in the annals of the Royal Geographical Society accounts can be found of the abbey itself. But it is not a point to which the Chinese will allow a foreigner to go, because they know that their power of protection fails as soon as they enter the atmosphere and environment of Labrang. In 1914-1915, in their hostility to the Chinese Government, the Tibetan monastery and the Mohammedan soldiers were making common cause, so that even more than ever Labrang was considered by the Governors a great centre of peril.

In case you wish to understand the Government, I will point out that the Viceroyalty of Kansu has its centre at Lanchow; the Viceroyalty of the Koko Nor, which is an advance post of Northern Tibet, has its official seat out beyond Dangar, in a lonely little crumbling mud-walled town, within sight of the lonely desolations of the great Salt Sea, which is called the Koko Nor. But very long ago the Chinese Governors discovered that living there was very uncomfortable and very dangerous. Therefore Si-ning Fu, which is the centre of the Governorship of the border, also became the centre of the Viceroyalty of Koko Nor; that is, the Governors of the Koko Nor live now, or in my time, securely and comfortably within the walls of Si-ning Fu. You were not supposed to know it; the Chinese Government was not supposed to know it; nobody was supposed to know. There they lived in the full state of the Chinese Viceroyalty. They have to deal with the Mongolian tribes up north and with the Tibetan tribes all round Koko Nor. The Governor of Kansu has to deal with the Mohammedan problem down the province and with the insurgent Tibetans up the western border.

Meanwhile, the White Wolf Rebellion advanced, sacking and burning and devastating the whole southern province, until they arrived at Minchow. They then moved up north, still unattacked, towards Taochow the Old and the New. There was a legend that Old Taochow

Digitized by Google

had never been captured in the four hundred years and more of its history, and therefore, to the Chinese mind, that was quite sufficient reason for supposing that Taochow would never be captured. Accordingly, the whole population, Mohammedan and Chinese, for many miles round took refuge within the walls of Taochow on the approach of the White Wolf. The White Wolf army advanced to the gates, met a feeble defence, which gradually became more bitter and more fierce, but was in any case ineffectual; and at the end of April, 1914, the White Wolf troops swept Taochow from end to end to such effect that only one house was left standing in the city from wall to wall, and even that only by accident. The White Wolves destroyed every living thing they could find, down to the dogs and cats in the streets. And the streets were stacked so high with carrion that for many weeks nobody could approach the place. And meanwhile the Mohammedan troops still sat securely upon the mountains to the immediate north, barring advance on the capital, but doing no more. Nobody knows exactly why the city was sacked with so unparalleled a ferocity. The White Wolf Rebellion had destroyed in horrible circumstances many another city, but the destruction of Taochow ranks as the very darkest of his achievements in the way of horror. There remains a legend that many years since some ancestor of the White Wolf, or one of the many gentlemen of that name, was murdered by a Mohammedan in Taochow, and lies to this day buried in the graveyard of the Prince of Jo-ni farther down the river. That and that alone was held by the Chinese to account for the extraordinary ferocity with which the city was destroyed. In any case, the whole town was wiped out; and still the Mohammedan troops on the mountains made no move. However, the destruction of Taochow, which, as I have told you, was a Mohammedan town, was too much for the troops on guard in the province, and at last they descended from their mountain heights; they occupied the ruined city, and within twenty-four hours the White Wolf army broke and scattered as a cloud scatters before the wind, breaking backwards in utter disaster down towards the southern province, where the whole rebellion faded out in complete rout and vanished. The Mohammedans had moved, indeed, too late to save their own people, and it will give you an idea of the temper of that warlike population when I tell you that when all was lost and the city in the hands of the White Wolves the Mohammedans in the town gathered themselves together in their mosque and set fire to it, and there they all perished together, men, women, and children, rather than fall into the hands of the Chinese invaders.

So much for the destruction of Taochow. When I followed on the track of the White Wolf some two months later he had done his worst, and broken away to the south again and disappeared. The whole

Digitized by Google

movement—and this seems hard for us to understand—appears to have been, so far as one can gather, entirely without motive, entirely without serious purpose. At one moment it was thought that the leading White Wolf might have a serious dynastic purpose, and might meditate establishing a northern throne in China. Hardly had he fallen than there appeared upon the scene in Kansu a candidate of the old dynasty of the Sung Emperors, who, when I arrived in Lanchow in the winter of 1914, had duly been captured and was there imprisoned in a cage preparatory to being sent up to Peking as a present from the Viceroy of Kansu to his cousin, Yuan Shih k'ai.

The first year of my travels, as you may well imagine, was a year of storm, from which, even among the murderous proclivities of the Tibetan monks across the border, one was comparatively safe from the troubles and storms of the Mohammedan and Chinese struggles. But the second year was entirely different in character, and I was able to see more of the Mohammedan populations themselves, and of pacified China in the district north of the Koko Nor.

All these mountain ranges belong to China, though inhabited by Tibetans and by aboriginal tribes; and lying as they do between the great Chinese high roads, one of which goes up from Lanchow to Hami, Urumtsi, and Kashgar, the other from Si-ning down to Lhasa, are so close to Chinese authority that neither Mohammedans or Tibetans are in any humour to rebel against it. We are accustomed, perhaps, to think too lightly of the weight and majesty of the Chinese Empire. In many ways the Chinese Government offers food for ridicule; but we have to remember, and more than ever nowadays, that the Chinese Empire is the oldest civilised force in the world (and if you were to tell me it was the only civilized force I should not quarrel with you). Anyhow, it has four thousand years of definite existence to its credit, and, what is more, there is every sign of its continuing for another four, or forty, thousand years. As somebody has said of the Church of England, it moves with a foot of lead in a velvet shoe; it moves slowly, but it moves exceeding surely. And though Mohammedans and Tibetans may raise their bloody rebellions and lay waste whole provinces of the Empire, and though brigands of the Empire may do the same, yet sooner or later, slowly and inexorably, China flows back again and is never conquered; always returns, wipes out the invader, swamps him in the enormous weight of her population and her organization, and that magnificent machinery which, however corrupt in personnel, is still the greatest machinery of government, that a human race has ever organized. This country is a peaceful land, therefore, by comparison with the mountain countries all up the border, where, as I have forgotten to tell you, you have not only the Chinese and the Mohammedans, but you also have the various little local Tibetan principalities, ranging up and down the border, each

Digitized by Google

one of them quasi-independent, each one of them nominally owning allegiance to China, each one of them doing as best what pleases itself. People think of Tibet rather too much as they might think of the Papal States; they think of the Dalai Lama as a sovereign ruler over a whole unified country, with a definite hard-and-fast power. In point of fact, the Dalai Lama is no such thing. He is the spiritual head of all who follow the Lamaist or the northern school of Buddhism. But he is very far from being the undisputed temporal autocrat that people imagine when they talk of Tibet as being under his sway. I have found that to my cost, for these monasteries and the principalities up the border, many weeks' journey removed from Lhasa, may be under the authority of the Dalai Lama in matters spiritual, but in matters temporal a letter from the Dalai Lama would be as little use to you in travelling up there as a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Pope of Rome. They run, in the words of the player, their own show, and they care as little for the Dalai Lama on the one hand as they do for the Emperor of China on the other—or, at least, as they did, until the old Grand Dowager-Empress at last demurred, put her foot down, called the Dalai Lama to heel, and reduced the Tibetan Marches into a real semblance of order for almost the first time in the history of the Manchu Dynasty. The Dalai Lama has, of course, his weight in Chinese politics; he is recognized as the head of that large web of Buddhism which runs through the Chinese nation, and, of course, is dominant all up the border. Of himself personally I have little to say. I never had the privilege of seeing him, but I have travelled in his tracks; I have seen the impression that he made upon the population of China, and I have seen the traces of his passage on the roads. For be it known that the Dalai Lama is a Pontiff of such supreme sanctity that he may never pass under a gateway. All the way up from Lanchow to Si-ning Fu you will find the little red gateways decapitated in order that the Dalai Lama might go through without suffering a speck upon his sacrosanctity. When he reached the city of Si-ning Fu, where the walls are vastly solid and the expense of demolishing them would have been too great, he had to be lifted over them in a basket. When he reached Peking the problem became even more urgent. However, he realized that the immediate neighbourhood of the Great Dowager-Empress was no very comfortable place for the indulgence of ecclesiastical airs and graces, and accordingly the supreme Pontiff of Northern Buddhism solved the problem by entering the Imperial city in a train.

Si-ning Fu is situated almost on the very borders of Tibet. There, again, you meet the results of the Mohammedan Rebellion, and you see all through that country the devastation which was brought about by that Rebellion. Of half a dozen little towns you will find five still uninhabited, desolate, and ruined, the remaining sixth gradually creeping back to life under the returning influx of the

Digitized by Google

Chinese population. You cannot look from the walls of Si-ning itself without seeing in every direction the signs of the destruction wrought in that fearful Rebellion, and all the time I was there, from 1914-1915, we had the sensation of a new rebellion perpetually brooding.

I told you that the truce between the Chinese and Mohammedans depends upon the life of Ma-an-liang, and it may have ended now; but in any case the whole air was dark with the brooding of a coming storm, and one knew that it was merely a matter of, it may be, months or years before once more the forces of the Mohammedans were let loose against the Chinese Empire, with the usual result, no doubt, of appalling massacres, unheeded over here in the story of yet more massacres nearer home; but to be followed in time, no doubt, with the everlasting reflux of the Chinese Empire. You will see at once, without my telling you, what a chance the existence of this population gives to anybody who may wish to breed trouble in Europe at second or third hand by stirring up the Mohammedan population against the Chinese. In other words, you will ask me, probably, what signs I saw of any anti-British or anti-Allied feeling, or of any German propaganda or German feeling, among the Mohammedan population. I tried during 1915, when I had grown aware of the conditions in Europe, to find out what the point of view was that the Mohammedan population took in Western Kansu, and I must honestly say that I found there nothing but a strong Allied sympathy. There was no trace of German propaganda there then; what there may be now I cannot tell you, but I should believe that the country and the people offered little ground for such. The Military Governor of Si-ning, the Military Governor of Lanchow, and the Governors of all these towns, were Mohammedan, and every one showed a very un-Chinese interest in weapons, war pictures, and all the stories one could tell them of our prowess and the general conduct of the war. But of any pro-Turkish, of any distinctive Moslem feeling, of any fanaticism about the holy places, about the German alliance with Turkey, I could find no trace. And therefore I still maintain the hope and the belief that those populations, trouble-breeders though they might easily be, have no particular trouble to breed for us in the present or near future; at least, so long as measures are taken, as I believe they are being taken, to keep them informed of what we are doing and what we are fighting for. Their interest is different from that of the Chinese, whose share in the war—at least, up in those remote parts, as you can well imagine—is but academic and pictorial. The Mohammedans, on the other hand, are as keen as mustard to learn all they can about guns, aeroplanes, machinery, and so forth, and our task is to keep ourselves perpetually in their mind's eye with a definite sense of what we are doing and achieving. In case anybody here should feel, as one very often does about remote corners of the world one does not know, any sort of instinct that we are perhaps

Digitized by Google

letting those populations slide, I would say, of my own knowledge, that on the contrary very much is being done, and has steadily been done for the last two years, to keep all these peoples thoroughly well aware of what it is that we are doing and what it is that we are achieving.

However, for a final note, I must add that there is no propaganda that will appeal to those people so much as that ultimate victory to which, out of the present darkness, we look forward with more confidence than ever, as towards the ending of our long night.

The CHAIRMAN said they were very much indebted to Mr. Farrer for his most interesting and instructive account of a part of the world which most of them knew very little about. We had heard much this afternoon of the White Wolf Rebellion, and only the previous evening he had been reading of a former rebellion in Kan-su in a book entitled "Islam in China," published by the Inland China Mission. This rebellion took place in 1895, and was so severely repressed that it might have been supposed that there would be but few Mahomedans left. Colonel Mark Bell wrote that in some districts nine out of every ten Chinese and two out of every three Mussulmans were killed. He gathered that the lecturer considered that there were some 30,000,000 Moslems in Northern and Western China. The estimates of population in the Empire varied enormously. A native of Kujua, Abdul Aziz, a learned man who had been in Egypt and Constantinople, and had travelled all about Northern China in some undefined capacity, possibly as a Turkish diplomatic agent, also put the Moslem population at about 30,000,000, but he included the inland Moslems right up to Tashkend and Kashghar, which would increase the total by at least a couple of million. The book "Islam in China," by Mr. Broomhall, to which he had referred, contained figures carefully compiled from data supplied by more than two hundred correspondents, some of whom had devoted careful study to the subject, and it showed varying estimates of the total Mahomedan population in China from 5,000,000 to a maximum of 10,000,000. The writer was himself inclined to accept the maximum; but even this varied very greatly from the figure of 30,000,000 mentioned that afternoon. The only point on which all writers appeared to be unanimous was that the Moslem population of Kan-su was far larger than that of any other province of China. It was to be regretted that definite *data* were not available, for the question of numbers made a very great deal of difference in estimating the political importance of the Mahomedan population. The native writer, Abdul Aziz, classed the Moslems in Salar, a district in Kan-su, as Turks, and said they were very superior to all the other Moslem races in China, the great bulk of whom were known as Tungans, so called, he believed, as being Chinese converts to Islam. The name was derived from the Turkish word "tunmek," to turn, and

Digitized by Google

meant those who turned to another religion. If so, it corresponded with the Chinese words "Hui," or "convert," which was the name applied to the Mahomedans by the Chinese.

Mrs. ARCHIBALD LITTLE said that her enjoyment of the lecture did not entitle her to go away without a critical reference to Mr. Farrer's account of the influence still said to be exerted by the Dowager-Empress a decade after her death. Having lived for a great many years in the vast province of Szechuen, she could say that she never recollected anyone discussing the subject and expressing respect for the Dowager-Empress. The people who talked of the Dowager-Empress to Mr. Little and herself recognized that the Dowager-Empress used her great power for her own advantage and her own selfish pleasure. They spoke with respect of the young Emperor, and praised him, but said that his influence was not great, because all the real authority was wielded by the Dowager-Empress. It almost seemed ungracious, after seeing such beautiful slides and hearing so extremely interesting a lecture, to raise this question. But she felt she ought to express an opinion about the Dowager-Empress and the feelings entertained toward her in China, because there were two tendencies in connection with people of distinction of dubious record who had passed away. One was to hound them down, and one was to exalt anyone who had had a bad name in the world. In the case of the Dowager-Empress, there was a certain party who seemed anxious to cover over her evil deeds.

Colonel A. C. YATE said it had been his privilege to listen to Mr. Farrer in quite a different capacity at the Royal Geographical Society on March 11, when he appeared in the light at once of a botanist and traveller. Mr. Farrer had told them that it was believed that in the ninth century of the Christian era the Chinese had invited Turkish mercenaries to enter their country, and thus introduced the thin edge of the wedge of Islam. The only authority of which he (Colonel Yate) could think as likely to give the requisite data for a conclusion on this point was Yule's "Marco Polo." In occasional dippings into that book he had noticed the frequent mention by Marco Polo of the Christian and Mahomedan communities across which he had come in various parts of China. Of living authorities on such a topic he imagined one of the best to be Sir Henry Howorth, whom he had the pleasure of meeting occasionally at the Royal Historical Society, and whose "History of the Mongols" was a *magnum opus* upon which historians and booksellers alike set a high value. Another authority was Sir Percy Sykes, now commanding the South Persia Rifles at Shiraz, and doubtless looking forward keenly just now rather to doing something to checkmate German ambitions to penetrate into Persia than to elucidate Marco Polo's mediæval wanderings.

The only occasion, Colonel Yate added, on which he himself came

Digitized by Google

into contact with the Moslems of Western China was when he accompanied, thirty years ago, as Intelligence Officer, the "Northern Shan Column," which, setting out from Mandalay in December, 1887, marched by devious and—in some parts to Europeans—unknown paths to the Salwun River at the Kunlon Ferry. On the way that column met occasional droves of Panthay mule transport. The Panthays are the Moslems of Yunnan, and their mule transport the best trained that he had ever seen. When it was a case of loading, the method was this: Two (or possibly more) men held the prepared load well aloft, gave a signal to the mule, which obeyed the signal by walking of itself in under the load, which was then lowered on to its back and adjusted. On the march each mule moved independently and separately. Thus, if any mishap befell any one mule, one mule only suffered; whereas the Indian transport system of linking three mules together frequently sacrificed the trio to the fault or failure of one.

Mr. Farrer has made it very plain that a Moslem insurrection in Western China is a certainty of the future. The question is, Will this associate itself in any way with the Pan-Turanian project? To this question Mr. Arnold Toynbee may possibly offer some solution on May 22.

Mr. Farrer, in reply, said he thought Mrs. Archibald Little had spoken from the point of view of the Southern Chinese rather than of Northern China in respect to the Dowager-Empress. As the storms of discussion respecting that autocratic lady had died down, she appeared more and more definitely as a really great sovereign. Her errors were great and admitted, though he was somewhat sceptical about the evil deeds with which she had been charged. If she made her mistakes, she recovered from them with a magnificent courage and resource which only really great rulers of the world had exhibited. In Northern China, at least, which supported her great adventure in 1900, her influence went on increasing, as history left behind that outstanding figure, and advanced more and more into the quicksands into which China appeared to be sunk at the present moment. So far as Northern China was concerned, she had left behind a name that would live, and, he thought, deserved to live, and influence all ranks of the people. She would figure in history amongst the great personalities of the Manchu dynasties, which had previously given before her time two of the greatest rulers who had ever directed the affairs of a large section of the human race.

The proceedings terminated with a cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Digitized by Google

ISLAM IN RUSSIA SINCE THE REVOLUTION

At a meeting of the Society on May 22, 1918, with Colonel Sir Henry Trotter in the chair, Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee lectured on this subject. In the course of an extemporaneous address he said:

I must ask you to excuse the charlatanism of one who has not travelled among the Russian Moslems and does not know their languages in venturing to lecture upon them. My excuse is that Islam in Russia was, before the Revolution, an unknown field—at least, compared with other fields of sociological study in Asia and Europe. It is characteristic of our lack of knowledge that we do not know whether to call it an Asiatic or a European problem.

This ignorance is due to the Russian autocracy, which crushed all free movement among the various people of that great Empire. As we now know, Russia was teeming with life—with nationalities, parties, classes, sects, with cherished aims and original points of view; but all this life was held down by the Tsardom. Under the old régime Russia presented herself to the outer world as politically (not spiritually, of course) a military machine, which might be on the right or wrong side, for us or against us, but was essentially a formidable machine, and not a nation or commonwealth of peoples. Thus the Russian Moslems passed unnoticed, although it was obvious that they were bound to be important. To begin with, they were numerically important. There were 19,000,000 Mohammedans in Russia, or hardly a smaller number than the Moslems under the rule of France. Thus Russia was the third largest Moslem power in the world—larger, probably, than Holland with her East Indian possessions, and larger, of course, than any independent Moslem State. There are 16,000,000 Turkish-speaking Moslems in the Russian Empire, or twice as many as in the Ottoman Empire.

Geographically, also, they are bound to be important, because they are likely to be one of the main transitional elements between European and Islamic civilisation. Throughout history there have been two routes, geographically, by which the East and the West have come into contact. There has been the sea route, by which British, French, and Dutch traders have gone to tropical lands and founded Empires in Eastern countries. Most of the contact of Europe with the Mohammedan world has been by sea, and the ocean has served as a sharp dividing line between the two civilisations. When the English-

Digitized by Google

man, the Dutchman, or the Frenchman made their way by sea to distant countries of the East, they found the inhabitants sharply divided from themselves in history, manners, and standards of civilisation. The sea routes during the last few centuries have been paramount in the formation of our ideas of the relations between Europe and Asia—we have thought of the problem in terms of them. Yet all the while there has been another bridge of contact, the land routes, along which differing civilisations have shaded into one another. If the importance of these routes has been very much overlooked, the reason is that they were by way of Russia and Turkey, and the government of both countries being reactionary, the national and social tendencies of the peoples of both Empires were suppressed. But the war, which has overthrown the Tsardom, and will, it is hoped, overthrow Turkish rule over other peoples, will perhaps put the decision of the relations between East and West in the hands of the nations on the land bridge. At any rate, they will influence those relations to a much greater extent than hitherto.

The Russian Moslems at least provide the material for just such a transitional element between East and West as I have mentioned. They include Moslems more Europeanised than any others—practically Europeans of Moslem religion. I refer to those of the Volga region, who are geographically encircled by European civilisation. Again, the Russian Moslems include nomadic tribes and countries which till half a century ago were the most isolated and fanatical of any in Islam, being still in the full dark age produced by the barbarian invasions. In other parts of Russia there are Islamic peoples who have taken a full share in the great economic development of the country. The Russian Moslems include modern industrialists, peasants who are specialists in cotton growing and other forms of profitable industry, and, again, the populations of the Steppes, who are pure nomads. Indeed, you find almost every type of economic life and culture, from the prosperous and enterprising, to that which is wholly untouched by European influences.

After these generalisations I must attempt a rapid survey. The first group of which I would speak are the Moslems of what may be termed the Volga-Ural-West Siberia region. Their centre is at Kazan, and they speak a Turkish dialect. Their number is estimated at four to five millions. Their conversion to Islam dates from about A.D. 950, perhaps a generation before Christianity reached Russia. They were extraordinarily isolated from the outer world by the Steppes and by the pagan Turkish tribes intervening between them and Persia for about four centuries, just as the Christians of Russia were also cut off by nomadic tribes from contact with the peoples from whom they had drawn their civilisation and religion. Friar Rubruck, who visited the Steppes in the thirteenth century, heard of these Islamic tribes, and he

Digitized by Google

was very much perturbed in consequence. "I wonder," he wrote, "what devil carried the religion of Mohammed thither." This region was converted to Islam something like four centuries before the Steppe to the south of it. But about 1250 the Steppe and Kazan were united under the Mongols of the Golden Horde, and the conversion of the Steppe followed. The Steppe began to settle down in civilised fashion, and the Volga Moslems acquired a Turkish dialect, one which varies from type more than any other, probably because the populations previously spoke Finnish. The result of the rule of the Golden Horde for a period of three centuries was that the Steppe country and Kazan were welded together into a single Moslem Turkish-speaking population. Then there came the Russian conquest about A.D. 1550. From that time these Moslems have been continuously under the rule of a European and non-Moslem State. They are, indeed, the oldest Moslem group to have been continually under European rule, for though the Moors in Spain were conquered earlier by a Christian State, they were either stamped out or forced to emigrate. But the Russians allowed these Tatar Moslems to continue, and so for more than three and a half centuries Europeans and Moslems have lived under one European Government in the region of the Volga.

There are various sub-groups to whom reference should be made. First of all there are the Tatars of Kazan. They form a majority of Moslems in no single province, and only in two out of ten districts of the province of Kazan. They are mostly townsfolk, business and professional men, and artisans. Since 1905 they have taken a vigorous part in Russian politics, and have developed a press and literature. Until 1917 they worked with the Cadet party, a fact which shows that they are *bourgeois* in their point of view—Liberals, but not Socialists, nor very much interested in the nationalisation of land. They are, in fact, a prosperous middle-class element.

The second sub-group, the Bashkirs in the Urals, are more backward. Fifty years ago they were entirely nomadic, and they are still partially nomadic. They are more compact than the Tatars, and in the Ufa province they are in an actual majority, though only a slight majority, over the Russians. That is to say, there is a majority of Moslem elements, including the Tatars. They are also numerous in Orenburg, Samara, and Perm. But the tendency is for them to be swamped by Russian colonists, who have settled in these regions in large numbers in the last fifty years. Great tracts of country are now under tillage by the Russian peasants, and the Bashkirs are being crowded out in some districts. So far they have been under Tatar influence. There are many Tatars to be found in the towns. But the compactness of the Bashkirs and the special problem of Russian colonisation have tended of late to produce a different policy among them.

Digitized by Google

The third sub-group is that of the Siberian Tatars. They are the remains of a sub-Khanate of the Golden Horde. They are to be found mostly in the older towns of Western Siberia, such as Tobolsk, and they are less connected with the modern towns along the Trans-Siberian Railway, where Russian civilisation has been developing latterly. A great many of them may be Tatarised Finns or Samoyeds; but the original Tatars have maintained their identity. They are an important element in trade as well as in Moslem culture. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the earliest political leader of Islamic Russia came from Siberia. I refer to Sheikh Abdurrashid Ibrahim, who is an old man now. He was born at Tara in 1842, and was the earliest Russian Moslem to travel to the different Moslem centres in Russia in the interests of Moslem culture and unity. He visited Moslem centres all over the world, and he was a member of the second Duma.

I now come to another and very different main Moslem group, that of Kirghizistan. This group, numbering about five millions, represents the old nomadic population of the Steppes from the Carpathians to Altai and Thian-Shan. They were probably outside the jurisdiction of the Golden Horde, and only drifted into its camping grounds after its power had been broken. They were the latest people in Asia to be converted to Islam, and the process was only completed last century, after they had come under Russian rule. The Kirghiz are still practically pure nomads, and I imagine that Islam has only touched them superficially at present, while they are touched scarcely at all by European civilisation. Since the end of the fifteenth century the nomad have been crowded out of the Steppes, like the Red Indians on the prairies of North America. The process was begun by the Cossacks, who early in the sixteenth century came down from the region of the Dnieper and made settlements along the rivers of the Steppes. In the seventeenth century, too, the Kalmucks came from Mongolia westward and settled on the Eastern Steppes, and this had a disintegrating effect on the nomadic tribes. In the third place, there has been considerable Russian colonisation from the north during the last twenty years, and especially since the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway. The movement has been on so large a scale that it is comparable in character with the colonisation of the West in the United States and in Canada. That, of course, has resulted in crowding out the Kirghiz, who have either had to take to agriculture and settled life or to vacate the northern part of the Steppes. They are to be found in the Eastern Steppe still; but if the colonisation movement continues, that Steppe, like the Western, will be covered with European peasantry within, say, the next twenty years. The Kirghiz themselves now belong to the Eastern extremity. They spread to the Volga in the sixteenth century, filling the vacuum left by the Usbegs, under the pressure of the Kalmucks.

Digitized by Google

The third main group of Russian Moslems is that of the Caucasus, where there are about four million of them. The Caucasus is a second Balkan peninsula, and harbours a confusion of nationalities and religions, hitherto banded together by a military empire, though in this case a Christian empire. The position of the Moslems is best understood by classifying them in sub-groups.

There are, first of all, the Azerbaijanis, forming by far the largest sub-group, and believed by some authorities to number 2,500,000. They are the "Tatars of the Caucasus," a Turkish-speaking population who drifted in from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. They came up the Araxes valley, the highroad of migration from Central Asia to Anatolia. They are identical with the Turkish-speaking population of Persian Azerbaijan, being only separated from them politically by the Russian conquest a century ago. Baku, the great oil city of the Caucasus, is not their home in the full sense. It is not really a Tatar city, for the population is Russian, Armenian, and Persian, together with many foreign elements. The Tatars only share in its cosmopolitanism. But there are amongst them several important men who have taken a very prominent part in Moslem politics in Russia. They include some self-made millionaires. They are less civilised, but more vigorous and also more drastic and radical in their views, than the Kazan Moslems, who have an older Moslem civilisation and greater contact with European influence.

Another sub-group is that of the Daghestanis, who are thought to number about a million. They are very much split up, some of them belonging to indigenous tribes, and some to tribes deposited from the Steppes. They are confined to the North-Eastern Caucasus.

Thirdly, there are the Georgian Moslems in the extreme south-west, in the provinces which Turkey has seized under the provisions of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. These people are Georgians in nationality and language. They became converted to Islam after the Turkish conquest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, just as the Albanians were largely converted after the Turkish conquest in Europe. It has been a matter of discussion whether they ought to belong to a Moslem State or a Georgian State, but the Turks have settled the matter for the moment by occupying the country once again by force.

In the fourth place there are the Crimean Tatars, numbering perhaps 200,000, again a fragment of the people of the Steppes, chiefly in the mountains of the coast. They are much outnumbered by the Russians and Ukrainians. The last sub-group is that of the Tatar nobles in Lithuania, numbering perhaps 10,000. They were invited to the country by the Lithuanian Government in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and have since been settled there. They have kept their religion, and form a really important social factor, though only a very

Digitized by Google

scattered community, in the territory occupied by Germany on the basis of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

The last main group of which I have to speak is that of Central Asia, where there are not less than five million Moslems hitherto under Russian rule. I refer to inhabitants of settled regions where there are towns and cultivation of the land. Perhaps about 80 per cent. of the Central Asiatic Moslems are Turkish-speaking, their dialect being closely related to that spoken over the frontier in Chinese Turkestan. The remainder are Tajiks, the relics of an original Iranian population, and speaking Iranian dialects. These are townsmen and cultivators. They have suffered by constant invasions, and notably by the Uzbeg conquest at the beginning of the sixteenth century, after the break up of the Golden Horde. Before the Russian conquest, which went on from 1863 to 1886, they were in the full dark age, broken up into a number of petty Khanates, and subjected to constant wars and slave raiding. Great areas of land went out of cultivation, and exhausting taxation was in force. Since the Russian conquest there has been security, a steady growth in communications, following on that remarkable engineering feat the Trans-Caspian Railway, which brings Central Asia into direct communication with Europe, and also profitable specialisation in agriculture. This is especially noteworthy in respect of cotton. The great cotton mills of Moscow are largely dependent on the cotton-growing districts of Central Asia, which were developed for the purpose of enabling Russia to become independent of the American market. Thus over hundreds of square miles within the Russian frontier, and especially in the province of Ferghana, the peasantry have been encouraged to specialise in cotton cultivation. Formerly, while the country was insecure, it was so isolated economically that the peasants produced only the absolute necessities of life for themselves, because there was no certainty of trade or communication. But when the Russians developed the railways and paid advances for the prospective cotton crop, the peasantry began to plough up their cornfields and to substitute cotton. It was the State policy to obtain foodstuffs for Central Asia very cheaply from European Russia. Thus, economically at any rate, there was rapid growth and organisation, notwithstanding the fact that Central Asia, as is natural, remains in culture the most Oriental and the least assimilated region in Russia.

From this survey it is clear that the Russian Moslems came under Russian rule at very different dates; that they are widely scattered geographically; and that there are a great many different nationalities, degrees of civilisation, and forms of economic life among them. Sixteen millions out of the nineteen millions speak different Turkish dialects, but these almost amount to different languages. There are three main groups of these dialects, and the Osmanli Turkish spoken in Asia Minor is very different from the form of Turkish spoken in

Digitized by Google

Kazan. This forms a considerable barrier in communication between the Kazan Moslems and other Turkish-speaking peoples of the Empire. But while there are many divisions, there are certain great principles of unity tending to bring them together. First, of course, there is Islam, in which the ties and claims of brotherhood are still very strong. They are made the stronger by the fact that the Mohammedan world has felt itself latterly to be on the defensive against penetration from Europe. Then another great point of unity has been the existence of the Russian State, with its conquests, its centralised administration, and its railways, not only round, but across the Steppes. There were rough tracks along the Steppes in the old days, but communications in any real sense did not exist before the Russian conquest. The Rostov-Baku, the Trans-Caspian, and the Orenburg-Tashkent Railways have had a great unifying influence. Most important of all was the economic reciprocity which was being worked out before the war.

On the other hand, there are centrifugal principles at work. Though the Russian conquest was fundamentally unifying in effect, the Russian Government was severe, and this tended to create a Moslem opposition. The Government took care to promote ecclesiastical decentralisation, though the Moslem ecclesiastics were allowed considerable liberty locally in organising their own communities. There was one ecclesiastical centre for the Tatars of the Volga, another for the Caucasus, and so on. Then, again, there was differentiation as to military service, which was confined to the Moslems of the Volga-Ural, Siberia, and the Crimea. Some groups were much more amalgamated with the Empire than others, and it was on this basis that the differentiation was made. Again, there are the special interests of various elements to be considered, such as the fear of the Bashkirs and Kirghiz as to the effects of Russian colonisation.

All these factors were more or less in suspense under the Tsardom; but since the Revolution the various forces concerned have found free play, and have begun to work out the problems affecting them. The first tendency to assert itself was towards unity and cultural autonomy. The All-Russian Moslem movement was led by the scattered Moslems, especially the Kazan Tatars, and others who had been the longest under Russian rule. They naturally felt that Moslem unity within a united Russia was the only solution of their political problem, since they were so scattered themselves that it was only by having a great Moslem block that they could hold their own in the Russian State. Supposing the Moslems more recently incorporated in the Empire broke away, they felt that they themselves would be left as a small scattered minority amongst the Russian population. On the other hand, the unity of the Moslems would make them a political power within the Russian Empire. Thus the Kazan Tatars went in for a policy of bringing the forces of Islam together within the Russian political

Digitized by Google

system, in order to form a Moslem party in the Russian State, and to exercise a marked Islamic influence on its policy.

These views, shared by many other groups, were especially dominant during the first period after the Revolution. In April, 1917, there was a Moslem Conference in the Caucasus, attended by delegates from all parts. The Sheikh-ul-Islam of the Shia Moslems of the Caucasus and the Mufti of the Sunnis publicly embraced before the whole assembly, amid demonstrations of great enthusiasm. They even began to talk of abolishing the separate ecclesiastical organisations and forming an ecclesiastical, and not merely political, Moslem union for the Caucasus. This is an extraordinary fact when we bear in mind how strong has been the traditional separatism between the two great sects of Islam, in Russia as elsewhere. The Conference passed a resolution in favour of All-Russian Moslem co-operation.

Accordingly a few weeks afterwards, in May, 1917, there was an All-Russian Moslem Conference at Moscow. It was characteristic that the official language was Russian, since this was the only language in which all the delegates could understand one another. The delegates, or one large section of them, went strongly in favour of the All-Russian movement. They appointed an All-Russian Moslem Council, with an executive committee at Petrograd, which has produced a weekly bulletin for the Moslems on the course of affairs. The remarkable thing about this bulletin is that it is not merely confined to the affairs of the Russian Moslems, but shows an even greater interest in general events and in the course of the Revolution. The Conference also established an All-Russian Ecclesiastical Council at Ufa, to be the centre for all the groups, and to have authority over all the Moslems in Russia.

The tone o the proceedings was very democratic, and though the six members of the Ecclesiastical Council were not appointed by universal suffrage, that was laid down as the basis of their election for the future. There was a noteworthy development of feminism. Out of the 800 delegates at Moscow, over 100 were women, and a woman was elected to be one of the six members of the supreme Ecclesiastical Council. Thus we see a very pronounced Liberal movement brought into relation with the idea of Islamic cultural unity within the Russian State. The Conference did not ask for the formation of separate federal Moslem States, because they felt that that would be a barrier to their unity for the work of cultural autonomy. It is interesting to note how sensitive the Conference was in respect of the world of Islam. The leaders broke with the Cadets on the question of the future of Constantinople, since the latter still favoured its acquisition by Russia. They formed a party of their own gravitating toward the Left, though not toward the extreme Left.

But another tendency quickly declared itself, in consequence of the

Digitized by Google

course of events in Russia, and that was a tendency toward political or territorial autonomy, whether under a federal system or on the basis of complete independence. The first sign of this came from the Daghestanis, who held a rival May Conference at Astrakhan, and complained of the Azerbaijanis trying to Tatarise the Caucasus. As a matter of fact, the Azerbaijani Tatars are at the head of this territorial movement. Their ideal was almost from the beginning a territorial State with complete local political autonomy, including all the Turkish-speaking populations of the Caucasus. Federation with Russia was a subordinate feature; the main idea was that of forming a State of their own, and federation with Russia was put in rather for form's sake. This was obviously a more drastic solution of the Moslem question. But the Bokharans were still more intolerant and drastic. There was a local revolution, and the Khan was forced to agree to a democratic Constitution. Then followed a reaction against the Young Bokharan party, which was given a fanatical turn by the Mullahs and was favoured by the Russian Resident at Bokhara. He belonged to the old régime, and was anti-revolutionary. These disturbances were put down, but they were bound to have a discouraging effect upon the idea of Moslem unity in Russia. The tendency for a separatist solution has steadily won, in consequence of the general course of events. The Bolshevik revolution and acquisition of power has turned the scales all over Russia in favour of separatism and against unity, and the Moslems have shared in this tendency. Even at a Conference held at Ufa last December to appoint a commission for working out cultural autonomy, the territorialists carried territorial resolutions and appointed a committee of their own. A few weeks earlier there had been a proclamation of the territorial autonomy of Bashkiristan. All this is an unhappy turn of policy; but probably it is merely a symptom of the general disorganisation of Russia. If Russia (or parts of her) comes together again in a Federation, the idea of unity among Russian Moslems may revive.

In conclusion Mr. Toynbee read from a German paper (the *Neuer Orient*) extracts from speeches on the great question at issue at the Moscow Conference between the two leaders—Tsalikov of the All-Russian Party and Rasulzada the territorialist from Baku.

The CHAIRMAN said they were very much indebted to Mr. Toynbee for the care and trouble he had taken to collect and co-ordinate the facts respecting the Russian Moslems. He saw from that day's paper that the new cry at Berlin to replace or supplement "Berlin to Baghdad" was to be "Hamburg to Herat," a much longer line. The existence of such ambitions was important, and it was very desirable that we should inform ourselves, and that the country should inform itself, respecting the populations occupying the lands through which

Digitized by Google

penetration was desired by our enemies. There was an enormous population taken altogether in those lands, and beyond them we had some 70,000,000 Moslems within the Indian Empire. It was noteworthy how large a proportion of the Russian Moslems spoke various forms of Turkish.

Colonel Sir THOMAS HOLDICH said that one statement in the lecture had surprised him. A glance at the map would show how enormous a proportion of Russia was Moslem country. He believed it would amount to four-fifths. While it could be taken for granted that the Moslems were very much scattered over that vast area, and that much of it was very thinly peopled, there were still very large compact bodies of Moslems there, especially in high Asia, and notably in Bokhara. The Central Asian people were Sunni Mohammedans to a man, and amongst them, so far as he knew, there was no scattered Christian Church or any other non-Moslem faith. On these grounds he could not help thinking that in the Russian Empire as we have known it there must surely be far more than 19,000,000 Mohammedans. The inhabitants of Russia might be divided into Slavs and Moslems, mainly Turkish-speaking Moslems. That being so, it was still more remarkable that in consequence of the Revolution there should have been any decided expression of opinion on the part of a large body of them in favour of unity within the Russian State. It was entirely contrary to what they had heard as to the results of the Revolution in other respects. The exact opposite of unity was its most patent political principle. It was difficult to see how 19,000,000 Mahomedans among 180,000,000 Slavs could make themselves quite sufficiently prominent and powerful in the political future of Russia to effect anything very great. Toward the end of his address the lecturer had shown that there were very considerable differences of opinion amongst the leaders of the Russian Moslems as to their political future. One could easily understand that within certain limits really powerful Mohammedan republics might be formed, but that they could have any decided influence over the vast mass of the Russian people he confessed he did not believe.

He would like to ask Mr. Toynbee what had been the attitude of the Russian Moslems during the war. Did they recognise the Sultan of Turkey as the head of their faith, or were they, like the Mohammedans of India, very doubtful indeed about the particular position which the Ottoman Emperor claimed in this respect? We did not find that, taking it all together—though there were, of course, exceptions—the Mohammedans of India in the Army had very particular objections against fighting the Mohammedans of Turkey. Did the Russian Moslems throw in their sympathies with Russia, and did the soldiery amongst them take any prominent part against Turkey? Would they now be prepared to welcome the Turks into that part of Russia which was

Digitized by Google

overwhelmingly Moslem to which reference had been made in the lecturer's survey? When they considered all these questions, it seemed to him that if anyone in the West adopted the mantle of prophecy he would have a big problem in front of him.

Mr. ISPAHANI said he would be obliged if the lecturer would explain to them the condition of the Russian Moslems before the Revolution. From his personal knowledge as a traveller in Russia before the war, when his visits extended to Turkestan and the Caucasus, he could say that the Moslems suffered from harshness of rule. They were not allowed to educate their children in the way they desired and in the practices of their faith. It might well be that more liberal ideas would prevail after the existing confusion in Russia had been overcome.

Sheikh M. H. KIDWAI said they had heard that the Russian Moslems were strongly opposed to the idea of Russia taking over Constantinople. He would like to impress this fact upon Englishmen present who thought there was no restlessness about the present situation as regarded the Moslem position in the war. In India there were numbers of religious leaders interned because they were said to have had sympathy with the Turks. Mr. Montagu, during his visit, received a great number of telegrams declaring the sympathy of the Mussulman senders with the Turks, not as Turks, but as Moslems.

Mr. TOYNBEE, in reply, said that he had shown that before the war the freedom of the Russian Moslems was very small, and that they were very much suppressed. Their ecclesiastical organisations, like those of other communities not belonging to the Orthodox faith, were very much broken up. There could be no doubt that one general effect of the war and the Revolution had been to evoke in the minds of the Moslems, and especially those which had come under Russian rule in the last century or so, a keen wish to have an independent life of their own, though there were great differences of view as to the proper political means towards this end. They had seen European progress, and wished to share therein on their own lines and in accordance with their own culture. They wished to retain the economic results which had flowed from European organisation. Generally speaking, the attitude of Islam toward Europe had been very much that of Japan.

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Digitized by Google

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE anniversary meeting was held on June 26. Owing to the absence of Colonel Sir Henry Trotter through illness, Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich took the chair. The annual report, read from the chair, was as follows:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1917-18.

The Session of 1917-18, during which, notwithstanding the war, we have had a series of most interesting papers, opened in October with a lecture by our Chairman, Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, entitled "The Amir Yakoub Khan and Eastern Turkistan in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," a concise account of the history and geography of a little-known part of Central Asia. In December Colonel A. C. Yate gave a paper on a subject of peculiar interest at the present time, "Britain's Buffer States in the East." Miss Estelle Blythe in February read a delightful paper on "Palestine: Its Past, Present and Future." In March we had a most instructive address by Miss M. Czaplicka on "The Evolution of the Cossack Communities," illustrated by lantern-slides showing different types of Cossacks. The April lecture was given by Mr. Reginald Farrer—most interesting and instructive—on "The Mahommedan Problem in China," and, in May, Mr. Arnold Toynbee's address on "Islam in Russia" was full of information. The last lecture of the Session will be given in June by the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali on "Persia and her Neighbours." There has been a good attendance at all the meetings.

The following four new members have been elected during the year: The Political Agent, Bahrein, Mrs. Davis, Mr. G. Herbert Evans, and Signor M. N. Salvati. The Council regret to report the loss by death of Colonel St. J. F. M. Fancourt, C.B., and Mr. G. R. Allen. The Society has also lost by resignation the following members: The Viscount Bury, Mrs. F. A. Crow, Sir Walter Lawrence, Mr. John Murray, Mr. E. J. Salano, and Colonel J. K. Tod.

The Council much regret the loss of their Secretary, Miss Hughes, who held that post ever since the formation of this Society, but resigned on her marriage in November, 1917. Much of the success of the Society has been due to her excellent work, and the members of the Council, past and present, who have been so long and pleasantly associated with her had the gratification of showing their appreciation

Digitized by Google

of her services by subscribing for the presentation of a small wedding-gift. Miss Phillips, Assistant Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, was appointed in her place.

The year has again happily ended without a deficit, there being a balance of receipts over expenditure of £22 7s. The total expenditure was £109 7s. 1d. The statement of accounts is appended.

New rules were passed at a special meeting in February relating to the appointment of an Hon. President, and regulating the position of the six Vice-Presidents. Under the new Rule 13 the Hon. President is elected by the Council, and holds office for five years, and is then eligible for re-election. The Vice-Presidents are elected by the Council, and hold office for four years, two retiring annually by rotation, being ineligible for re-election until the expiration of one year; but this arrangement will not come into force until the general meeting of 1919.

Lord Curzon, on being approached, most cordially accepted the new office of Hon. President, to the great satisfaction of the Council.

Under Rule 23, Sir Hugh Barnes, Sir E. Penton, and Mr. T. J. Bennett retire, and Colonel E. Pemberton has resigned his position on the Council; the three former gentlemen are recommended for re-election, and Colonel A. C. Bailward is proposed to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Colonel Pemberton.

The CHAIRMAN expressed his regret that their President, Sir Henry Trotter, was very ill, and that it was doubtful whether he would be able to resume his work amongst them. That meeting ended the 1917-18 session, and they earnestly hoped that before their three month's vacation was over they would find he would be able to return to them. On his proposal a vote of sympathy with Lady Trotter in her trouble was carried.

The report was adopted, and its recommendations as to the election of members of Council for the ensuing session were agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN said the distinguished gentleman who was about to address them on Persia was not altogether a stranger to the Society. Many of them must know him as a great Orientalist, and a very close observer of the peoples and policies of the East. The paper would show him to be master of his subject, and would carry the authoritative weight to be expected from him.

The Right Hon. SYED AMEER ALI then read the following paper:

PERSIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS.

On two previous occasions you did me the honour of inviting me to read a paper, which, owing to pressure of public duties, I was unable to do. I am happy to be able this evening to make amends for my former default. Persia, which forms the subject of my present address, is at this moment engaging a great deal of attention, and if I do not succeed in stimulating a keener interest in her fortunes among a

Digitized by Google

well-informed and cultured circle as the Central Asian Society, you must put it down to my deficiencies in handling it.

The great Empire of the Chosroas, which stretched at one time from the land of the Five Rivers to the shores of the Mediterranean and even beyond, has now shrunk, comparatively speaking, into a small kingdom. Even thus she is of unfailing interest to both scholar and statesman, from her past history and existing potentialities. Situated in the middle of Asia, the home of a particularly gifted people, who, in all the vicissitudes of their country, have never lost their national entity or characteristics, she has always exercised a powerful influence on the development of the Western world. In the domain of religious thought, for example, the cult of Mythra spread from Persia into Europe, and wherever the Roman legionaries went they carried with them from the valley of the Euphrates this worship of the Sun-god. Under Diocletian it became the dominant cult of the Roman Empire, and appears to have found its way into countries so far away from the centre as modern Yorkshire and Cheshire, where even to-day effigies and figures of Mythra hunting the bull may be found in sufficient numbers to excite the wonder of the student of history. And we know how vastly Jewish conceptions were affected when they came in contact with the followers of Zoroaster. In the fourth century of the Christian era the Persian Mani promulgated a new version of the old philosophies. To Manichæism is traced the doctrine of sacramental grace and other esoteric dogmas. It gave birth to Paulicianism, which was persecuted with such fury by the Court of Byzantium. The Paulicians were the progenitors, as we know, of the Albigensis, whose doctrines gave birth to Lollardism. One might say with considerable truth that Modern Europe in its religious and philosophical conceptions has borrowed much, though it acknowledges little, from the doctrines of Manes or Mani, the Persian. Nor have the Manichæan ideas left untouched even the iconoclasm of Islam, for most of the Gnostic sects that are to be found in Islam have received their inspiration from Mani's conceptions.

In the department of administration the Sassanide sovereigns, those benevolent despots, created a revenue system which was afterwards copied by the Saracenic Caliphs, who shaped and developed it to such a remarkable degree as to make it a model for posterity. From the Caliphs it was borrowed by the Ghaznevid sovereigns, and thence introduced into India under the Great Akbar; and it forms to-day under British rule the best developed system of revenue administration.

The whirlwinds of conquest that have passed over Persia never destroyed the kernel of the race, they seem only to have touched the surface; the political entity was lost under the onslaught of the invader, but the people continued with wonderful tenacity their hold on national life. It is one of the marvels of history that the Persians have

Digitized by Google

always conquered their conquerors. Even in the lifetime of Alexander the Macedonian horde became a Perso-Hellenic amalgam; the Saracenic conquest caused only a short-lived displacement. For in less than a hundred years Persia had recovered her vitality, and the Abbasside Caliphs ruled their vast empire with the help of Persian ministers. The Mongol avalanche fell over Western Asia in the thirteenth century, and destroyed in its course all civilized life in the countries over which it swept; but before four generations had passed Persia recovered her vitality, and Persian culture, Persian thought, and the Persian language dominated the Courts of the Mongol sovereigns and the palaces of Mongol chiefs and magnates.

Of the culture of Persia and its influence on the development of the neighbouring nations I have spoken in a paper I read to the Persia Society in 1912. It is hardly worth while going over the same ground here. But to judge of the place Persia holds, shrunk as she is, among the nations of Western Asia, it is necessary to bear in mind that Mahommedan India, Afghanistan, Transoxiana, and Turkey have, either wholly or in part, their culture based on the magnificent Perso-Arab culture which was evolved in the reigns of the early Abbasside Caliphs—the finest product of the commingling of the two races, Arab and Persian. In India, from the earliest establishment of Mussulman power down to the time of Lord William Bentinck, Persian was the language of administration; and in spite of its dethronement by that utilitarian Governor-General, who wanted to pull down the Taj and sell it as common marble, it remained in Upper India the language of polite society, both Mahommedan and Hindu, until the Urdu language attained its full development.

Shah Ismail Sufi, the founder of the Seffavean Dynasty, who traced his descent to the Prophet, founded the first Shiah Empire in Asia. He brought back to Persia her national life, and from his time forward we see an intensely strong national spirit animating the Persian people. And the wars of Shah Ismail with Sultan Selim, the first Ottoman Caliph, towards the west and with the Uzbeg Shaibani Khan towards the north consolidated this national spirit in a remarkable manner. The Seffavean sovereigns were loved and respected as national kings; and certainly the early rulers of this dynasty deserved their popularity, for they were great monarchs, under whom Persia attained a prosperity and power equal to the best-ruled kingdom of the West. About the end of the seventeenth century Persia was overrun by a rude, rough set of warriors from Afghanistan, and once again her national life and culture were swept away. The rise of Nadir Shah restored the national life of Persia and re-established her military dominancy in Middle Asia, but her cultural life remained under a blight. Agha Mohammed Khan Kajâr, the founder of the present dynasty, obtained the dominion of Persia toward the end of

Digitized by Google

the eighteenth century. Agha Mohammed Khan, though a cruel, almost a ferocious, tyrant, was not a bad ruler. He introduced law and order into the country, which was distracted and ruined by a long civil war.

Although there were several wars between Russia and Persia in the reign of Agha Mohammed Khan, systematic aggression on the part of the great Northern Power, and an organized intrigue to crush all other Western influence, began in Fath Ali Shah's time. A great Mussulman scholar, a native of Jounpore, in Upper India, who visited Persia in 1819, and spent some years at the Court of Fath Ali, has left an interesting record, not merely of this Persian king's entourage, but also of the insidious policy which was at work then in Persia and Afghanistan—a policy which came to an end only with the downfall of the Romanoff Dynasty. I gave a résumé of his account some time back in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*. Returning from Persia through Turkestan and Afghanistan, he spent two years in the Court of Ameer Dost Mohammed Khan. There again he observed the same Russian propaganda at work. On his arrival in India the British Government, in recognition of his learning and services, made him the Curator of the important Shiah Endowment at Hooghly, in Bengal, which he held from 1837 to 1876. And here I enjoyed the privilege of his friendship for nearly twenty years. His writings, unhappily still in manuscript form, are a mine of information on Central Asian politics during the long years of his sojourn in Persia and Afghanistan. His description of Persia and of her King was of the utmost interest. Nasir-ud-din Shah, the third in succession to Fath Ali, came to the throne in 1848. It was under his long rule, which extended to 1896, that Persia felt the first stirring of national life. The year of Nasir-ud-din Shah's accession to the throne is memorable in the history of Europe, as it witnessed the first organized effort of Continental nations to obtain some form of representative government. The European movement could hardly leave Persia untouched. Persians had travelled for many years past into different parts of the world. They had been to Europe, they had been to England, many had settled in Constantinople, some even had studied in Paris and London. In the beginning of his reign the Shah had, in fact, encouraged promising youths to prosecute their studies in Europe. Many Persians had been to Bombay and Calcutta. At this latter place and at Hooghly, which at one time was a seaport town before Calcutta had become the capital of Bengal, large colonies of prosperous Persian merchants had settled, along with Armenian compatriots, who had left their homes in Persia to make their fortunes in the land of the pagoda-tree. All these men, travellers, merchants, students, had learnt lessons of freedom of thought and liberty of government in the lands where they had spent many years of their lives. Their return to

Digitized by Google

Persia was not often welcomed, and many of them suffered from the jealous suspicion of despotic governors, but, all the same, they were strong elements in stirring up national life. It may seem extraordinary, but, nevertheless, it is a fact, that the expounders of the sacred law, commonly called by European writers the "clergy of Persia," were the principal supporters of the movement for the demand for emancipation from absolutism and the liberalization of the government in their country. And it is still more extraordinary that the Persian women, who might be supposed from their seclusion and isolated lives to be hardly equal to association with such a demand, should help materially to foster, stimulate, and promote this great national movement. Hitherto the command of the Sovereign was practically the law of the land, tempered by the opinions and verdicts of the *Mujtahids* and divines who, as the representatives of the Apostolical Imam, wielded an extraordinary amount of power. The system of *bast*, or taking sanctuary, also protected the innocent and even real culprits from the vindictiveness or the just punishment of the Shah. Equality of rights has ever been a cardinal principle of Islam; it embodies, in fact, the ideals of true democracy, and lays particular stress on the association of the people in the governing of their affairs.

Nasir-ud-din Shah was an able and astute Sovereign, with a strength of character which in better surroundings would have renewed the days of the early Sufis. But before referring to the circumstances which turned his progressive tendencies into aggravated absolutism, I should like to refer to the potentiality of Persia as a factor in Central Asian development.

Persia, though small in size compared to the vast extent of her old Empire, is a rich country—rich in minerals, with large forests especially in the north, large manufactures of textile fabrics, porcelain ware, gold and silver and other metal goods. Her population is estimated at twelve millions, about the same as that of Spain. The people are hardy, industrious, and thrifty; even the commonest muleteer takes a keen interest in the past history of his country. Recitations from the national epic are the ordinary diversions of the common folk. The Persian is a patriot to the backbone; he loves the thorn of his country as a poet says, better than the roses and violets of a foreign land. And the longing of the exile for his home (the *vilait*, from which the now familiar "Blighty" of the British Tommy Atkins is derived) is a well-known feature in the Persian character.

As I mentioned before, at the outset of his reign Nasir-ud-din Shah was all in favour of progress; he founded a great academy in the capital, encouraged students to proceed to Europe for the prosecution of their studies, and even established two consultative assemblies to assist him in the government of the country. The deposition of Sultan Abdul Aziz, and his subsequent tragical death under sinister conditions,

Digitized by Google

roused the suspicions of the Shah, which were stimulated by the same insidious methods from St. Petersburg which succeeded so well with Sultan Abdul Hamid. Repression took the place of toleration, and the promise held out in the first part of Nasir-ud-din Shah's reign remained unfulfilled. But in spite of all his efforts to put back the hour-hand, the popular desire for a share in the government of their affairs and for emancipation from the grinding tyranny of a corrupt bureaucracy continued to grow. In 1890 the Shah granted the now notorious Tobacco Concession to a European syndicate, and this brought matters to a crisis. At the command of a single Mujtahid the entire people gave up smoking. This extraordinary strike proved wonderfully effective, and the Shah had to abandon his attempt to mortgage the interests of his people to a body of foreign exploiters. The Tobacco Concession was withdrawn in 1892; for the next four years there was a constant struggle between the King and the people, not open, not direct, but yet tangible enough to affect all classes, and causing, especially among the foreign diplomats and exploiters, anxious to keep Persia in a state of tutelage, no small amount of flutter and anxiety. On the side of the monarch were ranged the forces of reaction, repression, and vested interests; on the people's side, the burning desire for freedom from a system of government which was fast driving their country to ruin, was daily growing in force, and threatening an inevitable explosion. The influence of the "clergy," to give them their European designation, whilst encouraging popular aspirations, imposed upon the patriots remarkable self-restraint. In spite of their efforts, matters became acute at the beginning of 1896; and in January, 1896, Nasir-ud-din Shah was struck down by one of those zealots which similar agonies have produced in other countries. The tragic event, which created a most unfortunate impression in St. Petersburg, in Constantinople, Berlin, and Vienna, was used by foreign reactionaries for the purpose of discrediting Persian aspirations.

Nasir-ud-din Shah was succeeded by Mozaffur-ud-din Shah—a monarch of a totally different type. He had neither the ability nor the force of character of his father; his mild disposition, while it made him more pliable to his courtiers, inclined him at the same time more readily to listen to the popular demands. The struggle that followed was due entirely to the forces of reaction which had wrecked his father's reign, and which were still at work. In this extremity it became clear to the leaders of the patriotic party that, unless immediate measures were adopted to open the eyes of the Sovereign to the necessity of a change in the form of government, the country would become so entangled in foreign debts, and the administration so hopelessly mismanaged, as to lead straight to bankruptcy and collapse. This time the blow of the zealot was not aimed at the King; an unpopular Minister was struck down by another *fedai*. The Constitutionalists, who were alive to the

Digitized by Google

probable effect of this crime on the mind of the Shah to embitter him against the people, unqualifiedly condemned the murder of the Minister, and decided upon a passive strike in the capital for the purpose of conveying to the Shah an emphatic and unmistakable expression of the popular will. At this crisis in her destiny Persia was fortunate in having in Teheran a British Minister who combined with keen political insight and sagacity a singular breadth of view and sympathy with popular aspirations. On the appeal of the patriots he allowed the Constitutionalists to use the vast grounds of the British Legation as a place of refuge in Teheran ; traders, merchants, students, scholars, with large numbers of the clergy, flocked to the Legation as a sanctuary, and remained encamped there until the Shah yielded unconditionally to the popular demands.

The Constitutionalist Government which the Shah granted to his people was formally embodied in a Charter, and the proclamation of the news roused immense enthusiasm throughout the country as the opening of a new era in the national life of Persia. This happened in July, 1906 ; a few months after Mozaffaruddin Shah died, and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed Ali Shah. Three times he took the oath on the Koran and by the holy Imams to maintain the constitution inviolate, and to govern his country in accordance with the organic laws on which it was based, and three times he foreswore himself. He attacked the Parliament Hall with his Cossacks, commanded by a Russian officer, murdered many of the deputies, and committed other atrocities. Driven out of Teheran by a combined popular effort, he returned with Russian help, and nearly succeeded in capturing the capital. But the Constitutionalists were resolute ; unaided they beat him back, and ultimately forced him to take refuge in the territories of the Czar. And then Russia threw her shield over the foresworn son of Mozaffaruddin, and obtained for him a handsome pension from the Persian Government. Thus, shortly told, stands the story of the Persian liberation.

Mohammed Ali's final expulsion from Persia occurred in 1910. His minor son, the present Shah, was placed on the throne in his place with a Government responsible to Parliament, and an enlightened magnate, educated in Oxford under Dr. Jowett, assumed the regency during the young King's minority. The Constitutional Government—in other words, the government by the people of their own destinies—had now a chance of success in that country. With the exception of a few, who found in the new order of things a block to their own ambitions or avarice, and who, therefore, intrigued with the deposed King or his foreign supporters to upset the new Government, the nation as a whole rallied round the National Assembly, which represented the national aspirations. It was a singularly representative body, which, if its constitution had been sufficiently explained to the

Digitized by Google

Western nations, and not merely kept secret in the archives of diplomacy, would have evoked the sympathies of all well-wishes of human progress. As I said before, all classes were represented in the Assembly. Cultured Parsees and Armenians of position were members of that body, and they all seemed animated by one spirit—the spirit of bringing Persia into line with the democracies of Europe; and the ecclesiastics were as keen as the laity in the assertion of popular rights. The Persians, like all of us, have many faults. Their enemies were numerous and not few among their own people. They themselves admit that they did not possess what is called the "technique of popular government." They certainly lacked the capacity of handling finance. Their revenue system was out of order. The foreigners who had come from the Continent of Europe to their help were more bent on their own enrichment than on the advancement of Persia. In their travail they looked round for assistance. Other nations far more advanced in the art of popular government are still backward from many points of view in realizing the true meaning of democracy, and it is no wonder that the Persians, with only five years' existence of national life, should not have realized the limitations of popular power; and yet it is admitted by unbiased observers that they showed an amount of self-restraint which, exhibited by a young body elected in some hurry for the assertion of popular rights, was remarkable. They first directed their attention to the finances of the country, which were admittedly in perfect disorder, and were bringing the country fast to ruin; to evolve order out of chaos they envoked the assistance of the United States of America, a country which seemed least likely to ruffle the feelings of jealous neighbours, with the result of the loan of Mr. Shuster's services. A more competent or more honest or more sympathetic helper could not have been found. He has told his own story how he was hunted out of Persia by Russian intrigue in his remarkable book "The Strangling of Persia."

From the first emergence of the Persian people as a national entity, desirous of enjoying some share of the liberty which was the birthright of most Western people, and of being allowed some participation in the government of their country, the Constitutional movement was looked upon with strong disfavour by most of the foreign elements, diplomatic as well as commercial, as likely to create, if successful, serious obstacles to the ambitions of their States or the exploitations of their nationals. The capacity of the people to govern themselves was despised. Extraneous help to assist in the development of their resources or revenue was either refused or counteracted. Recent happenings in Russia enable one to speak more freely of the designs and ambitions of the Romanoff Empire than was possible even a year ago.

The relations of Persia with the British Empire have ever since the time of Shah Abbas the Great, with a slight intermission at the

Digitized by Google

beginning of Nasir-ud-din Shah's reign, been marked by a singular friendliness; and the Persians have never relied upon any nation more than the British until the memorable year of 1907, when British diplomacy and statesmanship, forced perhaps by the pressure of circumstances in Europe, took a sharp turn in favour of the designs of Persia's northern neighbour. Russia's encroachments began in the early part of the nineteenth century, and from that day forth, until the collapse of the Romanoff Dynasty, there has been a consistent endeavour on the part of Czarist Russia, as in other directions, to squeeze out the life of Persia. Russia's slow but sure strangulation of this stricken and afflicted country remind one vividly of the process by which the python crushes out the life and afterwards swallows the victim of its appetite.

The first collision between Russia and Persia to which reference might be made occurred in 1800. The Persians were successful at the outset, but met with defeat at the end, which brought about the Treaty of Gulistan, and established Russian rule in Georgia. Russian pretensions caused another outbreak of hostilities in 1826. The Persians, under Abbas Mirza, won a brilliant victory at first, but the parsimony of Fath Ali Shah led to large disbandments of the tribal levies; important cities were bereft of their defenders; many of the Persian governors were bribed; at last Persia was forced to conclude, in 1828, a treaty, politically as well as economically, of the most disastrous character. This is the well-known Treaty of Turkomanchai, by which Russia obtained a predominant position in both respects in Persia.

During the whole of this period Russia, whilst extending in every possible way her power and influence in Persia, was obliged to maintain an appearance of restraint by the likelihood of a collision with England in case she showed her hand too openly. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, which divided Persia into two spheres of influence, Russian and British, removed the checks that had hitherto kept Romanoff ambitions within bounds. And she began at once her disintegrating work.

The Anglo-Russian compact was concluded on August 31, 1907, shortly after Persia had extracted from her King a promise of real national life. In an article in the *Orient Review* I ventured to call attention to the unwisdom of the policy which led England to enter into that compact, and I gave a résumé of Romanoff attitude from the end of the eighteenth century down to 1907, showing one continuous record of want of good faith on the part of the Czarist Government towards Great Britain. The Romanoffs were known not to keep faith even with the people they subjugated. It is no wonder that they did not attach much importance to fair dealing with outsiders.

And only recently, in November, 1916, 500,000 Khirgiz Mussulmans were slaughtered in the presence of their women and children because

Digitized by Google

they refused to be conscripted during harvest-time. An account of this inconceivable atrocity appeared again only in one English newspaper from the pen of Mr. Phillip Morgan Price.

In 1909, under the pretext that the Russian Consul was in danger, a large Russian force entered Tabriz. A few months later another body of troops was landed in Persia, and marched to Kazvin in order to prevent the Constitutionalists from advancing on the capital to dethrone Mohammed Ali Mirza. In September, 1909, the well-known brigand and Russian protégé, Rahim Khan, attacked Ardebil in the north of Persia; this formed a pretext for sending more troops into Persia. When Rahim Khan was defeated by the Persian Government forces, the Romanoff Government, in defiance of its treaties with Persia, afforded him a refuge in Russian territory.

In the following year (1910) a Persian Prince naturalized in Russia conceived the plan of overthrowing the Persian Constitutional Government; the Russian authorities not only refused to allow the Persian forces to deal with the rebel, but actually fired on them near Kazvin and killed the commanding officer.

In 1911 more troops were poured into Persia, where their treatment of the inhabitants was that of a conquered country.

The December of 1911 will always be remembered by the Persians as one of the darkest in their history. Romanoff agents succeeded in provoking in Tabriz an armed conflict between the Constitutionalist police force of that city and the Russian troops, which was attended with great brutality. In the course of this fight a large number of women and children were killed. The climax was reached on the 10th of Moharrem, a day of great sanctity in the Mahommedan world. Among other enormities they hung the chief ecclesiastic of Tabriz, the Sikutul-Islam, a man who was highly esteemed and venerated throughout Persia.

In April, 1912, the Russians also bombarded the sacred shrine of Meshed.

The hanging of Persian ecclesiastics in Tabriz and the slaughter of innocent people, coupled with the bombardment of Meshed, sent a thrill through the Mussulman world. Elegies were published in most of the Moslem papers in India, where the sorrow at the treatment of Persia was most keenly felt. Russia's object always was to bring about her dissolution, and for that purpose she resorted to every form of intrigue likely to produce disintegration and chaos. Every sign of vitality among the people, every effort to introduce reforms or improvements in the administration, was made a reason for aggression. When we bear in mind that the initial success of the Constitutional movement was due to the support of the British representative in Persia, we can easily understand the consternation of the Persian people at the acquiescence of England in these acts of the Romanoff Government,

Digitized by Google

and especially in the expulsion of the American financial expert. Now that the Romanoff Dynasty has fallen, Persian hopes for the dawn of a new era in their country have risen high; and it remains for England, who is fighting this great war as the champion of liberty for all small nationalities, to be true to her own ideals, true to herself, and to give Persia a helping hand to make the best use of the free system of Government her people wrested from the hands of a tyrant.

Persia has always looked upon England as her friend and as a champion of her liberty and progress. While Russia was viewed with suspicion, and her advance towards the East was regarded with alarm, England was trusted, and her advice was invariably sought and acted upon. In issuing loans or giving concessions for the development of the country, England was always approached first and her counsel asked for. In 1905, when the Persian Revolution began with a pacific strike, the Constitutionalists sought refuge at the British Legation in Teheran. This in itself was abundant proof of the confidence the Persians reposed in England. The Anglo-Russian agreement, with its manifest tendencies, which soon proved themselves in direct acts of interference and aggression, caused the widest apprehension. The attempt of the Czarist Government to obtain control of the Persian army and finance, and the occupation of most of the northern provinces, were all part and parcel of the policy designed for the final absorption of Persia. When the present war broke out, the Romanoff army treated the part of the country they had occupied as conquered territories.

The provinces in which Turk and Tartar have fought their recent battles have suffered grievously, chiefly from the professed defenders of Persia. And the withdrawal of the Russian troops after the revolution in their country left behind in their wake burning and plundered villages. The loot was often accompanied by the forcible abduction of women and girls.

Persia covets no territories, has no aggressive designs, desires no accession to her present possessions. What she wants is peace—peace to work out her own national life. She sees with sorrow and anguish the gigantic slaughter of the manhood of the world which is going on before her eyes, and she does not wish to be drawn into the struggle by the policy or ambitions of either side. It is to be earnestly hoped that she will be left alone, and that she may escape the vast affliction from which Europe is suffering. Her destinies at the present moment are in the hands of men, some of whom are the best products of what was best in Europe before this war came to destroy centuries of material and intellectual progress. The fortunes of Persia, so far as they are in her hand, are guided primarily by eight men, enlightened and patriotic, assisted by an assembly elected on a broad basis of constitutional liberty. All men possessed of property or business worth not less than £100 have the franchise and the right to vote

Digitized by Google

in the election of members to the Persian Parliament. There is only one House, and all creeds and nationalities are represented in the Assembly in proportion to their numbers and importance. The young Shah, who attained his majority a little while ago, is a constitutional monarch, carefully brought up during the regency of that gifted statesman, the Nâsir-ul-Mulk, and seems to possess qualities which might make him a benefactor to his country.

The conditions in Persia, I am informed, are just now verging in many parts on famine. In this, of course, she is not singular; other neutral countries are suffering in a similar way. But it naturally adds to the difficulties of the Government, and makes the people suspicious of all foreign movements, which they conceive as foreboding an aggravation of their miseries and a fresh invasion on their independence. I hear that in Ghilan and Mazendran, Persian provinces that had been seized by the Muscovites, the inhabitants, immediately on the retirement of the Russian troops, formed a federation to resist in the future all foreign aggression. Would it not be a wise policy on our part to encourage and support this national desire to combat enemy designs without giving cause for suspicion against ourselves? It is a question for statesmen to deal with. We hear much now about a so-called Pan-Turânian movement, and the possibility of Persia being entrapped into it. If there is any reality in this alleged Pan-Turanian movement, if it is not a mere red-herring, we must not forget the feud between Iran and Turan, which has lasted ever since the birth of history, from the days when Rustam and Isfandyar battled against Afrasiâb, the national hero of Turan. There is as little likelihood of Iran being drawn into the Pan-Turanian movement as there is of the Celt becoming merged in the Saxon.

I do not think it is intended to confine the ideal of "a commonwealth of free nations" to Europe alone. And I trust, in the interest of the British Empire, Persia will find in it, and on the Amphictyonic Council it is proposed to establish after this war, the place she deserves from her history, her economic potentiality, and from the vigour and self-restraint with which her people have won their liberty far more than many of the Balkan nationalities. If Persia is treated with consideration and generosity, if the feelings and sentiments of her people are carefully regarded, if her independence is scrupulously respected, I do not dream for a moment that any outside intrigue would shake her fidelity to England. What appears to me essential—a view shared by a distinguished Moslem friend—is the necessity of avoiding even the semblance of an attempt to "Egyptianize" Persia (to borrow a French phrase), and of not repeating the mistake, which was common twenty-five years ago in the Native States of India, of allowing British officers an undesirable and impolitic latitude in their treatment of the Native Government.

Digitized by Google

England possesses a great asset in her vast Mussulman population, who have proved their steadfastness and loyalty in every sphere. A wise statesmanship and thorough understanding can employ this moral force most beneficently in the consolidation of her hegemony in the Eastern world, by establishing a cultural federation, under her guidance, of the Moslems within the zone of her influence. No competitor possesses this great asset, and posterity will regret if she allows herself to miss her great opportunity.

At this moment I gather from the papers a terrible and destructive class-war is being waged in the mountains of the Caucasus, which Shamyl defended with such heroic valour against Romanoff invasion.

Men whose greed and hatred have been stimulated by the grinding slavery of centuries or by imported racial bitterness are now fighting to destroy the descendants of Shamyl's followers. In spite of a lurking affection for the men who pulled down Czarism from its pedestal, the Persians do not want their country to be infected by Bolshevism. It would be a far worse calamity than Romanoff domination. But now that the Dynasty is dead, we hope we may also be able to say of the Anglo-Russian Convention, *Requiescat in pace.*

The CHAIRMAN said they had had a most enlightening paper. It was a great pity that the British public did not know more of the political conditions prevailing in Persia, and of the efforts of her sons to maintain a national existence. His only criticism of the paper was that it was so packed with information that its full value could not be properly appreciated until it was seen in printed form and considered at leisure.

Disastrous as the outcome of the Russian Revolution had been to the Allied cause, we might at least gather some shreds of consolation out of what they had been told by the learned lecturer as to the disappearance of the Romanoff Dynasty. They believed it had disappeared never to return. But whilst all their sympathies were with a nation like Persia (which could hardly be called a very small nation) in struggling for liberty and self-determination, as it was called, we did look in this country to the small nations to help themselves as far as they could. Persia always reminded him of a derelict ship tossing on the wide open sea, and waiting for a ship under some other flag to tow her into port. Persia could not be called a military power, determined to defend her own liberties and to help herself. The lecturer did not refer to the boundaries of Persia, but, as a matter of fact, she was a well-protected country in this respect. On the north she had the Elburz Mountains, which were crossable, no doubt, but which could easily be made strongly defensive. On the east there was more open country, and an interchange of hostilities with Afghanistan was not rendered difficult by natural conditions. To the south she

Digitized by Google

had the sea everywhere, and in the south-west there was a chain of very difficult mountains, inhabited by very rough and difficult people, of whom the Bakhtiaris were the principal. One of the easiest lines of approach was on the extreme north-west, where the first railway ever constructed in Persia now connected Tiflis with Tabriz.

It might have been thought that the Persians would take great interest and pride in their first railway. Tabriz in itself was a very important town, probably one of the most important towns in the whole of Persia as a mercantile centre. And yet they heard that the Turks had walked in and taken possession, apparently without any particular opposition on the part of the Persians. Whilst we ourselves were very much engaged in Mesopotamia, the Turks were swarming over the parts of Persia within reach of them; and when they were turned out, it was not so much by the efforts of Persians themselves as by that of the Russians, who had proved themselves such unpleasant neighbours. He thought Persia had something to learn as to the first principles of national evolution. Any evolution which was to end in self-government, progress, and prosperity must be based on security, and security in these days was only to be gained by means of armed strength. Therefore Persia must rely on her own exertions in securing herself from external aggression. There could be no doubt that she had excellent material to work upon. From personal observation he could testify that the people were of magnificent physique, with plenty of capacity in mind and muscle. He regretted to think that under successive Governments, which had treated them hardly and harshly, they were more or less chicken-hearted. That was the only word for it. He hoped that in course of time Persia would regenerate herself, not only from the civil, but also from the military point of view. We had not reached the millennium yet, and he was quite satisfied that no small nationality would be able in the future to hold its own that was not prepared to take up the cudgels in its own defence.

In conclusion, the Chairman asked the lecturer to give them some idea of the real nature of *bast*, or "sanctuary," a custom which was at least as old as the Old Testament in the time of the Judges. It was known more or less, he supposed, in all Eastern countries, though he could not say he recollected anything of the sort either in India or in Afghanistan. In Persia one part of Meshed was *bast*, and no doubt there was a fine assembly there of criminals from all parts of Persia. On the coast a British flagstaff or a British gun were *bast* for the escaped slave, who had only to touch the flagstaff or the gun to be a free man—at least, so long as he remained within the British jurisdiction. In this connection Sir Thomas related a story of the result of a controversy, during the delimitation of the Perso-Afghan frontier, between the Persian representative and the local Persian Governor. An outbreak of turbulence led the latter to issue an edict

Digitized by Google

that every member of the Persian delegation and soldiery was to be bastinadoed; but when he endeavoured to have this order carried out, the men gathered round a cantankerous old mare belonging to a young British officer (now General Sir Percy Sykes) and claimed *bast*, with the result that the threatened punishment was not inflicted. It seemed to him at the time that this amusing incident was a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle of salvation by *bast*.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P., said he did not know that he entirely agreed that the lecturer had used quite the fitting word when he described the Persians as most patriotic. Wherever one went in Persia one would always find the Persian goose in the eyes of the Persian to be not only a swan, but a super-swan. The people had the most exalted idea about anything that belonged to Persia and of Persia itself. But, after all, was that real patriotism? Was not willingness to suffer and die for one's country the real test? There was amongst the Persians intense pride in their country, and a feeling that there was no country to equal it; but they did not seem to get beyond that. He agreed that these sentiments were in many ways highly commendable, but they did not wholly cover the definition of patriotism.

The lecturer had given a very glowing account of the Medjlies and had referred to its actions at the time when the Regent was in power and at present. Now his own recollection was that as soon as the Regent got out to Persia he dissolved the Medjlies, and ruled the country by himself. The lecturer had said the Medjlies was sitting now; but his information was that it had not been sitting for a long time, and that Persia was governed by its Ministers. He was credibly informed that, as these Ministers were not very sure of their retention of office, they were making money as fast as they could. [The lecturer: That is not the case.] He was glad to hear that. But he was driven to the conclusion that the Medjlies was more or less of a name in Persia at the present time. They all knew that changes were rapidly made amongst Ministers in Persia, and there was a temptation to those in office to make the most of their opportunities while they had the chance.

The lecturer had told them of atrocities committed by the Russians from 1911 onwards. These were deplorable; but he would remind the audience that at that time, in the absence of protective measures from without, the greatest insecurity prevailed within. In South Persia all the roads between Bushire, Shiraz, Ispahan, Bunder Abbas, and Kirman, were absolutely in the hands of robber tribes; British trade was held up, and enormous losses were inflicted on all the merchants concerned by the unsettled condition of things. In the north, where the Russian troops were, although it may have been unpleasant to the Government, still the Persian merchants were, he believed, thankful

Digitized by Google

for the Russian protection, because they were able to get their goods through with safety, and trade went on unmolested. However much we might regret what was done by the Russians, it could not be denied that the Persian traders benefited by the Russian occupation.

Well, the Russians had gone, and at Tabriz the Turks had taken their place. But as the Chairman had said, they had no information that the Persians had opposed this aggression. We in England had always done our best to protect Persia from outside interference. All this time, throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, we had defended her from Afghan incursion. Many a time, when talking over the camp fires on the borders of Seistan and Afghanistan, Afghans had said to him, "If it were not for the British Government, we would be over the border to-morrow," and so they would. He hoped we should continue to protect Persia, and do all we could to maintain the integrity of the country, both north and south and east and west. He was glad to hear from the lecturer that in the provinces of Ghilan and Mazendran the people had formed a federation to resist foreign aggression. He hoped the movement would grow. The great difficulty was that the Persians usually did so little to help themselves, and were always crying out to other people to help them, and complaining of other people for not doing so. The Persians generally, and notably the muleteers, were men of good physique, and in the past had been able to defend their country. The Persian Cossacks were a fine force, and he hoped the South Persia Rifles would become a good force; but what was wanted was a great indigenous movement for self-defence. The use of the Persian flag on the Caspian Sea was prohibited by the Treaty of Turkomanchai, and we should do all we could to help Persia in this and other matters. He would like to see Persia with her own ships on the Caspian, and taking her place as an independent power in the world. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ispahani said that Colonel Yate's experience of Persia was perhaps twenty years old, and the learned lecturer, while very sympathetic towards Persia, was without personal knowledge of the country. He was misinformed in stating that the Regent Nasir-ul-Mulk dissolved the Persian Medjlies. He was in Persia during the period, and could speak from personal knowledge. If it did not exist afterwards, this was probably due to the machinations of Russia. Past history showed that up to our own times Persia was a real military power, and she successfully defended herself against aggression only sixty years ago. But it must be admitted that since then Persia had fallen into a trap for reasons explained by the learned lecturer. When Russia marched a force into the country, she did so simply to compel the Shah's Government to ratify the Convention of 1907, as he could testify from personal knowledge. If Persia had not agreed the Russian troops would have occupied Teheran, and there would be no

Digitized by Google

independent Persia to-day. The fact was the country had not been given a dog's chance. When Mr. Shuster was in Persia, he told him more than once that he could do nothing effective because of Russian intervention and want of finance. If Great Britain had followed the same sympathetic policy towards Persia as she did towards Afghanistan, by giving the latter country moral and material help to consolidate its independence, Persia to-day would have been the greatest bulwark of the British Indian Empire. For forty years Afghanistan has been pampered, and British gold has poured into the country and British moral support has been at its disposal, whereas poor Persia has been like an old rag left to be pulled to pieces by all and sundry. As to the alleged chaos in the south, in the absence of British intervention, speaking as a merchant, he could say that the loss from pillage at that time did not amount in the aggregate to more than 5 per cent. of the total trade. Colonel Yate had said that Russia made the northern routes safe. They did so in prosecution of their own selfish designs. There were robber tribes in the mountains, no doubt, but the Persian muleteer was a reliable man. He would take goods 300 to 400 miles across country, and have every opportunity of abstracting some of them, but would deliver them intact. This might be compared with what went on in India, where railway thefts often occurred even from sealed trucks. He would say of the Persians, Give them a dog's chance, and they will show themselves capable of self-defence.

Colonel A. C. YATE said the last speaker did not reach the real point—that of why Persia was not defending herself at the present time. It should be the natural instinct of any people so self-appreciative as Colonel C. E. Yate had described the Persians, to defend themselves and their country. Like Mr. Ispahani, he had studied Persian history, and he could trace it back in detail, at any rate, to the beginning of the last century. He hoped Mr. Ispahani remembered that it was one British officer in Herat who was the main instrument in the defeat of the Persian Army when in 1836, egged on by Russia, it attacked the Afghans, and that British officers led Persians to victory against the Russians in 1828, and again later, when the accession to the throne of Mahommed Shah was a signal for rebellion. It was Lindsay-Bethune who crushed the rebellion. Sir Charles McGregor in "Khorasan" tells a touching story of the pride with which old Persian officers looked back to the prowess of the Persian Army led by Christie and Bethune. No one, more strongly than the speaker, had advocated the sending by the British Government of the nucleus of a force into Southern Persia such as might enable that part of the country to pacify and to defend itself. Finally, Sir Percy Sykes and others were sent there for this purpose. He gathered that, owing to the general disorganization, comparatively little had been done in South-Eastern Persia, and that the influence of the South Persia

Digitized by Google

Rifles was less than we had hoped it would be. He was told that it took twenty-five days to communicate between Bushire and Shiraz. That fact gave an idea of what the condition of the roads must be. They now had the Turks in Tabriz, and there was no news that the Persians had made any stand in self-defence. India had taken certain notable steps which the Censorship did not wish made public.

Mr. Ameer Ali, in his most fascinating lecture, has recalled the glories of Rustam and Sohrab. He (Colonel Yate) declined to believe that Iran of to-day could not, if given a free hand, produce a second Rustam, and keep Turan at bay. Whatever temptations Berlin, using Pan-Turanian ambitions as its instrument, may throw in the way of Persia—and they are, as the Press shows, being freely thrown—the Iranian tradition, the sanctity of the Shi'a faith, and the memory of Britain's long-standing (ever since about 1798) friendship should render Persia proof against them—a state of "proof" which was stoutly reinforced by the British Army of the Tigris. He knew only too well the brutality of the Russian occupation of Azerbaijan from 1910 onwards. He agreed with the lecturer's picture of the manner in which Mr. Morgan Shuster was hampered in his work, and recognized fully that the Russians had from the outset infringed the terms of the Convention of 1907. He recalled a conversation he had with Lord Curzon in or about 1910, when no one foresaw the Russian Revolution. Lord Curzon said that the Russians, having occupied Azerbaijan, would never leave it. He (Colonel Yate) expressed surprise that Great Britain, which had been so truly friendly to Persia, should be ready to wink at this departure from the 1907 Agreement, though he recognized that the matter was then in the hands of a Cabinet which was neither that of Lord Lansdowne nor Lord Curzon. Recently Persia had repudiated the Agreement—although it could easily be shown that it had materially benefited Persia—and they could now say with the lecturer in regard to it, *Requiescat in pace.*

When the Persia Society was started, Sir Mortimer Durand gave the first lecture before it, and entitled it "The Charm of Persia." That dealt with the æsthetic charm. To-day Mr. Ameer Ali had initiated them into the historic charm of the kingdom of the Sassanian, Safavean and Kājār Dynasties.

During the discussion, the Chairman had invited a further definition of what "bast" (*i.e.*, sanctury) meant in Persia. He instanced the case of a Persian who took "bast" with Sir Percy Sykes' roadster. The stables of any personage of high position in Persia are "bast," and therefore it was not the roadster, but the stall in which it stood, that afforded a secure refuge. Had I time, I would like to investigate this custom; as it is, I will for the present only quote a passage from Goldsmid's "Eastern Persia," vol. i., p. 182: "The stables, often a place of great sanctitude: the stables of the Shah and the British

Digitized by Google

Minister at Teheran are, for instance, privileged places, where all criminals can securely take refuge."

Mr. AMEER ALI said he wished to avoid, in reply, all controversial matters so far as possible. With reference to the question of the Chairman regarding the practice of *bast,* he had only to say that it had existed amongst all the Western Asiatic nations in ancient times; and the Persians had received it as a legacy of the past. The word *bast* was derived from *bastan* or binding. When a man bound himself to a sacred object, it was considered an act of sacrilege to cut the rope in order to arrest the culprit. In Persia the institution had lasted, like the observance of New Year's Day on March 21, down to our own times. There was a sanctuary at Meshed, at the shrine of Imâm Ali al-Reza, the eighth Imam of the Shias, an ancestor of his own. As the Chairman had mentioned, a flagstaff or a gun belonging to the Sovereign provided a place of sanctuary.

He hoped the Persians would take to heart the Chairman's admonition to raise an army for their own defence, and that they would be permitted to do so. However willing they might be to defend themselves, their ability must depend on circumstances and considerations over which they had no control. During the Romanoff domination they were never allowed to raise an army, for Russia imposed on Persia, as on other neighbouring countries, selfish limitations on their defensive power. Colonel Yate knew that it was Russia'a object to cripple, not only Persia's defensive power, but also her economic resources, in order to direct everything into her own hands. If the trade was made safe, it was for no purpose that was agreeable to the development of Persian resources. Colonel Yate also knew how onerous were the terms of the Treaty of Turkomanchai, and when they talked of Persia not being able to raise an army or to set her house in order they ought to remember that for a long series of years Persia had been crippled (indeed, there was no other word for it but emasculated) by the remorseless northern neighbour. They could not expect the country to do wonders within three or four years. Give them the same chances as it was proposed to give to European nations for self-expression, and let us then see if Persia did not take advantage of them. He could not imagine that any other nation could have succeeded better in the conditions in which Persia was placed.

In respect to Colonel Yate's charge of conceit against the Persians, he would remind him that there were other people besides Persians who took immense pride in themselves, and this had been a feature in the march of history. The arrogance of Athens, and the proud boast *Civis Romanus sum,* have their modern counterpart. "Modern Athens," not the Athens of King Alexander, suffers equally from overweening pride. Neither England nor the Continent is free from that characteristic. The American also considers himself a very superior person.

Digitized by Google

Nor could the test of patriotism Colonel Yate suggested be considered inapplicable to Persians, for not a few of whom, as his paper had shown, had laid down their lives for the liberty of their country. The zealots who had resorted to the crime of assassination at the time of the murder of Nâsir-ud-din were mistaken in their methods, but they were utterly careless of their own lives if they could aid the cause of their country's freedom. Persia was not the only country where the Cabinet, rather than the Parliament, became powerful in difficult times. Even in the West, among people long accustomed to govern themselves, they saw Parliaments increasingly impotent and the Cabinets taking power on themselves. In the most democratic countries in time of war the Cabinet became all-powerful. It seemed to him that Parliaments in the West as well as in Persia required stiffening up. He earnestly hoped that the Chairman's recommendation that the Persians should organize for their own defence and try to drive out their enemies, whether Turks or anyone else, would be carried out. And he hoped their efforts in this direction would be supported by our Government. (Cheers.)

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

BILLING AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS, GUILDFORD, ENGLAND

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1917

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions—						
106 at £1	106	0	0			
1 at £1 in advance for 1918	1	0	0			
1 at £1 in arrears for 1916	1	0	0			
9 at 16s.	7	4	0			
				115	4	0
2 Journal subscriptions (Salvati and H.M.S.O.)				1	12	0
Sale of Journal				14	13	3
Miscellaneous Receipts				0	4	10
				131	14	1
Balance at bank, January 1, 1917 ...	87	11	9			
Petty cash	0	11	2			
				88	2	11
				£219	17	0

Expenditure.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By rent				22	0	0
,, salary				25	0	0
Journal—						
By printing three parts	32	6	0			
,, reporting	10	9	0			
,, lantern	3	3	0			
				45	18	0
By stationery				3	9	6
,, petty cash, stamps, teas, etc.				12	18	7
,, bank charges...				0	1	0
				109	7	1
,, balance at bank, December 31, 1917 ...	108	17	4			
,, ,, petty cash	1	12	7			
				110	9	11
				£219	17	0

Audited and found correct, April 23, 1918.

J. G. KELLY, Colonel.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. VI.

1919

PARTS I. AND II.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

Digitized by Google

The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B., consented in February last to accept the Chairmanship of this Society, making the ninth holder of the post on the following list:

1901-2. General Sir Thomas Gordon, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.
1902-4. Right Hon. Sir A. C. Lyall, G.C.I.E., I.C.S.
1904-6. Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.
1906-7. General Sir Edwin Collen, G.C.I.E., C.B.
1907-8. Valentine Chirol, Esq. (now Sir Valentine).
1908-14. The Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E.
1914-17. The Right Hon. Sir H. M. Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1917-18. Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., C.B.
1919. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B.

Digitized by Google

LIFE IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN, AND GERMANY'S MENACE TO INDIA

COLONEL SIR THOMAS HOLDICH presided at the first meeting of the 1918-19 Session on October 9, 1918. He said he much regretted the absence, on account of continued indisposition, of the President, Sir Henry Trotter. He was there to introduce Miss Annette Meakin, than whom they could hardly have anyone better qualified to tell them what there was to be known about the remote regions in Central Asia where she had travelled, and into which ladies hitherto had hardly been able to penetrate. He believed Miss Meakin was the first European lady who had been able to study at first hand the domestic life of the secluded women of Bokhara.

Sir THOMAS HOLDICH, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Since I last addressed an audience on the subject of Germany's Menace to India—on May 9 of this year, many stirring and important events have taken place within and around the region to which I am drawing your attention this afternoon. The news that reaches us is scanty and often unreliable, but we know without a doubt that the terrible convulsions which tore the mighty Russian Empire to pieces have not spared her possessions in Central Asia.

Not only Caucasia, but Transcaspia and Turkestan have been drawn into the vortex. While the Georgians, the Armenians, the Tatars, and the Khirgiz, are asserting their right to self-determination, the Mohammedan subjects of the Amir of Bokhara are struggling to establish a constitution of their own. Even before the war, in 1910, the people of Bokhara, exasperated by heavy and unjust taxation, rose against the tyranny of their Amir, and much blood was shed before the rising could be quelled. At the present moment the *Russians* in Turkestan appear to be as divided among themselves as the Russians in Russia.

As you know, an Anglo-Indian force under General Dunsterville reached Baku from Persia in August last, but had to withdraw, on September 15, after severe fighting, owing chiefly to the conduct of the 7,500 unhappy and helpless Armenians whom they had come to assist.

Turkey's defeat in Palestine has been felt in the Middle East.

Digitized by Google

Bulgaria's capitulation to the Allies has cut the direct communication between Germany and Turkey. But the routes by way of Russia and the Black Sea are still at the enemy's disposal.

Germany's menace to India by way of Southern Russia was threefold—military, political, and economic. We must see to it that the last of these—the economic menace—shall not raise its invidious head after victory and a just peace have been obtained.

The Moslem States of Central Asia lie between Germany and India—India, which was to have been the prize of the great World War. Germany's recent subjugation of Russia has brought her into close touch with these States. But the whole of the Transcaspian Railway, from Krasnovodsk and Andijan, from Merv to within a few miles of Herat, is, according to the *Kreutz Zeitung* of October 2, "in British hands to-day."* I hope this is true.

Bulgaria's defection is a nail in the coffin of the Pan-German scheme of a *Mittel Europa*, comprising, in one great central block, Finland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, united by one gigantic system of canals and one customs union. Germany hoped by this means to draw to Hamburg the trade of Russia, of Persia, and of Central Asia, and she was already talking openly of India.

Pan-Germanism, still an economic menace to the future peace of the world, is to-day confronted by another great movement, Pan-Slavism, which has recently appeared like a cloud on the distant horizon, no bigger than a man's hand. To-day the South Slavs, with the Serbians and the Czecho-Slovaks, confront Germany's dream of world-power. It is for us to help Russia, the greatest of the Slav nations, to regain her feet, that, by fighting shoulder to shoulder with her brother-Slavs, she may once more become the captain of her own soul. Bulgaria, the corridor State, is now at our command. We must at once use the corridor as a way of communication between ourselves and the Ukraine.

There are loyal and true allies of the British in every corner of the Ukraine. Let us, without an hour's delay, put ourselves in touch with every intelligent and educated Russian in South Russia, taking care to steer clear of those Russians who advocate Bolshevism—the worst and most degrading form of slavery—slavery to a foreign Power! and we shall find it everywhere in South Russia. It is for us to separate the wheat from the tares. Bolshevism is the dry-rot in the Russian wood. We must see to it that there is none of this dry-rot, this poisonous fungus of foreign origin, in the new edifice of a free and independent Russia we are helping to build. It is for us to inaugurate strict order and discipline in each Eastern province as it comes under our control. It is for us to show that we know how to govern. It will be time

* See *The Times*, October 4.

Digitized by Google

enough, when peace comes, to hand the government into native hands.

The Pan-Turanian movement, beneath its cunning *camouflage*, was the Kaiser's mailed fist grasping at the trade and the wealth of the Moslem States in Asia. The Sunnite Mohammedans of Russia, the biggest group of Moslems in the world, are for the most part of Turco-Tatar origin, like the Turki tribes of Persia and Turkestan. As far back as his visit to Jerusalem in 1898 the Kaiser already aspired to the leadership of the Mohammedan world. When the late Sultan of Turkey, whose ancestor* gained Constantinople by the sword in A.D. 1453, was striving to become the political head of the Moslems under the cloak of Pan-Turanianism, the Kaiser saw his opportunity. By all means let Constantinople become the new heart of Islam as long as Turkey remains an obedient vassal of Berlin. The Sultan's aim was a *political* Pan-Islamism—a very different thing from "the right and legitimate Pan-Islamism to which every sincere and believing Mohammedan belongs"—"the spiritual brotherhood and unity of the children of the Prophet," which is thus described by one of themselves: "charity and good-will towards fellow-believers everywhere, from China to Morocco, and from the Volga to Singapore; an abiding interest in the literature of Islam, in her beautiful arts, in her lovely architecture, in her entrancing poetry;" "a true reformation, a return to the early and pure simplicity of the faith, to its preaching by persuasion and argument, to the manifestation of a spiritual power in individual lives, to beneficent activity for mankind"†—a Pan-Islamism to embrace the Turk, the Afghan, the Indian, and the Egyptian.

Nearly two years ago Germany's "Society of Eastern Civilization," or the "Turanian Society," began to publish a review called *Turan*. Its object is to facilitate the penetration of the East by Hungary *after the war*. One contributor is of the opinion that it is not so much a question of race as of geography; other contributors are trying to prove that the Bulgarians are of Turanian origin, and not Slavs. Their object, of course, is to weaken any sympathy that Bulgaria may feel for the Pan-Slav movement. Other German writers, with a similar object, are claiming that the Lithuanians and Letts are Turanians descended from Genghis Khan and Tamarlane. Yet, according to the greatest experts on the subject, the Lithuanians and Letts are one of the oldest branches of the Indo-European family of nations, and the language they speak is akin to Sanscrit. Thus we see Germany attempting to control and guide the sympathies of smaller nations by means of cunning *suggestion* as to their origin!

A German-Persian Society has been started in Berlin. Here

* The founder of the Osmanic Empire was not a descendant of the Prophet of Islam.

† "India in Transition," by His Highness the Aga Khan.

Digitized by Google

again, the object is to sow discord between Persia and ourselves. Tatar children are being taken from Russia to Berlin to be educated. No stone is left unturned to strengthen German influence in Mohammedan countries. Last spring inspired articles in the leading German newspapers were promising Turkey that at the conclusion of the war she should find herself in undisputed possession of Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt! In July last even America (after Turkey had massacred 700,000 of her defenceless people) was promised independence and a constitution. "Will you walk into my parlour?" said the spider to the fly.

For months past there have been open allusions in the German newspapers to Germany's designs upon India by way of Central Asia. A few days after I had given my first lecture (at Wigmore Hall) on the subject of Germany's Menace to India, Herr Richard Hennig, who visited Central Asia for Germany in 1915, did me the honour of quoting some of my very words in *Deutsche Politik*, and remarked that "Hamburg-Herat" was a better description of the German project of expansion through Lithuania, the Ukraine, Caucasia, and Persia to Afghanistan than "Berlin-Batum-Bokhara."

Even the newspapers of neutral countries have been warning us that, although the frontiers of Northern India are no longer menaced by the *creeping Russian bear*, the German eagle has taken the place of that bear—and the eagle can *fly*.

Herr Hennig not only did me the honour to quote my words, he acknowledged the truth of what I had said, and then he proceeded to urge Germany to develop her existing railway projects, in order to reach "the heart of Asia" on the Afghan frontier, "almost in view of Herat." Why Herat? Herat has been known for many a decade as "the Gateway to India." Herat is approached from the north by a Russian railway starting from Merv.

In his most interesting and instructive book, "India in Transition," His Highness the Aga Khan supports my contention that "Germany has become an *Asiatic Power*" *independently of the fate of Mesopotamia and Syria—and, we may now add, Bulgaria.* Fully awake to the danger which this implies, the Aga Khan urges us to build up "a United States of India within the British Empire, as the best and only practical bulwark we can raise against Germany's military, political, economic, and territorial encroachment. Persia and Afghanistan, he urges, "are the most vulnerable part of India's great land frontiers." "Our influence must be exerted to the full to make Persia and Afghanistan independent national entities." "The problem of Central Asia and of the Caucasus is not solved, but takes a new and far more disquieting aspect" than it wore in the days of Russian Tsardom." This writer says: "It is for the Indian patriot to recognize that Persia, Afghanistan, and possibly Arabia, must, sooner or

Digitized by Google

later, come within the orbit of some Continental Power, such as Germany . . . or must throw in their lot with that of the Indian Empire. . . . The world forces that move small States into closer contact with powerful neighbours . . . will inevitably make themselves felt in Asia." This writer then proceeds to unfold his scheme of a "South Asiatic Federation," and I strongly recommend his book to all who are interested in the subject.

Two omissions I notice. He says not a word about the possible effect of the important railways via Russia, which were so near their completion before the war, and which, sooner or later, will bring Bombay within seven days' journey of London. Nor does he speak of the immense possibilities of India as a cotton-growing country.

I could devote a whole lecture to the subject of Germany's economic menace, and another to the subject of cotton alone. When the war began, Turkestan—which only turned its attention to cotton-growing thirty years ago—was supplying Russia with three-fifths of her raw cotton.

What was the use of keeping cotton from entering Germany on the west if the enemy could command the cotton-fields of Turkestan?

If the German road through South Russia to India is assured, Germany's economic penetration, writes Mr. E. P. Stebbing, is in itself a victory far greater than could have been won by military subjugation.*

I shall now show you a map indicating the railways that approach India from the north, and the gaps that remain to be bridged between them and the railways of India. This map has been specially prepared for my lectures. We shall then turn our attention to some pictures illustrating life in Turkestan, all of which I brought with me from that country on the occasion of my second visit. Many of them have been prepared from my own photographs.

NOTE.—The Pan-Turanian question, after being very fully and very ably handled in the *Round Table* of December, 1917, is also touched upon here. Miss M. A. Czaplicka, whose excellent lecture on "The Cossacks" appeared in Part II. of the CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL for 1918, has just published, through the Clarendon Press, "The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day: An Ethnological Enquiry into the Pan-Turanian Problem." Miss Czaplicka is Lecturer in Ethnology in the University of Oxford.—A. C. M.

The CHAIRMAN said he did not think anyone could have heard Miss Meakin's excellent paper without learning a great deal from her vivid description of social customs and manners in Bokhara. He did not think he had heard from any traveller a story of domestic life in Central Asia so clear and well illustrated as that by Miss Meakin.

* See review of "From Czar to Bolshevik," *Morning Post*, October 4, 1918.

Digitized by Google

Where he did not altogether agree with her was when she wandered into the great field of world-politics and discussed the problem of Germany's intentions toward India. There was a time, as she said, when we were accused of suffering from "nervousness," when Russia appeared to be making deliberate steps in the direction of India. Knowing the Indian frontier, and both its strength and its weakness, as well as he did, and having superintended the carrying of surveys right across Northern Afghanistan and over the Hindu Kush, he confessed he had never suffered from that form of nervousness. He was always confident that Russia would think a very long time before she undertook so gigantic a task as that of advancing toward India by way of Afghanistan, and carrying her railways to the Indian frontier. As Miss Meakin had pointed out, there were two gaps between the Russian railway system and our own—one on the east between Samarkhand and our railways round Peshawar, the other on the west between Herat and Quetta. As regards the latter, he had always been of opinion that the sooner the gap was filled the better. He had never considered that it would be dangerous, from a military point of view, to India. He had seen no evidence to convince him that Russia would ever be in a position to make any particular use of that railway in her descent upon India. As regards the other gap, it was new to him that, according to an American opinion, it would be practicable to make a thirty or forty miles tunnel through the heart of the very elevated system of mountains known as the Hindu Kush, and then to carry it on through Afghanistan. He did not consider that this was a practicable proposition, and in any case it would be a most costly business. To his mind the idea was ridiculous to suppose that it would ever be seriously attempted in war-time.

Our nervousness as regards Russia had passed away, and of late years a new nervousness had seized us as regards German intentions toward India. It had only blossomed into being since the war began. But just as he failed to see in the past how Russia could really make any sort of advance toward India which would promise successful invasion of that country, so he failed to see how Germany could do so either. He had always looked upon it as a German dream, and one that was impossible of realization, but one that was very useful to the Prussian military party in tickling the fancy of the German people. Even if Germany were still in a position to make full use of Bulgaria and Constantinople, and carried her railways to the Persian frontier, she would still have a very gigantic task before her in traversing Persia and descending upon the only vital part of our North-West Frontier. He did not think that any German general of real insight was ever ready to contemplate such an idea. Now that the dream of passing through Bulgaria had been shattered, he thought the alternative of a route through Russia was even more difficult and more

Digitized by Google

impossible of realization than ever. He did not think they need trouble themselves in the very least on that score. It would be very many long years before Germany was in a position to undertake serious operations in the direction of our Eastern Empire. We might now look upon that menace as passed away, like that of Russia.

The problem before us requiring very careful consideration, however, was that of the future of Persia. Now that, so far as we could see, Russia and Germany were both unable to make any direct use of Persia in their schemes of Eastern triumph, the responsibility of assuming sponsorship for Persia would rest upon our shoulders. He did not see how it could be placed on anyone else. If that was so, it was to be hoped that the responsibility would be safeguarded by being under the control of a department which knew something about Persia. He had seen a most amazing suggestion in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the previous day that the Secretary of State for India, who was rightly described as an amateur in Indian matters, should be paid from British instead of Indian revenues so as to bring him under the direct control of our Westminster politicians, and that the Council of India, which was justly described as composed of men well acquainted with India, should be swept away as a cumbersome appendix. That was to say, the one chance that an ignorant Secretary of State had of acquiring a little knowledge at second-hand of the country for the government of which he was responsible was to be relegated to the dustbin of party politics. It might be said that that was only a piece of journalistic suggestion. But it was to be constantly noted that newspapers played the tune that they hoped the public was going to dance to, and that they claimed to be leaders of public opinion in this country. If the suggestion referred to was going to be carried out, he for one was exceedingly sorry for the prospects of Persia as well as for India. He trusted, however, that it was not a serious suggestion.

He must confess to some lack of sympathy with Persia because she had so constantly omitted to make use of her opportunities for helping herself. When they saw what was being done by small nations in the war, such as Serbia, to recover their national independence, it seemed amazing that Persia, with all her great wealth in man-power, with her admirable frontiers, and her other means of resistance, should be so entirely apathetic and disregardful of any ambitions to make her own position good. She seemed to lie like a helpless log at the mercy of any adventurer, whether German, Turkish, or Russian, who chose to come along. He saw no sign of her setting to work to create a strong Government of her own, and to protect her own integrity.

Subsequently, in answer to a question as to whether he took the same view of the economic as of the military menace of Germany

Digitized by Google

toward India, the Chairman said that he had always regarded the economic position as dependent on the military. Trade followed the flag all the world over. Any difficulties which might have existed as regards the interchange of commodities between Germany and India were certainly not likely to have been modified by the present war. His own opinion was that those difficulties had been so greatly increased that interchange between Germany and India would almost cease to exist.

Sir DENISON ROSS wished to say how much he had enjoyed the wonderful photographs thrown on the screen. Anyone who had studied books on Central Asia would find that the same photographs were repeated in every book in every language (laughter), and very poor and unconvincing they were. For the first time they had seen that afternoon some original pictures of the inhabitants of Bokhara, and he hoped before the meeting closed Miss Meakin would show them her photographs of Samarkhand, where was to be seen some of the most beautiful architecture in the whole of the East. (Cheers.)

Sir EDWIN PEARS said that he had enjoyed the photographs and the paper, and he had found himself in entire sympathy with the observations of the Chairman. The political aspirations of Germany in Central Asia did not trouble him greatly. As to Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanianism, the whole thing was rubbish from beginning to end. In the current *Contemporary Review* he had done his best to expose the absurdity of these movements. He saw the birth of Pan-Turanianism, which was expounded in a well-known French book by M. Noel Cahun, who was of the Jewish persuasion. But it was incomprehensible to him that any section of the Turkish people should have taken that book and sought to form from it a sort of religion for the Turkish race that should supersede the great Semitic religion of Islam. Islam was one of the three great monotheistic faiths, and he knew no country that had ever been monotheistic that had gone back on the great central idea of the unity of God. Such an idea marked an advance in civilization. A friend of his had seen the working of Islam on the West Coast of Africa, and his testimony was that of other observers—that when a tribe embraces Islam it rapidly advances in civilization in comparison with the other tribes retaining their old superstitious ideas. We might not admit that it was an advance equal to that which Christianity made, for that was another matter altogether. But to suppose that the Arabs and other Moslems of Turkey were going to abandon what the Pan-Turanians called the Semitic creed in order to take up the Turanian was unthinkable.

As to the project of Germany getting through to India, it seemed to him an idle dream impossible of accomplishment unless some unforeseen misfortune should occur, especially now that the notion of making Bulgaria the corridor for the Berlin-Baghdad Railway had

Digitized by Google

been shattered. The fact was that the Bulgarians were driven into taking up arms on the side of Germany by their King. Many of the best men were got rid of because they rebelled. Happily, the people had come to their senses, and King Ferdinand had found it convenient to leave his country. Might he never return to it! (Cheers.)

By special request, Miss Meakin showed the remainder of her photographs, and she was accorded a hearty vote of thanks moved from the chair.

Digitized by Google

ADVENTURES WITH ARMOURED CARS IN RUSSIA AND THE EAST

On November 23, 1918, Commander O. Locker-Lampson, R.N.V.R., M.P., C.V.O., gave the Society a most interesting address, illustrated by lantern slides, on his experiences in Russia, the Caucasus, Armenia, Anatolia and Galicia with the Corps of Armoured Cars which he took to Russia *via* Archangel, in 1916 and 1917. Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., presided, and in a few words introduced to the audience the lecturer, who, as the Chairman appropriately said, "scarcely required an introduction."

The address opened with a description of the voyage of the Armoured Car Contingent round the North Cape, their destination being Archangel. But Archangel they did not reach owing to adverse weather. Commander Locker-Lampson put into Kola, a place, the name of which, since the completion of the Murmansk Railway, has become familiar. The post reached Kola in reindeer sledges over a distance of 300 miles, and the same means of transport fetched a priest for Christmas services, christenings, and the burial of five months' dead. It has, the lecturer pointed out, changed names two or three times during the war, and there seemed no reason why it should not ultimately settle down to the name of the British sailor who first landed troops and cars there to help the Russians. Of the intense cold and consequent frostbite he drew in few words a telling picture. Finally the British Armoured Cars found their way to Archangel, where they were effusively greeted by the citizens, the Mayor fervently embracing him. "I have been embraced by more Russian Mayors than any Briton," he observed; "in fact I had to depute one of my officers to attend to these matters, so that I should be free to carry on my military duties." Thence they proceeded to Moscow, where the party was received by the Grand Duke Nicholas, of whom he spoke in a highly appreciative manner. "He stuck loyally to his cause, and was the best friend in Russia that the Englishman ever had, and while we had a wholesome fear of him, there was really no need for this, so long as we did our duty." Via Vladikavkas and Tiflis, the Chef-lieu of the Caucasus, they worked on to the Russian front in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Anatolia, and bore their share in the contest with the Turks. Speaking of the Armenian atrocities, the lecturer

Digitized by Google

said they found, among other horrors, churches broken up, and in a nunnery all the nuns lying dead. The Grand Duke Nicholas, who, after gallantly leading the Russian Army against Germany and Austria in the early part of the war, was deposed by intrigue and relegated to the Caucasus as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, was there, as elsewhere, a tower of strength to the Russian cause. He had been seen to mete out justice personally to an intoxicated Russian officer. He was a true friend to England. His magnificent stature, 6 feet 7 or 8 inches, alone made him a man of mark.* Of the Turk, Commander Locker-Lampson spoke with respect, but of the Kurd with horror and contempt, and he drew a sombre picture of the atrocities perpetrated on the Armenians.

When the Russian Revolution broke out, the British Corps of Armoured Cars—there were 32 in all—fell back through the Caucasus and traversed Southern Russia to Roumania and finally into Galicia. It was there that they came into contact with the disorganized and mutinous Russian troops. It was there that terrible scenes, of the murder of officers by soldiers, of whole regiments and divisions throwing down their arms and fleeing, and of terror-stricken Russian infantry clambering blindly on to the cars, until they broke two of them down, were witnessed. The camera illustrated all this with pictures—admirable and most telling pictures—taken on the spot. Baron Gerard, a gallant Russian, was seen stemming, and by his sheer personality stopping, a mob of panic-stricken soldiery. Not the least interesting figure in several of these pictures was the mascot of the Corps, a bear which, a cub at the outset, became before the end full grown, and was shown wrestling with one of the officers. He had finally to be sacrificed after killing twenty pigs, and then a little stray Armenian boy, picked up homeless and parentless, stepped into the brown bear's shoes, until he too was unexpectedly identified and claimed by a lost sister. Commander Locker-Lampson's story of how he exchanged his sword—not quite of his own free will—in the Caucasus for two horses, and how he borrowed a German prisoner's helmet, having none of his own, to the imminent peril, as he soon found, of his life, can only be alluded to, not told as the lecturer told them, here.

This is but a poor effort at rescuing from oblivion a lecture brimful of incident and romance. In concluding it, Commander Locker-Lampson earnestly assured the audience that the Bolshevik was not the type of the Russian, that the day must come when the right sort would once more be "top dog." While he fully admitted the

* In this he rivalled the famous Major-General Sir Henry Lindsay Bethune, a cousin of the late chairman, Sir Henry Trotter, whose height was 6 feet 8 inches in his stocking-soles, and who commanded the Persian army for a considerable part of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Digitized by Google

immensity of the harm which Raspútin had brought upon the Court and upon the Noblesse of Russia, he maintained that much of the scandal linked round the name of Raspútin was quite unfounded. He had met Raspútin. It had been said that he was a German spy. He thought this unlikely. The monk was vain and out for a good time, and, as he was in receipt of large sums of money from Russian officials, there was no need for him to go to Germany for funds. Raspútin was certainly the cause of the Revolution.

Many prisoners were taken during the campaign, the Austrians very often coming over in large numbers. In one instance a large party of Austrians, headed by a band, marched over to be captured, and were then anxious to join the Russians. He told them they would not be able to do this, but, as they had come over with a band, they could act in that capacity. "Once," he remarked, "our men were thirty hours getting the fleet of cars across a river. As soon as the last car was over, an order came from the General Staff to return at once." The Russian plans were always being altered. "I remember great preparations had been made for an attack; but some officers were so pleased to meet me that they made merry all night, and the attack was put off for a fortnight." In Asiatic Turkey one of the drivers of an oxen-cart was seen to be wearing a blue tail coat. On closer examination it was found to have the buttons of the Conservative Club on its somewhat tattered front. As a Conservative member of the House of Commons, the lecturer said, he was pleased to see a supporter so many miles away. He expressed the strongest admiration for Russians not of the hooligan class, and stated that he never saw greater bravery than that displayed by the "Black Death" in their last stand.

On the conclusion of this address, which was listened to with unfaltering attention, Sir Frederic Fryer invited any member of the audience to make remarks upon the lecture.

Lieut.-Colonel A. C. YATE then said that he desired to tell the audience that it was the enthusiastic report of an Eton boy, who heard Commander Locker-Lampson lecture at Eton, which led to an invitation being sent to the Commander to lecture to the Central Asian Society. That invitation had, thanks to the kindly offices of Sir Frederic Fryer, resulted in the pleasure which all had just experienced. Colonel Yate added some of his own experiences of frostbite, notably the case of an Afghan from Farah who lost both his feet from well above the ankles in the retreat from Panjdeh in March, 1885, and whom he (Colonel Yate) met some years later in Sind returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The CHAIRMAN said he had much pleasure in asking the audience to pass a cordial vote of thanks to Commander Lampson for the very interesting and entertaining lecture he had given them. They all

Digitized by Google

regretted that time had not allowed him to tell them more about the Revolution and about Raspútin. It would afford them great delight if Commander Locker-Lampson would give them another lecture, as he had half promised, and tell them more on this subject. (Cheers.) One of the things which they might congratulate him upon most was that he and his party had, many of them, safely returned, for they had passed through so many dangers that it was a wonder that any of them had reached England again. The armoured cars from this country did a most useful service for the Russians, and it was a matter for deep regret that the Revolution in Russia had deprived us of those formerly staunch Allies on whom, in the earlier stages of the war, we depended so much. They might hope that in course of time the real Russia would come to itself, and that the country would again be well governed and prosperous. There would then be a prospect of the Russians once more becoming our firm Allies. The Revolution was a great misfortune, and he could quite understand that, as Commander Locker-Lampson had shown, it was the work of a very inferior set of hooligans and rascals who had seized power and had exercised it in a manner most injurious to the good of the country.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation and the meeting closed.

Digitized by Google

SIBERIA

At a meeting of the Society on November 13, 1918, with Sir Evan James in the chair, Colonel H. Swayne gave a lecture on "Siberia." He said:

Preliminary Remarks.—Before beginning this lecture, I should like to say that I have not been in Siberia since June, 1914; and my chief claim to come before you to-night is that I have approached the subject from an Asiatic point of view. I went there first in 1903 and again in 1914 as a result of long-laid schemes matured when on extended shooting trips in such Southern Asiatic countries as Ladak, Gilgit, Tibet, Upper Burma, and Arabia, when my imagination always turned to the north in anticipation of some day going there.

General Features.—Western Siberia, including the black-earth plains of the Irtish and Obi Rivers, is the granary of Siberia, and its registered and classified agricultural area is a quarter larger than all France; behind, to the north, is the forest kind of region which is known as Taiga, merging into the swampy Tundra scrub nearer to the Arctic. These latter lands are mostly unexplored save by migratory hunters and fishermen from the great rivers.

To the south-east the land rises to the Altai, a highland region which, with the ranges near it, covers an area about ten times as large as all Switzerland, and culminates in the Bielukha Range, at between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, say about as high as the Swiss Jungfrau. The Altai is rich in silver, lead, copper, iron ore, coal, and gold.

East Siberia, including, before the war, some eight Governments, has a registered agricultural area a third greater than France, and also it is very mountainous, having many ranges and high plains and ridges rising to about twice the height of Snowdon, rich in all the minerals already named, with the addition of graphite, and its chief resource is gold.

The agricultural areas would presumably be capable of extension as time goes on.

To be specially noted are the great rivers, twice whose combined navigable length would about encircle the earth.

Now by looking at the map you will see some of the places which will be mentioned when the slides are thrown on the screen.

Digitized by Google

Here is the great railway, and here is Ob station, and town of Novo Nicholaewsk, in Mid-Siberia, the point of departure for the Altai.

THE CHUYA ROUTE.—In going by the Chuya track to the Mongolian border through the wooded Siberian Altai, you steam up the Obi River to Barnaul, a mining town; and thence on to Bisk, the limit of navigation at the head-waters of the Obi. Then you drive from Bisk by Altaiskoe, Tenginskoe, Ongudai, Kouaktenar, to Kosh-Agatch. You then take to pack ponies, and crossing the desolate Chuisaya Steppe you come out on the Mongolian Altai, the open downs, rising to about 9,000 or 10,000 feet, which separate the Chinese from what was the Russian Empire. Here is the mountain called Muss Ta, a very distinct landmark in that treeless country.

THE FILLING UP OF SIBERIA.—While Europe had since Crimean days been watching and restricting Russia at her natural front doors, at Constantinople and in the Baltic, and while India had been carefully watching her doings in Turkestan, Russia had by the end of last century, by building the Great Siberian Railway, put the finishing touch to the slow advance, through three hundred years, of her Cossacks and peasants, who had swept across Asia, colonizing from the parent stem; and so latterly, while Europe was busy staking out small healthy plateaux of limited extent in a somewhat unhealthy Africa, Russia, almost unnoticed, had finally secured for her people the last great space on the planet which was still left empty though available for producing wheat and obtaining minerals.

At the same time the last quarter of the century saw the filling up of the old Roman maps, till Siberia became not only the dim eastern edge of the old European world, but also the western edge of the American world, and for the first time the nations woke up to find that there was no unknown place on the planet, which had shrunk together and was girdled by a continuous belt of fast steam transport. Japan had become a first-class Power, and the countries bordering the Pacific accelerated their development like a long-stored negative. To-day Asia is regaining her old position, and nearly every Asiatic State has been helping the fight for civilization.

We know that in the river-basins of Siberia there are signs of prehistoric settlement but, for all intents and purposes, Siberia had up to the end of the nineteenth century been a sector of the planet lying green under heaven, its surface scarcely scratched by human settlement, and its population, including both the Russian settlers and the scattered Turki, Mongol, or Finnish tribes, would have gone to make up about half a dozen good-sized English towns.

THE ALTAI REGION.—The Altai region is worth some description because not only is the scenery quite remarkable, but it has been visited by few non-Russians, except mining engineers or British

Digitized by Google

sportsmen like myself, who now and then penetrate there looking for the Argali rams.

But very shortly, with rapid transit and aeroplane posts, we shall be thinking of Siberia in a commonplace way as we already think of Essex or Kent.

My best memory of the Altai is a pre-harvest one, when, travelling along a hillside flanked on one side by standing corn, and on the other by a sheet of wild-flowers, I met a column of country carts and of farm horses ridden by Russian peasants, astride, men, women and children, in twos and threes, going to their work in the fields.

When I first went to Siberia, I went there straight from residence in the famine districts of Southern India, and the white man's prosperity of Siberia was somewhat of a revelation to me.

At every post-house there were turkeys, geese, real butter, and excellent tea to be had. Outside, at timber-work in the forest, would be the owner and his sons; men educated by their real experiences, depending on no master; better housed than many of our farm labourers in a Midland county.

The huts, generally single-storied on short piles, had two rooms. They were well built of sawn planks with dry moss or felt stuffed into any crevices, and the windows were double-shuttered. There would be a flat-topped built-in stove on which people could sleep in winter, and plank beds fixed along the walls, above which, on pegs, hung the family winter furs.

There were large numbers of children about. Warm, sunlit, forest-covered hills rose everywhere, recalling Kashmir or Switzerland, but not so steep, and wheat was growing in the level patches.

Each important hamlet has a bath-house, where people can bathe periodically and air their clothes.

Here is a thing which strikes one in South and West Siberia; it is better than Russia; the social standing seems better, and there is a Colonial independence; and it did not in the least surprise me to hear that Siberian troops had distinguished themselves in recent campaigns, or that Siberia is taking a political line of its own in the upheavals of to-day.

On my first journey of 1,500 miles without the aid of the railway line I left the Great Siberian line at Ob. The distance to be traversed up to the last Russian post, Kosh-Agatch, near the Chinese-Mongolian border, is about 750 miles: of this distance the first 400 miles were got over by the regular steamer, ascending the Obi River to Bisk; thence on for another 350 miles, by sitting in a tarantass drawn by three horses, galloping over the rough Chuya cart-track, and changed at the peasants' huts which were improvised as posting stages.

At that time the track was incomplete, and so one had to ride, for

Digitized by Google

the latter half of the distance, transporting the baggage on Mongolian ponies led by mounted Kalmuks.

The southern part of this track by the Katun River gorges and thence along the Chuya is through the best Altai scenery; and a few Russians from the larger Siberian towns were summering in these valleys as other people do in Switerland. The whole Altai region was the private property of the Tsar, administered by officers of the Imperial Cabinet.

Novo Nicholaewsk, or Ob, the starting-point, is in a fine position for future trade, standing as it does where the great railway line meets the Obi, whose navigable waters at certain seasons are in communication with the world's oceans by the Arctic. Fortunes were being rapidly made at the time of the coming of the railway. Incomers who had been needy peasants in Russia were already prosperous in 1903, or had taken to trade or hotel-keeping.

There was a thriving export trade in butter to Denmark and England.

It was in this town that I was most kindly made welcome by Mr. Cattley, whose family has been well known in Russia for a great number of years.

The River Journey.—The river journey up the Obi to the Altai was an experience full of interest. Here one saw Russian peasants at close range. The upper deck contained cabins, but the well of the steamer was crowded with peasants exactly as they had come from their farms; and in steamer travelling at least they had little comfort. Men and women slept in their day clothes, packed close together, the men sometimes not taking the trouble to remove their long boots; women struggled with children and untidy bundles.

If you went on deck of a morning you saw the powerful boat forcing itself southwards against a river as wide perhaps as the Thames at Westminster, running on its journey of over 2,000 miles to its estuary in the Arctic; first between open, lonely, green pastures, farther north by half-explored forests and Tundra tracts. The brown muddy stream flows in a swift smooth sheet, shining like burnished copper.

The banks are boundless pasture, rising here and there into low ridges, and herds of cows, sheep, and horses are scattered about. Four hundred miles of a river journey like this, and the same distance back, are a great experience of pure, spacious air from the prairies.

Rarely, there is a hamlet with a diminutive wooden church whose little spire of copper green, crowned by a bulb of gold, reflects the sun, and a huddle of brown deep-eaved chalet-like log houses, like those of Kashmir, overhangs some scarped river curve; and you will find this sort of village, with the little Byzantine gold cupola, a standing feature of the landscape, which you will carry with you, repeated all across Asia.

Digitized by Google

Sometimes an island covered with a colony of white river-gulls appears ahead of the steamer; or a line of darker forest in the grey distance seems to bar the path. In June, the air is that of early summer at home; the sky at times cloudy and English-looking with showers of rain.

At the halting-places wood fuel is stacked, and rafts float in the back waters; men detach logs and carry them to the bank on stretchers. Large timber rafts come down in mid-channel, each steered by four men, making for the Imperial saw-mills at the Ob station.

On moonlight evenings, in summer, the river shimmers grey and white like a silver salver against the olive-green background of pine forest, under a pale yellow sky.

On tying up at Barnaul, you used to call on the representative of the Imperial Cabinet, who held General Officer's rank, and lived in a fine house with a very large ball or reception room, parquet-floored; there were full-length portraits in oil of the Tsars, rows of chairs, and palms in painted tubs: everything on the grand scale. It was here you received your letters to the Altai police authorities.

On the river reaches, towards the head of navigation at Bisk, woods rose to view everywhere, the steamer threaded glassy flooded water-lanes, full with snow-water from the heights of Bielukha, the "White Mountains" of the Altai, streaks of old snow began to appear in the gullies of the banks overlooking the river, showing the extremes of climate; for the days were, in June, already giving an Indian heat, and the nights only a summer coolness.

As the river narrows near Bisk, distant snow-capped ranges are seen; we are in some of the richest pastures in the world, with herds of cattle and ponies grazing everywhere.

In the heart of Asia, Bisk is very civilized. It had many well-to-do residents, a club with a band, which courteously played "Rule, Britannia!" when we visited it, and many two-storied hotels and stone houses. There was a big trade in butter and Mongolian products, chiefly wool, camel-hair, and hides.

On a rainy night these Siberian towns are dreary places, the soaked wooden footpaths are unlit, the streets a black quagmire, and large savage dogs, like those of the Tibetan breed, bark from houses and rattle their chains, while the traveller has to feel for the slippery planks with his feet. You will only find the counterpart of the Siberian mud, duck-walks, holes, and darkness, if you go to Flanders at the present time.

THE DRIVE THROUGH THE SIBERIAN ALTAI.—From Bisk you drive to the Mongolian border, first along the valley of the swift Katun, remarkable for its deep geological terraces; and later you will enter the gorge of the rushing Chuya torrent.

You sit in a tarantass, a strong, springless, black wicker phaeton,

Digitized by Google

shaped like a double-ended punt, on four low wheels which are placed wide apart, inadequately sheltered by a low hood from the black sheets of Siberian mud which is thrown up from the horses' feet. There is a seat for the driver in front, and for two passengers under the hood. This is not exactly a Rolls-Royce for comfort, especially if it is the baggage telyeshka, and it is not even an improvement on the Himalayan tonga. The troika team, of three pretty little horses, with Arab heads out of a Roman fresco, drags it over everything, on rough cart-tracks along the mountain sides at the trot or gallop, the outside horses freely moving in traces, while the centre one is between shafts which are joined overhead by lofty hoop and bells.

As in the Kashmir mail-tonga trip, your arrival at your destination is a matter of pure luck; one of my tarantasses, at night, was turned over with its three horses by a boulder as large as a piano, over which the centre horse decided to take a flying leap, another tarantass was bogged, and we had to work at the wheel at midnight to get it free.

On another occasion we met an active flock of tame sheep coming down on to the road, which road was clinging to the hillside, and every third or fourth sheep insisted on jumping clear over the team.

There are dilatory pontoon ferries, on which miserable ponies are flogged round on a slippery wet deck turning a paddle-wheel. The ferryman is often drunk, and fifty Russians, with their children, will cheerfully camp out for a whole night on the shingle, cooking and chatting in the lee of their carts, in the rain, while the ferryman returns to sanity and decides to work. They are naturally a democratic people, more so than we are, patient and easy-going, and in Russia you learn the meaning of the words "sichass" (directly), "skari" (look sharp), "nichevo" (never mind), and what a bribe of ninepence can do for you.

The land as you approach the foothills of the Altai looks green like the Central Provinces of India after the summer rains, and is black cotton soil. Much flax and hemp are grown.

When, later, you get into the more Alpine scenery, the valleys are gorgeous with wild-flowers, purple iris, bull's-eyes, cowslips, wild pea, orange marsh-marigold, and flowers looking like blue and white forget-me-nots in broad mile-long masses. You wish for a botanist companion when in Siberia and Mongolia; you can go for many hour's ride with your pony's feet brushing through massed wild-flowers such as the world can surely not show elsewhere. They beat the English meadows, the valleys of Switzerland, or even Kashmir in May and June.

We lodged with a trader who kept Maral stags in a deer park, and I found him shutting a stag into an iron cage, and sawing off the horns while still soft, "in the velvet," to be sold in China as a valuable medicine.

Digitized by Google

Driving through these forests after dark we heard wolves; but it is said that, as is the case in most countries that contain game, they do not molest travellers.

As you enter the Tenginskoe depression, you are driving over glades brilliant with flowers, over flat, smooth, natural lawns which are overshadowed by clumps of cedar and pine. A valley-bottom shelves to a small circular lake, where cattle are being driven about by Kalmuks or Kirghiz, galloping dots; and there are clusters of huts shaped like North American Indian tents, and rough timber stockyard enclosures. Beyond Ongudai we ferried over the Katun, and here I found Russian peasants boarding in a house owned by a Kalmuk, working for him, his wife acting as hostess. This situation would have been impossible in India, where there is practically no European labour. There were two high passes giving fine views over snowy ranges; and after crossing the Katun finally you enter the famous gorge of its tributary, the Chuya. You now go deep into the Kalmuk country, where Russians are seldom met with, except at a rare police camp. In some glade you may come across a gruesome relic of Northern Shaman superstition, where, waving in the wind on sloping poles, are the skins of ponies which have been sacrificed by being torn asunder.

Besides the rare posting-huts entrusted to the care of Russianized Christian Kalmuks, you pass groups of round Kalmuk huts, made of larch pit-props, with circular walls and conical roofs; or the better Yurtas or portable semi-rigid huts covered with thick grey felt, which are used by the richer nomads.

Along this Chuya gorge you ride day after day on smooth valley floors or on the wonderful deeply sculptured natural river terraces, under pine-clad pinnacles like the bear and ibex haunts at the mouth of the well-known Sindh valley of Kashmir, and this particular kind of scenery was always a joy to me. The rocks fall sheer for hundreds of feet to quiet wooded slopes, with golden grain standing in the flats below. Such a place was Kouaktenar, where on the hills I found some thirty-eight inch Ibex horns buried in the débris of a landslide.

Another point, where the road, with posts and rails, climbed a forested hill, reminded me of our own Simla, grazing cows in this rather gentle scenery giving a touch of Wales or Switzerland.

There were defiles choked with a tangle of fallen pines, the result of wind, avalanche, or fire, choking the torrent channels; and now and then the smooth green valley floor was dotted with scattered rocks as large as an omnibus, half buried in the soil, where they had fallen from cliffs or been swept down in past ages by ice or water. Hourly and daily the scenery became grander as the gorge narrowed.

A picturesque outfit was that of the Ispravnik or District Superintendent of Police, who, with his other duties, and assisted by

Digitized by Google

engineers, had to make the Chuya track. The officers were in carriages and wore neat uniforms, but the mixed crew of Russian foremen and Russian and Kalmuk navvies were dressed anyhow, mostly in big black felt hats, blouses, and trousers tucked into long boots; the darker, browner Kalmuks wore loose coats or sheepskins and Chinese snow riding-boots, of raw leather or of the felt kind which we call "Gilgit boots" in India. It was a rough-looking assembly, and called to mind the migrations of pilgrim fathers in the story books. In his camp the Ispravnik was very comfortable, in good felt tents with his retinue of engineers and surveyors camped round him.

Another interesting scene is the group of natives taking the road; among the Altai tribes most people ride, and you see some of the men with their families. They pass you on fast-pacing ponies, the little people of Turki or Mongol descent, including the women, sitting astride, knee up to the pony's neck, jockey fashion, with high Tatar heels in the stirrups, the men carrying strapped behind them long guns with the two-pronged toasting-fork gun-rests pointing like lances to the sky.

The greeting seemed generally to be no longer the "Salaam-Alaikum" of the Arabs or "Asalam-Alaik" of the Kashmiris, but "Aman-Dai" or something that sounded like it. There were, speaking loosely, Kirghiz, Kazaks, Kalmuks; and their faces told of Turki, Finnish, or Mongolian strains of blood. Their religions are said to be forms of Mahommedanism, Shamanism, or Buddhism.

At Kosh-Agatch, we emerged from the Chuya gorges and had reached the outermost Russian police post, where live a Customs official and half a dozen families of Russian and native traders. They trade over the Chinese border with Kobdo in Mongolia, to which place there is a cart-track over the mountains.

There was nothing whatever between this little village of Kosh-Agatch and the first Chinese Amban's post about forty miles away, beyond the Mongolian divide, which appears to be one of the lesser backbones of Asia, though not difficult to cross.

By now, the Chuisky cart-track from Bisk is a regular post road, and it has brought the Chinese-Mongolian frontier near Kobdo to within ten or eleven days of the Great Siberian Railway at the Obi; or, say, three weeks from London. I am not taking into account any recent railway extensions that may or may not have been opened to mining towns near the Obi.

At Kosh-Agatch, wool was collected in parcels, washed, and exported by Bisk to Russia; also raw hides and long camel-hair, used, I am told, in the manufacture of machine-belting.

THE MONGOLIAN ALTAI.—So far, we have been passing southward through the wooded Siberian Altai, which cannot be far from the centre of Asia; we have reached the limit of all things Russianized.

Digitized by Google

Twenty miles south is the Mongolian divide and the green hills, rising to 8,000 or 9,000 feet, are very sparsely inhabited by wandering tribes, among them Mongolian shepherds and Lamaist monks.

As you stand ready to start from Kosh-Agatch, you have round you your half-dozen Kalmuk mounted men, each leading a pack pony. They wear woollen coats or sheepskins. The coat-sleeves are a foot longer than the arms, so that when the wearer has to sleep out on the plain on a cold night he can cover his hands with his sleeves and bury his head in his arms, rolling himself into a ball, like a human hedgehog.

Your Kalmuk hunter has the distinction of wearing your field-glass over his shoulders, which he uses with great skill, and he and you may converse in broken Russian, helped out by the language of signs.

Between you and the Mongolian hills is a flat shingly plain, the Chuisaya steppe, about 5,000 feet above sea-level, probably an old lake-bed. It is forty-five miles long by twelve broad, its length running nearly east and west. It is shut in by snow-streaked mountains; and if you were to drain the Lake of Geneva in winter you would get a good idea of how it looks and feels, cheerless, and swept by bitter winds from Mongolia. It is a great contrast after the comfortable wooded country of the Siberian Altai which you have now left.

Behind you is the little spire of the Kosh-Agatch Church, and when you have lost sight of that you feel that you have said good-bye to civilization.

The routine of a few weeks' wandering in Mongolia is simple; you have a shelter tent four feet high and your men another; and they collect horse-litter in saddlebags for the fuel with which your cooking is done. Your food is tinned, or anything you can fish or shoot.

Before dawn you ride out alone with only your hunter, each of you taking field-glass or telescope, blanket, water-bottle, and food; and you trot about spying for the great Argali rams, which you must see while they are from one to three miles away, or they will see you first. There are hours of lying behind rock outcrops in the windy uplands, or crawling over the open; and when it is dark your hunter gives the signal that he has had enough by saying "Chai Pit" (to drink tea)—so like the "Cha Pina" of India. Then you dismount and lead home your tired ponies over hill and dale, or skate down great landslides of gravel.

Sometimes your companion will whisper "Volk" and significantly grab at your waistcoat, and you stop for a moment to listen to the music of the small parties of grey Siberian wolves which take up the hunt after dark. The wild sheep have been persecuted by them since the dawn of their mutual creation; there are no trees for hundreds of miles southward, only elevated downs, breaking here and there into

Digitized by Google

precipitous gullies which harbour Ibex; and the wild Argali, as a result of this persecution, is one of the most alert and long-sighted things on four legs. He is not protected by game-keepers and Justices of the Peace, and has developed a proper independence; and the inroads of a few British sportsmen in quest of something difficult to shoot, who fire a dozen shots every other year or so and then go home again, are nothing compared with the mortality from wolves.

Conspicuous objects are the skulls and skeletons of the great rams lying about under the caves and precipices where they have been hunted down by wolves or half buried in shingle and driftwood brought down by the torrents.

In the Chuisaya plain a few Prejwalsky's gazelles also know how to take care of themselves, for when you first see them they are already half a mile away and making off at full speed.

In the valleys you gather pony-loads of wild rhubarb, growing thick, exactly like, though sweeter than, that our English gardens produce. The easy passes through the divide are snow-bound in winter. When in summer you get over them, you take care to have with you your black-and-red Chinese passport engrossed by Downing Street; you look southward over hundreds of miles of the same rolling down country, apparently devoid of trees; and the higher pale green downs are streaked with snow, an occasional peak among them, such as the Matterhorn-like peak of Muss-Ta, some thirty miles to the south, rising to eternal snow at about 11,000 feet, looking remote in the bright, cold sunlight.

Even at 9,000 feet, mosquitoes are terrible at spots where crocuses are springing up under melting snow-patches, or in the reindeer-moss on the margin of some tarn. Unlike tropical mosquitoes, they bite in the warmth of the afternoon and go to bed at night.

It is said the nomads here owe no real allegiance to any civilized Power, Russian or Chinese, and they skip across the border as they please. The nearest Chinese post is Suok-Karaul, under an Amban, who takes your visiting-card, and sends you a nice message, but may be touring many miles away—anyway his abiding-place is about forty miles from Kosh-Agatch as the crow flies. Between, only rare tents and flocks of nomads or rarely wild game; and though you can see the valley where the Chinese post lies, and many miles beyond, there are no dark or light patches which would indicate trees or cultivation, though the latter may exist in the hollows.

In many places in the Mongolian Altai, as in the Siberian Altai, are luxurious displays of wild flowers. The rocks, where they outcrop from the grass, are flecked with lichenous growths, hot burnt sienna, bright rusty red, pale green, and lemon-yellow. Marmots scuttle to their burrows as you pass by, or snow partridges run about with their chicks.

Digitized by Google

In these regions there is the freedom and fascination common to high Alps, veldt, prairie, or desert. The weather changes every few hours, and within a few weeks of summer you will get a little of everything, rain-showers, hail-storms, thunder, and flurries of snow; you may look over a bank of flowers in July, in sunshine, to freshly snow-sprinkled slopes, gleaming white against an inky cloud.

On one of these days, after a week during which a hundred miles or so were covered riding about looking for game, without a solitary human being having been sighted, we saw the first natives on the Chinese side, a long line of dark cloaked figures on horseback, defiling from a sandy river-bed in a fold of the hills. Anyone who has been in Tibet will remember the sort of thing. As a precaution Powar and I kept quiet behind our rock; but next morning, after returning to our bivouac, we found a large camp—great herds of long-haired black or piebald yaks, sheep, and horses—being moved about by mounted Kalmuks. There were many big savage dogs protecting the encampment.

The purchase of a sheep opened relations, and three Mongols rode back and took me over; and I found them smiling fellows in red cloth caps, with red saddle-cloths, looking half shepherd, half monk. They offered snuff from a jar with a long-handled spoon, and cheese made of mare's milk.

Our own camp was always a mere bivouac. Yembai, the cook, had one curious talent, which consisted in tiring out fish by chasing them on foot along the shallow streams, and when they sulked in the weeds he threw himself down, plunged in his hand and brought up the fish.

The Great Siberian Railway.—Having seen something of the two Altais, let us now glance at the Siberian Railway, which I revisited so lately as June, 1914, with my wife and daughter, after having spent the summer in Japan.

We went by sea from Moji in Southern Japan to Dalny, and by the Manchurian Railway, controlled by Japanese, to join the Trans-Siberian at Kharbin.

At Chang Chun, the frontier station, you leave a Japanese railway world and enter a Russian one, by walking across fifty yards or so from one platform to another; Russian escorts and sentries were substituted for Japanese ones.

The train was full of Russian business men and farmers and German business agents. Failing Russian, German was the most useful language, not French, and if in the coming days Germans are not again to have it all their own way in Russian business a great, special, united, and organized effort will have to be made to compete with them. It is a most important matter, because in the strong Siberia of the future with probably a strong Russian Government of its own,

Digitized by Google

there will arise a great market for the import of machinery and manufactured articles which the settler needs.

The cultivable areas alone, without the mining districts, should eventually be able to support at least 70,000,000 people, at a very low estimate.

From the published news of the day one may judge that the future States of the Russian system are likely to have a greater independence than they have hitherto enjoyed, and East Siberia is likely to have its front door at the Pacific where so much is happening; and Arctic Russia and the estuaries of the rivers in the Arctic are likely to grow in importance.

The future importance of Siberia is likely to be enhanced by the fact that the whole of Asia is rapidly waking up to new energy; nearly every Southern Asiatic State is doing modern work for civilization to-day, old routes of ancient civilized Asia will be reopened by steam, and through Mesopotamia and Persia and Turkestan there will be exchanges by indirect steps between Siberia and Southern Asia of those northern and tropical products which are suitable for rail transport.

Coming to East Siberia from a sort of sandalwood-cabinet life in safe, orderly, long-settled Japan, the sudden change into the make-shift colonial life of East Siberia is striking.

There are rough cart-tracks instead of roads, muddy carriages and country carts, troika teams with the harness repaired with bits of rope, and roughly dressed, uncouth prairie men and miners of many races; you begin to hear stories of robbery and violence; a bank official carrying money in the streets of a large town had been attacked and murdered when in his motor-car by a gang armed with automatic pistols.

After the polite Japanese, it struck the imagination of a stranger, who was used also to the comparatively more gentle people of India and Central Africa, that this East Siberia at least was an insecure extension of a very cosmopolitan Europe which he had dropped into.

As one went north-west along the railway, one had the Mongolian frontier to the south-west of one. In the train the coming of dawn, followed by hot sunshine between two and three in the morning, disclosed a fine, treeless, prairie country, a wonderful stretch of green to the horizon, herds of ponies and cattle dotted about; and there were small lakes here and there. At a small railway stopping-off place we saw a few big Manchurians in sheepskins, looking like ancient Goths or like the big Tibetans who come to Darjeeling from the Tibet road.

For about thirty-six hours one travelled thus; and on the third morning the prairie had broken up into rolling hills with patches of forest; and at sunset we were skirting Lake Baikal; and steaming through the night round its shores we arrived soon after dawn at

Digitized by Google

Irkutsk, the capital of East Siberia. As everyone knows, there are several churches, an opera house, and fine modern shops.

Leaving this place and steaming all day, one enters in the evening a southern portion of the continuous kind of primeval forest country called "Taiga," which takes up some millions of square miles of unoccupied Northern Asia, and one passes through it all next day, reaching Krasnoyarsk only to pass into forest again—a forest chiefly of such wood as pine, larch, and birch.

The scene when stopping at a railway station in Mid-Siberia is always one of interest. The station yard is crowded with the usual country carts and carriages, and on the platform, jostling with rough prairie men, white children, Kalmuks, Manchurians, Mongolians, Kirghiz, Turkis, are also well-dressed passengers from Moscow, military and police officers, and German commercial travellers. Small Kirghiz ladies were seen in native dress, carrying gay European parasols.

They all promenade comfortably together, bargaining at the peasants' tables, which are spread under sheds on the edge of the station platform, for cooked turkeys, poultry, pork, eggs, and bread, and the samovar is always ready with hot water on tap; while the passenger carries with him on the ordinary trains his knife and fork and so buys excellent cooked meals and carries them to his compartment.

Milk was abundant at a penny or three-halfpence the quart, with the bottle; cream, butter, jam, and sometimes fish, and every kind of farm produce. I have never got better or cheaper food on any railway journey in any country.

The blonde Russian children run about barefoot, freely going into and round the train offering flowers, melons, and fruit. It is evident the people are making a successful fight in the new country, and it is paying them, for they are better off than those who stayed in Russia; and they will stimulate the old country with new ideas.

As regards the products and articles of exchange which one sees at the stations awaiting import and export, speaking superficially, there are to be observed such things as would come from a wheat, pasture, or mining country, and include grain, butter, wool, and hides; and of imports one sees sheds full of reapers and binders and other agricultural implements and machinery.

From near Omsk, up to the Ural Mountains, about thirty hours' travel, we pass through a great deal of wheat, growing on rich black soil.

Coming from crowded India, the calm of West Siberia appealed to us. It was homely as in a Southern English county; it was quieter and older than East Siberia. The feeling was strong as one slid along under a cloudy sky, past cattle deep in rich grass, or leaving their footprints in soft black earth; cart-tracks deep in mud cross weedy brooks.

Digitized by Google

This seems just the country for great tractors on the land. The long wheat furrows in West Siberia stretched like an unbroken sea from the railway to the horizon, with occasional dark pine bluffs breaking up the monotony of the yellow expanse. Round the towns were mixed pasture and timber. Though the snow must lie for five or six months, yet the land supports plenty of life and energy, and the people are often settled on their own land, and seem to live a better life, materially, than some of our English country labourers.

As you traverse the Urals on a summer night the climate is like a hot night in England. The rising sun finds you still going westward between finely wooded low hills. There are small lakes with fishermen's villages on their margins.

At Ufa, 200 miles west of the Urals, a halt is made; thence, going on towards Moscow, one passes wide golden prairie, wheat or stubble, or pasture with droves of horses; there are the usual small towns standing, with their stock-yards, like islands in the dips of the plains, with the wooden churches coloured green and red and with golden cupolas.

There swept across these green plains of Russia proper light wreaths of colour—yellow, deep rose, or violet, the distant effect of some wild flower.

In outward appearance Siberian scenery is repeated west of the Urals, but there appears to be a social difference; the people appear to be poorer, worse dressed, worse educated, than in West Siberia.

At noon on the fourteenth day from Dalny, having come by local ordinary trains, we entered the fine masonry terminus at Moscow.

There remain a few more photographs of the series before leaving the reminiscent part of my subject. These slides were kindly made by the Royal Geographical Society from my own negatives, and prints have already appeared in my sporting book "Through the Highlands of Siberia," published by Rowland Ward, of "The Jungle," in Piccadilly; on the earlier journey my travelling companions were Captain H. W. Seton-Karr and Messrs. Patrick and Stephen Cattley.

Siberia's Place in Asia.—After living in England, where nearly every foot of land belongs to someone, and life is a matter of fitting oneself into artificial and conventional surroundings, these spaces of Siberia set one dreaming of the progress of a new race, away from Europe, with its back to the Urals and looking eastward, unhampered by the débris of dying prejudices. For such a future, Siberia has already many initial advantages. The belt along the railway—or not too far from the railway—known to be highly suitable for cultivation and settlement is at the lowest estimate nearly three times the size of France; and its natural communications, as distinguished from its artificial ones, are already there, in its five navigable rivers, the Irtish, Obi, Yenisei, Lena, and Amur, which have together a navigable length of nearly 11,000 miles, not taking into account, I think, the tributaries,

Digitized by Google

and the possibilities, which are said to exist, of future extension by canalization; and these rivers run for much of their length through country which will some day support prosperous colonies.

Goods and raw materials have access for interchange from north, east, and west; and when railway systems shall have been further developed in the future towards Persia, to the south-west, there will be an outlet from Siberia and Turkestan to India, that great world's reservoir of crowded humanity, of much quick intelligence and cheap labour. Labour appears to be cheap because a poor man can keep a family and give it the little clothing and shelter demanded by a tropical climate at a much smaller cost than can the inhabitants subject to a more northern and more rigorous climate, where high wages have to be asked.

I mean that India is developing before our eyes, and from an almost purely agricultural country it is rapidly becoming partly agricultural and partly industrial, and science is removing the physical barriers between the various races of Asia.

Indians are already working cotton-mills, manufacturing rolled steel joists, and are showing considerable aptitude with motor-cars and other machinery.

I happen to have had some experience of British skilled labour in Flanders and Indian skilled labour on works in the East; and I believe that when mechanical knowledge and technical education have become universal, the Southern Asiatic with his agile brains will in certain modern industries meet the European on equal terms; not that he can do so individually, but there are so many of him and he wants so little. For these reasons it appears likely that manufacturing industries may have a tendency to gravitate slowly towards the southern countries, provided they have a dense population; where brains and labour are cheap and plentiful.

But in order fully to utilize the more northern parts of Asia, where the climate is rigorous, it seems likely that it will be necessary to throw overboard all conceptions of life as lived by Western Europeans in the past. In order to develop the northern lands, so far as they are capable of development, the first necessary idea seems to be the root idea of migratory labour, either for mines or cultivation. There is believed to be rich land far north where wheat, one of the most adaptable of cereals, will flourish, and where the summer day gives some eighteen hours of sunshine.

It would be impossible to live, bring up children, build comfortable houses, supply the people with food, and carry on all the complications of educated civilization with a winter average temperature of many degrees Fahrenheit of frost, the game as we play it in temperate climates would not be worth the candle. But with quick railways and tramways and all kinds of easy transit and haulage,

Digitized by Google

agricultural machinery, and the plentiful stock of fuel, modern power-stations, well-designed tramway towns and road towns, not to speak of the aeroplane post, there seems to be no reason why suitable localities far north should be left unused because of the cold season. With transit improvements it is increasingly evident that we are doing more and more as the birds and nomadic tribes have always done; instead of sitting in one place expecting our means of livelihood to come to us, we are gaining it more and more in migratory ways.

This is shown by the migration of Italian workmen to and fro across the Atlantic; of labour between India and East Africa and Burma; and lately in the case of coal and iron, which are said to have been found in islands in the Arctic Circle.

Given the possibility at some future time of doing most work by machinery, even farm work, it does not require much imagination to foresee these lands being developed by powerful capitalist companies capable of transporting highly specialized labour to and fro, having summer farms or industries in the north and winter factories in the south at one and the same time. As I see it, the north would then be developed by well-paid, picked, hardy, capable labour, races producing cheaper labour would stay in the easier warmer south and have the food sent south to them in exchange for manufactures. Already the charitable in America have sent assistance in the shape of ship-loads of wheat to stave off famine in the Deccan of South India.

The regeneration of Russia, always supposing things settle down as we hope, is bound to be an event of the greatest importance; and if there arises out of it a semi-independent, though still Russian, Siberia, it may mean, it seems to me, the commercial quickening of the whole of Asia, whose States will most of them be able to manufacture to some extent, constantly dealing with one another and expanding their railway systems.

It is to be noted that the general trend of the river systems in Siberia is north and south, which should be an advantage, for the natural exchange of raw material on land, other things being equal, should be between north and south. As railways extend in South-West Asia, the products of temperate and tropical climates would, by local steps, be indirectly exchanged with those of the north, competing, in those products capable of being carried by rail, with the round-about sea voyage from the Baltic to the Indian Ocean.

Wood is not a very good commodity to quote, as it is generally water-borne; but I have seen the wooden sides of tea-boxes shipped at Reval for Ceylon, eventually to go out to the world full of tea; and I have seen Bokhara carpets in Nijni-Novgorod bazaar brought overland north-west by people who could speak Arabic, and similar carpets in the Bokhara court of the Allahabad Exhibition which had come from the north-west. I have helped to construct buildings in India, using

Digitized by Google

light American pine planking in the ceilings, which seems to have come a long way round; and then there are the vagaries of cotton, which grows in India close to plentiful, cheap labour and having a sure market for cotton fabrics in the huge population of India, yet my wife has bought painted Indian cottons in Agra bazaar marked with a Manchester trademark, probably made of cotton grown in America, and these fabrics come back to London as Indian curtains. Again, Europeans in India eat refined white sugar grown in French beet-fields or West Indian sugar plantations when there is sugar-cane growing round nearly every village in parts of Bengal.

It would be easy for business men to cite many instances, and I must speak with diffidence of trade, though I have had much to do with the simple building, water-supplying, or road-making labour of many races. What I want to suggest is that when knowledge and machines have spread equally, raw materials will not travel so far, and trade will be more between north and south, and that this will help the development of Siberia and Southern Asia and those countries of Western and Southern Europe which formerly obtained their tropical raw material by maritime enterprise; and in the Middle Ages before this enterprise was fully developed tropical products reached North-West Europe by difficult and devious ways, including Nijni-Novgorod or Venice, but getting there all the same.

To-day Germany and Austria, and Turkey, since the latter has practically lost Egypt, have no natural road to the south, which gives a great advantage to the States which have the command of tropical products through their hold on the sea.

Siberia will also connect up its railway systems with China, for the mountain barriers are not very difficult obstacles to railway construction.

Taking it all round, Asia and the Pacific, and especially Siberia, are likely to be very much more important in the future than they have been in the past.

[Editor's Note.—Part of this paper has already been published by the Royal Geographical Society.]

Colonel Pemberton said his personal knowledge of Siberia was gained in the now distant pre-railway days, when in the winter of 1890-91 he spent three months there.

It was only in 1892 that the construction of the line was commenced at Zlatoust, the then terminus at the Urals of the Moscow-Samara Railway.

The Siberian Railway was one which only an autocracy would, probably, under the circumstances then obtaining, have undertaken.

He might recall the fact that it was a Russian-American engineer—Prince Khilkoff, who, associated with General Annenkoff, took a

Digitized by Google

principal part in the laying out and construction of the line—the two had been associated in the building of the Trans-Caspian Railway 1880-88—which, built perhaps primarily for strategic reasons, had the effect of developing the trade and commerce of the then lately acquired province of Russian Turkestan. Deprived from the beginning of time, for governmental reasons, of participation in political life, the Russian people, under the old régime, gave free rein to their imagination, and dwelt with pride on the immensity of their empire, its varied resources, its great potential wealth, and the great future ensured for their nation in the world. In this connection the speaker remembered being present in 1889 at a meeting of the Russian Geographical Society in Moscow, at which a paper was read on the subject of the then projected railway, and the different routes were canvassed, and he could well recall the enthusiasm evoked in the crowded audience by the unfolding of the plans contemplated for its construction and for its possible alignment across Chinese territory in Manchuria, the concession for which was some years later negotiated with the Government at Peking.

Going back to early days it was worthy of note that the Russian penetration into Siberia had its beginning more than three hundred years ago in the reign of Ivan IV.—called "The Terrible"—(1530-84), the first Tsar of Muscovy.

The conquest of the Tatar Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan gave the Russians access to the Volga and opened the way into the lands beyond that river, and the first expedition to enter Siberia was one in 1580 under the leadership of the Cossack hetman Yermak, who, however, lost his life four years later, being drowned in the River Irtish, when the Cossacks—his followers—are said to have abandoned the country, their place being taken by hunters and adventurers attracted, among other things, by the lucrative traffic in valuable furs—Siberia being the home of the sable, still the most costly of furs.

Gradually the new-comers penetrated eastwards, soldiers and officials taking possession of the lands behind them, taxation, when instituted, taking the form of a fur tribute, which it was the duty of the Governors to collect and transmit to the Tsar.

A hundred years later Peter the Great (1672-1725) turned his attention to Siberia, corrected abuses in the administration, and issued various ordinances for the better government of the country. It is said that serfdom, religious persecutions, and conscription were among the chief causes which led to the populating of Siberia—not to mention the common-law convicts, the political prisoners and exiles, whose numbers alone during last century ran into many thousands a year.

Although Russian parties penetrated to the Amur and Pacific in the seventeenth century, the process of settling up the country had been a slow one, the colonization of Eastern Siberia having been retarded

Digitized by Google

by opposition on the part of the Chinese, who then laid claim to the valley of the Amur; but the acquisition of the maritime province (Pacific seaboard) by treaty with the Peking Government in 1861, the consequent opening of the Amur to river traffic, and, above all, the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway had greatly assisted the development of the country and transformed the situation. It may be remarked that in pre-railway days one of the chief trades was that in tea, which, packed in hides, used to be brought on pack animals across Mongolia to Irkutsk, and thence transported by sledge to Irbit in the Government of Perm—still one of the greatest of world fairs, but no longer so important a tea mart, as, owing to the opening of the Suez Canal, and the increased sea transport facilities, the bulk of the tea used in Russia was nowadays imported from the East by ship to Odessa.

When he was in Siberia in the winter of 1890-91 the railway had not been commenced, except a section at the Vladivostok end, so that he had the advantage of seeing it under the old conditions. In those days the sole mode of travel in winter-time was by sledge, fresh horses being obtained for each stage at post-houses about fifteen to twenty miles apart. Life was by no means unpleasant, the days being often bright and sunny, and conditions for everybody, whether inhabitant or traveller, easier than in Russia proper, distance from the centre of government making for greater liberty in every way; indeed, the contrast between the freedom of speech and comparative light-heartedness of the Siberian in social life and the melancholy and depressed spirits of his fellow-countryman west of the Urals was marked.

The town in which the speaker stayed longest was Yeniseisk, on the Yenisei River and outer borders of a mining district where there were considerable washings of gold, but no quartz-crushing, for the reason that machinery for the purpose was too heavy for profitable conveyance by road. In winter-time the placer industry ceased, which brought the miners into Yeniseisk for some months and livened up social life in the town.

When later he visited the mining areas he was interested to find many of the managers and engineers to be Poles, many of them elderly men banished under Nicholas I. after the Polish insurrection of 1863, who, though long since free to return to Poland, preferred to remain in the land of their exile, where they had made their homes and where, be it observed, their labours had in no small degree contributed to its development.

He might add that having visited Siberia on two occasions since 1891, spending several weeks in the country, he was fully able to share the lecturer's view as to the large population which it would be likely to support in the future.

In Western Siberia—notably in the Minusinsk district—there were

Digitized by Google

great grain-producing areas; and round Tomsk vast expanses of fine pasture, where Russian horses were raised in great numbers, and whence there was now an ever-increasing trade in dairy produce exported to Europe. But for the full development of the country yet more railways would be required, and it would, doubtless, not be long before the Trans-Caspian and Trans-Siberian lines were linked up through Semipalatinsk.

It might also be possible in the years to come to establish sea routes to the mouths of Siberian rivers, which flow into the Arctic Ocean.

The late Captain Wiggins succeeded in the eighties of last century in navigating ships with merchandise through the Kara Sea to the mouth of the Yenisei, whence the goods were conveyed up the river to the town of Yeniseisk, distribution being made from the depot established there to different parts of Siberia according to the demand for the different wares.

The venture was well supported by the British Foreign Office, and by the efforts of our Ambassador, Sir Robert Morier, a concession of free imports for a term of years was obtained from the Russian Government; but it was not subsequently renewed, and the venture did not, unfortunately, prove to be a profitable one.

Mr. E. R. P. Moon said that his experience of travel in Siberia lay between the pre-railway days of which Colonel Pemberton had spoken and the period described by the lecturer. At Tomsk he had a rather interesting experience. He had read conflicting accounts of the Siberian prison system given by de Windt and Kenman. When the Governor returned his call and asked through his secretary what he could do for him, he said with some diffidence that he would like to see a prison. The secretary readily agreed, and in the afternoon at three o'clock Mr. Moon went through one of the prisons. The governor of the prison was friendly and communicative, and he came to the conclusion that the accommodation was as good as could be reasonably expected, having regard to the general standard of living in the country; and indeed that to make it any better would be putting a premium upon crime. It reminded him of the story that men had been known to kill their mothers in order to get duly transported to Siberia. From this and other first-hand observation he came to the conclusion that hardship was not inherent in the system and that, as was the case with our prisoners of war in Germany, a very great deal depended upon the temperament of the commandant. Mr. Moon went on to describe some of his travelling experiences, and mentioned that special facilities in the shape of horse passes were provided to enable him to travel without the vexatious delays that were common.

Colonel A. C. Yate said: We are indebted for the excellent lecture which we have heard to the late Chairman of this Society, whose absence we all deeply regret, Sir Henry Trotter, who—and I feel sure

Digitized by Google

that the lecturer, a renowned sportsman, will hear it with interest—believes himself to be the first European who shot an *Ovis poli*. Colonel Pemberton, who has just spoken, referred to Prince Khilkoff, under whose auspices the Trans-Siberian Railway was constructed. It so happened that in September or October, 1890, I met at Amu Darya both General Annenkoff—who had just completed the Trans-Caspian Railway—and Prince Khilkoff, who was about to undertake the Trans-Siberian Railway. General Sir James Hills-Johnes, a member of this Society, and I had just been to the Tashkent Exhibition and were returning to Europe. General Annenkoff not only showed us round the barracks, etc., but hospitably entertained us at lunch. All who know anything of the Indian Army know how gallantly Sir James won, as a R.A. subaltern, his Victoria Cross, in front of Delhi; but not so many know that the lameness which he carries and will carry to the end is due to a wounded wild boar which he followed up on foot into a patch of sugar-cane. Whether he found the wild boar or the mutinous sepoy the unpleasantest fellow to tackle we must leave Sir James to decide. It is my business to tell you how I saw him face a third ordeal which I am inclined to think he found more trying than the other two. General Annenkoff, at the close of lunch, made a kind little speech in French, welcoming us to the banks of the Oxus. It was incumbent upon Sir James, whose career had familiarized him more with war and sport than with the "parlez-vous," to reply in the same language, and I can but say that the courage with which he faced it was eclipsed neither on the Long Ridge nor amid the sugar-cane. He issued triumphant from the trial, and, were "bars" awarded for such triumphs, a "bar" would justly have been his.

Apropos of the exploration and colonization of Siberia, Colonel Pemberton will doubtless remember a book which I picked up at Cambridge last August.* That book taught us that the enterprise foresight, and energy which individual Britons had shown in building up the great British Empire, individual Russians had equally shown in annexing Siberia and opening up trade with China. Furs and rhubarb had alike been mentioned in the lecture and discussion as great articles of commerce. The Rev. W. Coxe concluded his volume with a chapter on "Tartarian Rhubarb," which he contends is superior to Indian. My knowledge of wild rhubarb is confined to that which we found on Afghan hills and which we relished in a measure as a relief to commissariat rations in the second Afghan War.

As regards the future of railways, connecting Siberia with Central Asia and, through Central Asia, with Afghanistan, Persia, and India,

* "Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, and the Conquest of Siberia," by the Rev. William Coxe, Rector of Bemerton. Fourth edition. London, 1803.

Digitized by Google

it is a large and lengthy subject which can only be glanced at. Omsk will be united via the Irtysh valley and Vernoe with the Trans-Caspian Railway system, and so with the Caucasus and Orenburg. Afghanistan cannot go on indefinitely resisting the introduction of railways—such a policy is suicidal. The Russian danger on the Oxus is no longer an incubus, and as aeroplane services are about to permeate the entire globe, a veto on railways is absurd. The Nuskhi-Mirjawa Railway will soon dive deeper into Persia and not improbably link up with the Trans-Caspian, as also, of course, will the line which must, sooner or later, connect Merv via Herat and Kandahar with the railways of India.

We have this evening listened to a lecture and been shown illustrations which set before our eyes the scenery of Siberia and its life and industries, subjects of which most of us know little or nothing. We owe a debt of gratitude to the lecturer for coming here to enlighten us.

A MEMBER of the audience said that his observation of the prison system in Siberia did not confirm that of Mr. Moon. He saw prisoners in cages surrounded by sentries with fixed bayonets and herded like cattle. He visited a central prison where the crowding and insanitary condition was indescribable. The officer who took him round begged him not to go nearer to the groups of prisoners than a few yards because they were dangerous people. The reports which were made by earlier writers on the prison life in Siberia seemed amply confirmed to him. On the other hand, at another place where he was taken round the prison by General Kropatkin he found that the sanitary and other arrangements were on a modern basis.

What struck him more than anything else in travelling through Siberia was the independence of the people, the high state of culture among the better classes, and the eagerness for education. Peasants who had settled in the country were sending their children to European Russia for education at the high schools and universities. These young men and women went back to Siberia highly educated, and it struck him at the time that if Russia was ever to be regenerated it would in all probability be regenerated from Siberia, where the people were advancing by leaps and bounds. He felt certain that Siberia would become a distinct nation.

On the motion of the Chairman a vote of thanks was accorded to Colonel Swayne for his lecture.

Digitized by Google

CHINA

A MEETING of the Society was held on December 11, 1918, at which the Chair was taken by General Sir Edmund Barrow, who was General Sir Alfred Gaselee's Chief of the Staff on the Expedition to Peking in 1900 to relieve the Legations beleaguered there by the Boxer Rebels.

Mr. J. O. P. BLAND gave an illustrated lecture on "China," the excellence of which makes us regret that it was delivered extempore, and cannot, therefore, be reproduced verbatim. "The lecturer held his audience well for sixty-five minutes with an address fluently and admirably delivered, and showing a thorough grasp of the subject. It were to be wished he could speak to a wider audience."* Private letters from one or two of the members of the Society present definite features of the lecture which admit of reproduction here. The period treated was from the Suppression of the Manchus to the beginning of the World War. The lecturer anticipated that he would be running counter to the opinions of many present when he applied to the China of to-day the recognized principle that representative institutions were not fitted to backward peoples, especially when such backward peoples were non-European. He illustrated the impossibility of Chinese methods of procedure by sundry stories, of which the most tangible, as reported, is the following:—

The opposing artillery commanders at the siege of Nankin came to an arrangement by which firing only took place at certain times, when the opposing artillerymen could be securely protected. When an energetic officer on one side contravened this arrangement, he was cut in pieces by his troops.

This meagre note of the lecture is recorded merely as a peg upon which to hang a discussion which proved to be of decided importance.

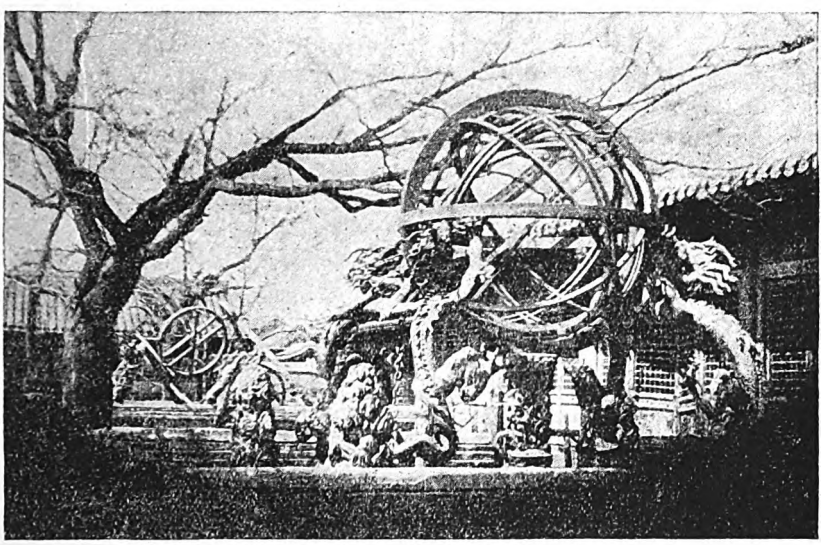
The CHAIRMAN said the interesting lecture they had heard contained not only a great deal of information, but a very considerable substratum of truth as to the evolution and prospects of China in the future. He thought that the audience would agree with him that the lecture had been too short. Mr. Bland's time might have been exhausted by the clock, as he told them, but they could very well have listened to him for another half-hour. He hoped Mr. Bland

* Private letter from Sir Edmund Barrow, December 11, 1918.

Digitized by Google

would put his views in a shape that could reach the public generally, which required education not only about China, but about democracy generally. He had thrown quite a new light on the position of China since 1911. He (the Chairman) had no idea before he came to the lecture that China was in such a state of desolation at the present time, and that there had been such a terrible loss of life. In fact, as often happened in life, his ideas of China were limited in large degree by recollections of the China he knew, and that he had not been in the country since 1902.

Mr. H. B. MORSE* said he had known China longer than Mr. Bland had. If there were points on which he disagreed with him, he must acknowledge that he had given him seriously to think upon them.



ANCIENT MONGOLIAN ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS.

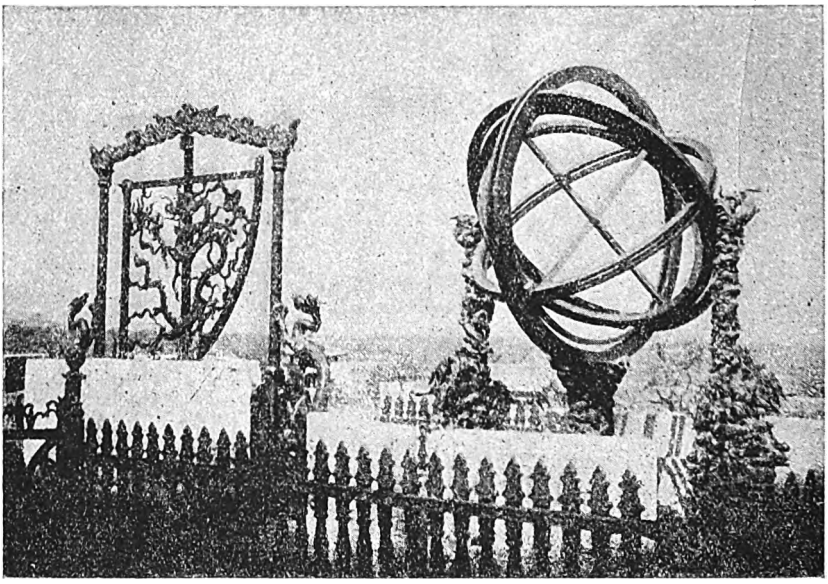
With most of the opinions Mr. Bland had expressed he was in full agreement. He wished to assure the audience that the situation was to the full as serious as Mr. Bland had indicated.

Colonel PEMBERTON said the lecture had been one of consummate ability, and informed by long sojourn in China and considerable acquaintance with the people and general features of the country. Mr. Bland had been a messenger of despair rather than of hope. He would be sorry to think that there were not elements of hope in China to a larger degree, perhaps, than the lecturer had suggested. Of course, China had suffered from political weakness for hundreds of years past. The Manchu dynasty was effete, but there could be no

* Author of "The International Relations of the Chinese Empire."

Digitized by Google

element of permanence in a policy of leaving the people alone so long as they paid tribute to the ruling dynasty. In so great an empire, as Mr. Bland had pointed out, a strong executive was necessary. Without such even democratic government was impossible—it became the mere plaything of the more violent party which always arose in such circumstances. But surely it was inevitable that the Manchu dynasty should have had to give way to something else. With the Manchus in power in 1900, it was the merest chance that the greatest tragedy in the world's history did not take place; that the Legations were saved at the last moment; that such elements of civilization as there were in China were not swept bodily away, to be replaced by blood-



ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE JESUITS.

shed and retribution which would have set the hands of the clock back for years. It seemed to him that there was no justification for the continuation of the Manchu dynasty, and that being the case, surely something had to take its place.

They could depend upon it that it was better, rather than to retain the dynasty, to go through the troubles of the Revolution, with all the suffering thereby entailed. Nations must suffer like individuals in order to arrive at better conditions and more peaceful conditions for the world at large. Would any of them in that room wish that Russia should return to the condition of things as they existed a year or two back? They all deplored Bolshevism, which was the negation of

Digitized by Google

government; but this was one of the perils encountered in striving for better things. Reaction would surely come, and a more stable form of government would arise on the ruins and wreckage of the present revolutionary movement.

He agreed with Mr. Bland that social regeneration must go hand in hand and must almost precede the increase of political power for the people of China. It would have been a happy thing if China, under a strong executive government, had been building up a regenerated social system. But this had not been done, and China, like all great nations, would have to work out her own destiny. The Chinese character being what it was, this would be a matter of time, and we must have patience. The results would work themselves out slowly, and they must be hopeful, whatever the form of government to be evolved. They all knew the drawbacks of democracy. It might be theoretically a fine form of government, and at any rate it was a form which had come to stay. We must in any case make the best of it and educate the masses, and then it might indeed become the best class of government. Certainly in China some other form of government than that of the revival of the Manchu dynasty was necessary.

As regards the feeding of the people, China was a country full of resources. Its wheat areas were very extensive—almost, if not quite, equal to those of Canada or the United States. They had been shown pictures of famine conditions such as are stated to exist from time to time in China; but, this being the case, he asked, Was it right, when such conditions obtained, that corn should be exported from the country? Surely if the population was suffering from lack of food any government, to put it mildly, would be within its right in prohibiting such shipments. Such, at least, would certainly be the step that would be taken by any government with public opinion behind it. But no government, such as was that of the Manchu dynasty, would dream of interfering, and rather would it just allow the deplorable economic conditions to take their course.

Finally, he wished to say what a pleasure it was to the members of the Society to see General Barrow in the chair that afternoon, and he would conclude by saying that their Honorary Secretary, Colonel Yate, had asked him to express his great regret at his inability to be present. He had also asked him to say that he was strongly of opinion that as a result of the Peace Conference the astronomical instruments of great value and antiquity which were taken by Germany from China in 1900 should be returned. He (the speaker) might add that, when passing through Germany in 1908 on his way to the Far East, he saw these instruments as set up at Potsdam in the vicinity of the Kaiser's Palace. Going on across Siberia to China later in the year, he saw the void spot on the walls of Peking where

Digitized by Google

the instruments had been for so many centuries. He entirely agreed with Colonel Yate that restitution should be made.

The CHAIRMAN said he was glad the last speaker had referred to the astronomical instruments taken by the Germans from Peking, for he happened to know as much about the subject as most people. He was Chief of the Staff in China during the Boxer Expedition, and most of the discussion on the subject went through his hands. He was directly engaged in negotiations with the various authorities of different nations there assembled. The Germans and the representatives of other Powers, some of whom were now our Allies, drew up between them a scheme for the distribution amongst them of these marvellous astronomical instruments which adorned the walls of Peking. They were beautiful specimens of art, and were understood to be also very good for their immediate scientific purpose. The proposed distribution did not commend itself to the British and American authorities, and the commanders of the forces of those two Powers put in a very strong protest against the proposal. There were heated discussions on the subject and much writing, most of which he did. The result was that the Allies generally decided not to share the loot. But two or three of the Powers were not at all satisfied with that solution. The next stage was that the Germans shipped their portion, and probably some of our portion as well, to Berlin. The French lodged a few instruments in their Legation, whence he believed they were eventually shipped to Marseilles; but under the orders of the French Government they were at once returned to China. He had lost sight of what happened after that. He entirely agreed regarding the desirability of restoring those beautiful works of art to their proper place on the walls of Peking.

They had been told that the Manchus were bound to go, and that something else had to take their place. Well, the ordinary course in China had been a change of dynasty. If a dynasty was effete or tyrannical, someone else had come along to replace it. That method had served China very well for many thousands of years. What had now happened, however, was to substitute for a dynasty a species of government which was entirely unsuited to the Chinese character. The point Mr. Bland had sought to impress upon them was that democracy was not suitable to China, even if it were suitable to nations nearer home. He thought that everyone who knew China well would agree with that view.

Note by Hon. Sec.—It appears that Germany finally repented of having taken the instruments, which, however, are still at Potsdam. The German offer to return them is said to have been made after a fashion which Chinese pride and dignity could not brook. One thing is certain, and that is that the discussion on December 11, 1918, at

Digitized by Google

22, Albemarle Street, led to action which at least will enable the Chinese Government to now reclaim their instruments if they want them.

A. C. YATE,
Hon. Sec., C.A. Soc.

P.S.—The two photographs of the astronomical instruments at Peking, which are here reproduced, were taken by Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate in March, 1898.

NOTE.—*The Times* of March 19, 1919, p. 9, col. 2: "The German Government has decided to return to China the astronomical instruments which were transported from Peking to Germany in 1900. Negotiations have been opened for the shipping of the instruments to China."—*Wireless Press*, through the wireless stations of the German Government.

Digitized by Google

THE NUSHKI RAILWAY AND SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ON WHICH IT BEARS

By Colonel WEBB WARE, C.I.E., F.R.G.S.

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Wednesday, February 12, 1919, at 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., when Colonel Webb Ware, C.I.E., F.R.G.S., delivered a lecture on "The Nushki Railway and Some of the Problems on which it Bears." Lord CARNOCK presided.

The proceedings were opened by Lord LAMINGTON, who said: Ladies and gentlemen, there is just a little preliminary business before the actual reading of the paper takes place. I have great pleasure, as a very old member of the Society, and I think one of its Vice-Presidents—certainly on the Council—in introducing to you our new chairman, Lord Carnock. We think ourselves extremely fortunate in his answering in the affirmative our request for his services as chairman of this Society. Lord Carnock, better known, perhaps, as Sir Arthur Nicholson, has done such wonderful service in diplomacy on behalf of the Empire, and is so well versed, too, from the fact of his having been for years Ambassador at Petrograd, in all matters appertaining to the Near and Middle East, that I think with him as chairman the Society, useful as has been, I trust, in the work it has done in the past, will be in a position to earn even greater respect, and have its lectures better known and better attended by the outside public than even has been the case in the past. With these words of introduction, I should like now to bring him to your notice, and ask him to accept the position of chairman, and occupy it for the first occasion after his election at this evening's meeting, when, I think, a particularly interesting paper is to be brought to your notice. I regret that I have another meeting to go to, so that it will not be my good luck to listen to that narration of events which is now to be put before you.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I feel highly flattered by the very kind—I think too kind—words which Lord Lamington has spoken in introducing me on the first occasion of my addressing you in this room. I must say that I felt very considerable hesitation, and

Digitized by Google

certainly very great diffidence, in accepting the post with which the Council was kind enough to honour me, as I felt that I should very inadequately fill that post, in which I have had predecessors with far more intimate and far more direct knowledge than I have of the subjects and questions which are usually brought before you, discussed and debated in this room. Still, I felt that, after the very kind way in which they had offered me the post, it would be most churlish on my part to decline; and I am sure that I can rely on your good nature and that of my colleagues in overlooking any shortcomings on my part. At the same time I can assure you, and here I feel on quite safe ground, that I shall to the very best of my ability endeavour to promote the prosperity and further the interests of the Central Asian Society during my tenure of office. Now, it is my duty to introduce to you Colonel Webb Ware, who is going to give us a very interesting lecture, I am sure, on an important question, which is the extension of railway communication from India to Persia. I do not know of anybody better qualified to speak on the subject, as I know that Colonel Webb Ware has passed many years in Baluchistan and in those districts. I therefore beg to introduce him.

Colonel WEBB WARE then read his paper.

The subject of my lecture is the Nushki-Sistan Railway and some of the problems to which it relates; but as the railway which has just been completed to the Baluchistan-Persian frontier conforms in general detail to the alignment traversed by the caravan route which was opened to trade in the year 1896–97, and as this railway is merely the further development of trade by this route, the story of the two are the same, and it follows that the causes which operated to influence the Government of India in deciding to open direct communication by railway with Persia are those which, to a large extent, led up, in the first case, to the establishment of the overland trade route. To obtain a comprehensive view of the trade and other problems on which we will shortly touch, it will assist if we pass before us, but in very cursory review, the history of those trade routes which connected the Old and New Worlds, but before proceeding to do so it will be as well to turn to the map and, after studying it, to keep in mind such of the more important geographical features as have made their influence on trade felt in the past, and are as likely to do so in the future.

India is a continent shut in, on two sides, by the sea, and on the north by the greatest mountain barrier on the globe. This barrier extends from Nepaul, on the east, to the Hindu Kush, where it is joined by the northern extension of the Suleiman Range, a range which, taking off to the west of our port of Karachi, runs in an almost unbroken line north, and guards all approach to the Indus from the west. East of Nepaul, as far as Burma, we find a series of mountain ranges running,

Digitized by Google

not east and west, but north and south. These, with the rivers which flow between them, prevent ready access by land to India from that side.

Let us cross the Suleiman Range, with its lateral mountain system, and take a bird's-eye view of the regions stretching from their western foot right away towards the Caspian Sea. Let us suppose we are seated in an aeroplane flying at a height which no areoplane engineer has yet contemplated. We are passing a hundred miles above Central Afghanistan, and, on looking down from this elevation, what do we see? Behind us is the dark line of the Suleiman Range. At this height it has the appearance of a black line, ruled on the ground, with a series of shadings on its western side, more marked on the southern side, which indicate the low lateral chains between which are the valleys which give access to the plains of India. Here lie the approaches which, in past ages, have seen the passage of migrating masses of clotted humanity, impelled by forces of which we have but a dim perception; but that fear, deadly fear, often lay behind and peace and safety in front is open to no question: valleys which have resounded to the tramp of conquering host after host, and down which the centuries have seen the busy merchant hurrying to markets where he could dispose of his wares to the best advantage, and make equally profitable purchases in return. East of the Suleiman Range lies India, represented by a large emerald-green mass with a khaki edging on the nearer side. The Hindu Kush, from here, takes on itself the appearance of a broad black band, cut out in silver, with many pin-points which sparkle in the sunlight like diamonds. From the point of junction of the Suleiman another line takes off which heads almost due west. Well defined on the east—for it is the Paropomisus Range—it narrows down to the west, where it joins yet another dark line which runs almost due south, until it, in turn, merges in a black shadow which skirts the edge of the Persian Gulf. This mountain line—and attention is directed to this, for it is a matter which will figure largely in what I will shortly have to say—lies to all practical purposes parellel to, but at a distance of several hundreds of miles from, the Suleiman Range. At the elevation from which we are gazing the country below presents the appearance of a large parallelogram outlined on three sides by the dark bands indicating the mountain chains, and with the sea on the southern side. Within this parallelogram lies the greater part of Afghanistan from which we are debarred, and the whole of British Baluchistan. It is through Afghanistan, which forms the upper half of this parallelogram, that all those land trade routes which for century on century connected the Western and the Eastern worlds passed. Beyond the western mountain line we see a broad dead white band of plain stretching from south-east to north-west. At first we take this for water, but when examined through powerful glasses we find it is merely desert, covered with a leprous salt efflorescence which gives it the appearance of a sea.

Digitized by Google

This is the great desert, the bed of an Old World sea, which, extending in an almost unbroken band from the Caspian to the naked, arid, rocky mountain chain which stretches down to the Persian Gulf, divides Persia into two unequal parts, and shuts off Afghanistan and the Persian province of Khorassan from the west. Inert although this desert appears, lying there so calm and peaceful in the sunlight, yet never a century has passed without its having emphasized its existence in some unmistakable way. The subject is a fascinating one, but I must not loiter. Let it suffice to say that this desert has acted as one of the arms of a vast corral, and has headed east a succession of hordes which, on finding that the route to the west was closed to them, have turned east and entered India. It has protected Persia, and with it Western civilization, but not always successfully, from incursion after incursion of a ferocity of which the late war was only a faint parallel; and throughout the ages it has formed one, and by no means the least important, of India's outlying defences from Western aggression. Just visible below us, with the silver, crescent-shaped button at the end, is the River Helmand, with the Naizar, Hamun Sistan, and God-i-Zirreh, the triplicate lake system into which it discharges. Beyond the Paropomisus Range we can see what appears to be an endless plain stretching away north to the horizon. These are the Turkestan steppes with their southern fringe of desert. The two green bands which run from south-east to north-west mark the course of those great rivers, the Sir Darya and the Amu Darya, which discharge into the Sea of Aral, and the blaze of silver glory on the horizon farther west is the Caspian Sea itself.

We must continue, but before doing so I would invite your special attention to the immense desert, otherwise the great "Lut" or "Kavir" —the names by which it is perhaps more generally known—that we see beyond the western mountain chain. Running from north-west to south-east, it is continuous from the base of the Elburz Range, which overlooks the Caspian Sea on its south side to the hills of the Sarhad, which form here the boundary-line between British Baluchistan and Persia, and which separate—and here the range is merely a narrow rock wall—the old sea basin from the sandy desert of British Baluchistan. The traveller who is journeying from west to east and finds this desert lying athwart his path has the selection of one of three courses. He may avoid it by skirting round its northern or southern extremity, a course which he would follow if he is approaching it from the north-west or south-west sides, or he may decide to cross it. Should he be travelling east from the Black Sea or Teheran, he would adopt the first course, but if on his way from Bandar Abbas, on the Persian Gulf, to Sistan and Afghanistan, he would probably decide—always provided the route is safe, which is by no means the case—to follow up the narrow western glacis of the Sarhad Range, keeping midway between the range

Digitized by Google

and the edge of the "Lut" basin. Should our traveller, however, be so unfortunate as to hit the desert anywhere near its centre, there is no other course open but to brace himself to the inevitable and plunge boldly into that desolate region, from 100 to 200 miles broad, which lies before him. Should he decide on this, he must be careful not to stray off the path—by no stretch of imagination can it be termed a road—of which there are several crossing it, at varying distances. The first warning he receives that he is approaching desert will be meeting bands of sand which thin out as he advances. Interspersed with these are stretches of "dasht" or black gravel, plain. Finally he will emerge on the Kavir, or waterless desert, itself. In different places the Kavir presents somewhat different features, but in the main it is a rolling surface covered with a leprous Shora encrustation or with a sticky-looking salt efflorescence. Break through this—for it is a mere crust—and below will be found a thick, viscid mud which never dries, no matter what may be the season of the year, for water lies not far below. The track, or rather series of tracks, for there are usually six or eight running parallel, and within a few feet of one another, are merely shallow hollows impressed on the ground by the feet of passing pack-animals. The only wells are those which mark some of the more permanent desert stages, and to lose one's way on the Kavir is to be exposed to grave risk. There is nothing to guide one other than the track itself, which is not easily found if one is so foolish as to stray off it. The temptation to do so is, however, small, for the salty crust wounds one's horse's feet, which has a difficulty in maintaining its footing on the insecure surface which every step exposes. In depressions are pools filled with a green, evil-looking, stagnant water. These need to be approached with care, for many an incautious traveller has vanished on the Kavir without leaving a trace behind. Should a rain-storm be encountered at any of the many bad places passed in crossing, then all the wayfarer can do is to halt where he chances to be, as the surface at once becomes so slippery and treacherous that pack-animals cannot move. The Kavir is the last word in desolation. The traveller trusts himself to its surface with trepidation and emerges from it with joy, and the effect it has on the mind of the person crossing it is extreme depression mixed with a foreboding of coming misfortune. Absolute silence prevails unless, as is so frequently the case, a driving wind, icy in winter and a furnace-blast in summer, is blowing across it.

But this desert possesses other latent powers of evil. Some thirty years ago it was found that the periodic swarms of locusts which caused so much damage in South Africa radiated from a point having the Kalahari Desert as its centre. The flights of locusts which, from time to time, devastate Russian Turkestan and Morocco have their radiating centre in the neighbouring great deserts. Sind,

Digitized by Google

with the Punjab, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan, suffer from their periodic locust visitations, with losses which may extend into hundreds of thousands of pounds and involve the lives of many human beings. By tracing a series of locust flights back, I was able to establish the fact that the radiating centre of the swarms from which these four countries suffer lay in the great Persian desert. Whether science will ever be able to overcome this pest is, at present, a matter of some doubt, but should it ever find the means of doing so, the fact that we have now ascertained where the permanent centre of this baneful activity lies will go far to assist us. For the information of those interested in this subject it may be said that before a parent breeding swarm of locusts can be launched from the Lut on its career of devastation, which may, and frequently does, extend over a period of one or even more years—the life of the individual locust is comparatively brief, but as the swarm advances it establishes supplementary breeding centres at suitable places, and these carry on the evil—a certain remarkably delicate combination of circumstances embracing rain and heat must take place, and sometimes years elapse before this particular combination can work out. We may, therefore, regard these locust epidemics as being due to delicately adjusted Nature mines sown in the desert, which come automatically into action when a certain complex combination of climatic circumstances take place.

Hitherto we have been gazing down on the country with which we have been dealing from a comparatively modest elevation. Let us now rise to a height of a few more hundred miles, and see how the world to the west appears from there. If we do so, we can see at a glance that there are only three true avenues of approach to India from the Mediterranean Sea. These are from—

1. The Black Sea.
2. The Eastern Mediterranean littoral and overland to and through the Persian Gulf.
3. Down the Red Sea and across the Arabian Sea.

By turning to history, we find that these are precisely the three routes which Indo-European trade followed, and that, in very brief outline, their history stands somewhat as follows:

The oldest and most important of these routes is the Dardanelles-Black Sea direct Indian and Chinese trade route. Of immense age, this route would appear to have been in use as far back as we can go. Just emerging from the twilight of human knowledge and the mists of antiquity, we are conscious of a great, busy, pulsating population which occupied what was, later on, known as Sogdiana and Bactria—that is to say, the upper regions of the Jazartes and Oxus. They formed a small residue of the large Aryan masses which at one time extended far away to the east, and from which portions broke off:

Digitized by Google

one making its way into Europe; another crossing the Caucasus; a third moving into Persia, where it settled; and yet another into India. The Greeks, with their great love of freedom, their philosophy, their art and culture, and their lofty aspirations, were, as we know, merely the spray thrown forward by one of these great Aryan waves. Themselves keen traders, the Greeks established colonies all along the Ægean coast and Black Sea littoral, and it was through the medium of these colonies and their shipping that trade flowed from the Mediterranean and Black Sea, by land, to India. Not only did this road present no inherent difficulty, but it offered the most direct route to those Indian and Chinese centres which were in view, and it traversed, almost throughout its entire length to India, a well-watered, well-cultivated, populous and friendly country. At what we may regard as the comparatively recent period of the old Persian Empire, the Governorship of Bactria and Sogdiana carried with it the second highest dignity in the kingdom, and a rank next to that of the Great King himself. At this time Bactria, with its thousand rich and populous cities, was provided with an elaborate system of frontier defence, resting on a strong military force, and was supplied with posting roads and such other conveniences and amenities for travellers and merchants as the civilization of that period required. It is more than probable that the Trojan War, stripped of all poetical licence and embroidery, was, as has indeed been claimed for it, merely a sordid quarrel between two Greek factions, one of which claimed the right to levy dues on all shipping passing through the Dardanelles Narrows, and was determined to enforce this claim; and another which, with far greater economic intuition, contested this right, and had resort to force of arms to resist it. Ilium proved, on examination, to be merely a small fortified outpost. Should this explanation of the Trojan War be correct, and there is strong reason for believing that it is, then the dispute was evidently a protracted one, for Schleiman's excavations showed that no less than six separate strongholds had been built, and been destroyed by fire. The fair lady that was wooed and fought for so strenuously, and whose charms were sung by the ancient bard, would therefore seem to have been the Lady "Commerce" whom nations have wooed and fought for from the earliest ages, and for whose favours they will doubtlessly continue to fight for ages to come.

What was it that led to the interruption of this great trunk trade route? The answer will be found in the large military forces which the Persians found it necessary to *contoon* in Bactria, and in the strong Greek army that Alexander the Great detached when there to protect his rear and guard his line of communications. We might note, in passing, that when Alexander conquered Bactria he found a people resident there who claimed to be of Greek descent, worshipped Dionysios, and adhered to Greek customs and modes of life. The danger then was clearly a military one, and it came from

Digitized by Google

the northern side. It related to those vast savage nations to whom the ancient historian has given so many names, such as the "Sakai or Scythians," the "Cimmerians," the "Galalitians," and who extended in an almost unbroken wall to the east of a line drawn from the Baltic to what is now Eastern Afghanistan. They were all Turanian, and with true Turanian instincts they were animated by a desire which, when it rose to the height of one of its periodic pulsations of barbaric energy, amounted almost to frenzy to attack, destroy, trample under foot, and pollute all that is beautiful in civilization and sacred in religion. The contest between the barbarism of the East and the culture and civilization of the West has continued without intermission throughout the centuries. Perhaps the historian of the future will trace in the recent conflict but one of its manifestations. We know that Eastern Europe, with Hungary and the Balkans, was eventually penetrated, but not until a comparatively recent epoch. The first part of the wall to collapse was where the pressure was greatest, which was from the southern shores of the Caspian to the Hindu Kush. Wave after wave of those savage desert tribes, the Scythians, the Yuen-Chi, the White Huns, and the Northern Turks, drove south into this unfortunate country, and, impinging against the great desert barrier, were headed off to a great extent from Persia, and moved south and east, carrying misery and devastation in their track, as far as Northern India, into which they penetrated. The great direct land trade route to India from the Black Sea first became insecure and then dropped so completely out of use that its existence almost became forgotten. A certain amount of trade, it is true, continued to percolate through, more especially from China, but it was intermittent, and the glories of the great overland trunk route disappeared. The Nushki-Sistan trade route and railway were planned to serve, from the south, the region east of the great desert which the old eastern trade route served from the north, but by a way that trade had never previously passed.

With the abandonment of the "great eastern trade route" to India another route had to be sought, and this was found in the Ægean Sea-Persian Gulf route. In itself it was an exceedingly ancient route, but it possessed disadvantages from which its eastern rival did not suffer. The pushing Greek trader of the Ægean Sea littoral was not of a type to neglect such an admirable market as was offered him in Chaldea for his wares, nor did he do so. The oldest high road, in the sense of a properly levelled, engineered road, equipped with stone bridges and paved, history records, was the old Hittite "Royal road" which ran from near modern Smyrna to the head of the riverine system of the Persian Gulf, which at that time penetrated a distance of rather more than 150 miles farther inland than it does at present. The Babylonian was a pushing, active, astute dealer, and his country,

Digitized by Google

which owed its wealth to her wonderful system of cultivation, needed much which the Greek merchant could supply, and had much to dispose of which the dweller on the Mediterranean shore prized, and from this resulted an intercommunication which conformed to the shortest route available. It has been established that at an extremely remote period in history trade passed by sea to and fro up the west coast of India and through the Persian Gulf. The Gulf trade route had its own particular disabilities, such as the dues which were imposed by the military power which controlled Asia Minor; the exactions from which trade suffered from freebooters, for even in those remote times the Persian Gulf had an unhappy reputation for piracy—it will be recalled how, in later Assyrian times, first Sargon and then Sennacherib engaged in campaigns against the sea kings of the Gulf, which eventually ended in their utter destruction; the closing, at a period when ships were narrow, cramped, and unseaworthy, of this route to navigation for several months in the year, while the "Etesian," or monsoon, winds were blowing; and the fact that when its trade did eventually reach some Indian port it had still a difficult, and in many cases a dangerous, journey of several hundred miles up-country before it could reach the markets where its goods could be profitably disposed of.

With the disuse of the great east trade route, the Gulf route rapidly rose in importance, and, as the centuries pass in review before us, we see a series of bitterly contested campaigns fought in the Seleucide, Parthian, Roman, Sassanian, Arab, and later Mahommedan times. In the Crusades the careful student of history will trace but one of the many attempts made to control the trade of the East, and we may accept with assurance that one of the several causes which conduced to the recent world conflict was the bid which Germany was making for this trade, despite the great changes which the past fifty years had seen. It was, of course, the final passing of the Gulf trade route into the stifling power of the Ottoman Turks, which resulted from the fall of Constantinople in 1453, that led to the discovery of America, the attempt to find the North-West passage, and the finding in 1477 of the all-sea route to India, with all that this great discovery has meant to England. In medieval times, trade by the Ægean-Persian Gulf route for Eastern Persia, what is now Afghanistan, and India was disembarked at Hormuz, the modern Bandar Abbas, whence it travelled, on pack-animals, by direct overland route to Sistan and so up the Helmand to India. This route, from the descriptions left us by Arab travellers and historians, was evidently a well-known one, for scattered at intervals along it were towns crowded with eager traffickers. Trade for Northern and Central Persia, Central Asia and China, did not touch the Persian Gulf, but went direct from Babylon, Ctesiphon, or Baghdad, as the case might be, via the great "Khorassan road," to Kermanshah, and thence through Hamadan, whence it skirted the north of the great

Digitized by Google

desert. From here it made for Nisharpur direct, and so passed on to Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand. A certain amount of trade was shipped from the head of the Gulf to Tiz, on the Mekran coast, and to Daybul, at the mouth of the Indus, but this trade would seem to have passed respectively to what is now British Baluchistan and to the lower valley of the Indus as far up that river as Multan.

The third route from the Mediterranean to India was the Red Sea route. Until the piercing of the Isthmus of Suez, this route always stood third in importance, as compared to the other two. Like those, it was well known in ancient days, and by it the Egyptians at the time of the Pharaohs carried on a considerable maritime commerce. While this was confined, for the most part, to Arabia and the East Coast of Africa, yet their voyages extended to India. In the reverence paid in both countries to the sacred bull we see the transfer of the religious thought which this intercourse occasioned. Unfortunately for their trade, the Egyptian Pharaohs regarded the Mediterranean nations with jealous distrust, and their political policy was one of rigid isolation and exclusion. Traders reaching their confines from without were stopped by frontier guards, who took over their goods, apprised their value, with the assistance of trade experts, and paid for them in money or kind. The Egyptian merchant himself was proud, arrogant, and narrow-minded. Despite this, trade by the Red Sea route had its well-recognized place in Old World commerce, and it was doubtlessly to divert the profits of this commerce that Solomon acquired the port of Ezion-Geber at the head of the Gulf of Akaba. The tide of prosperity and commercial activity which immediately rewarded this statesmanlike move, bear equal evidence to the value of the trade passing down the Red Sea at the time; to the wisdom and foresight of this great King; and to the folly and supineness of his successor. In the times of the Ptolemys, Egyptian trade was regarded from a very much more liberal and progressive standpoint, with a result which is reflected in the marked advance this period saw in Egyptian wealth. The great obstacle, however, to trade by this route was one which has extended right away down to late Mahommedan times, and was the open Arabian Sea, which ships had to navigate on emerging from the narrow straits. The passage of an open sea presented very real terrors to the Old World sailor in his small, unseaworthy vessel, and with the very elementary knowledge of navigation he possessed, and this was especially the case at a time when he preferred to draw up his barque at night on the sea-beach, or, if the coast was an inhospitable one, to anchor it just outside where the waves broke. Subject as it was to violent monsoon storms, the Arabian Sea was always dreaded. This route had the further handicap that commerce transmitted by it to an Indian port had still the long and dangerous up-country journey.

It may be of interest to recall that the Red Sea route, so long

Digitized by Google

regarded with feelings of almost indifference, was fated in the end to far outdistance its rivals. Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks; the all-sea route to India was discovered; commerce was diverted from the Mediterranean, and the power of Venice, through which the trade of the East passed for so long, gradually sank. From time to time attempts were made to restore the glories of the Persian Gulf route, mostly by Venetians, but some by English merchants anxious to find a quicker way than the all-sea route to that India which lay so near, but none ever succeeded. The Turk, whose character we know so well, was just the same then as he is now. No enterprise in which his personal co-operation is required could, or can, succeed. The contest of the rival trade routes finally terminated, we know, by the construction of a ship canal through the Isthmus of Suez and by the transit of cargoes, which not only pass to India down the Red Sea, but, more significant still, pass on from thence up the Persian Gulf itself.

We have had occasion to refer to the great conqueror Alexander, and to the part he played on the stage of old-time commerce; but, forming as his age does the dividing-line between the former and later ancient worlds and their trade, and as it is from his time that so many changes in trade conditions date which extended down almost to the present, we might do well to pause a moment to observe in what light he regarded commerce.

Underlying every great act which Alexander the Great's genius gave birth to, there was some well-defined controlling motive, which, in many cases, did not make itself manifest for generations. The task which Alexander the Great set himself was much more than the mere conquest of the then world's greatest and most civilized Empire, for this was but a part—a basic part although it may be—of a vast scheme which aimed at the hellenizing of Persian civilization and the erection on its foundation of a great Greek Empire which was to be the glory illuminating the world, and was to project its beneficent rays to all four quarters, convey liberty to a debased and enslaved world, uplift humanity, and provide ideals which were to contain all that was great, and noble, and true. To first gain, then build up, and afterwards maintain such an Empire, military conquest, supplemented later by the development of all the material resources his conquests brought with them, was essential, and so we find that in all he did Alexander was careful to bear this in mind. With what meticulous care did he refrain from any act or word calculated to arouse or offend the religious feelings or prejudices of his new subjects, and how quick he was to avail himself of any political advantage any such offered! How careful he was that neither the country nor its resources suffered from the military operations he conducted, and that no irrigation and no reproductive work received injury! The Indian province

Digitized by Google

of the Persian Empire had contributed by far the largest part of the revenues the great King had enjoyed, and Alexander the Great's carefully planned descent on India was therefore not the mere armed exploration trip which it is so frequently represented to be, but was a carefully thought out campaign, which was, if successful, to give him those revenues which were so necessary to the accomplishment of his world-embracing designs. The development of trade, from which source it was that in those ages so large a proportion of a State's revenue was drawn, received Alexander's most careful consideration. In the first of the four phases into which his campaign in Asia falls there stand out the destruction of Tyre and the founding of what was to be the capital of Egypt and her great seaport, Alexandria. Tyre had proffered a gold crown in token of dignified submission, but this was curtly rejected, and, after the most desperate fighting, which extended over months, in which Alexander suffered losses he could ill afford, Tyre fell and was utterly destroyed. Tyre was the great commercial rival of Greece in the Mediterranean, and it was therefore decreed that she must pass. In the second phase, Alexander grasps firmly the command of the great Ægean Sea-Persian Gulf trade route. In the third, we see him gain possession of the great eastern route, found yet another Alexandria (Herat) on the site that his master mind showed him with lightning rapidity was the strategic and economic key of India, and later on comes the garrisoning with Greek troops, whom it is clear he had political reasons for keeping far from their homes, that flank of the further trade route from which the genius of his keen military intellect warned him danger would always threaten. The introduction of the third phase, the conquest of the Indus province, was the elimination, with meticulous precision and patience, of all hostile Indian border elements which were likely to interfere, in the future, with free access by the great eastern trade route to India. And the fourth and last phase, which was to terminate so early and so sadly, and which followed the conquest and permanent garrisoning of the Indus province, is perhaps the most important and significant from the point we have in review, for it embraces the exploration of the Indus River throughout its length, with yet again the elimination of such tribal elements as were calculated, if left untouched, to prejudice those commercial schemes which were already assuming definite shape in the young conqueror's mind; the careful personal examination of the mouths of the Indus, which in those days discharged into the Ran of Kach, and which entailed Alexander's separation from his army, at considerable personal inconvenience and also, as it proved, some little danger; and, lastly, the return by land and sea by way of the coast of Mekran, or Gedrosia as it was then termed, a most difficult and dangerous undertaking, yet selected, not really for any bombastic reason, but with a deliberate and definite intent, despite the heavy price

Digitized by Google

Alexander knew only too well he would be called on to pay. And then comes the closing scene at Babylon, with the conqueror's death when immersed in plans and estimates for titanic harbour and other works which were to permanently secure his conquests, his explorations, his labours, and his plans, and which indicate with brilliant clarity what was the decision his master mind had finally arrived at, and the lines he had convinced himself would have to be followed to secure the free and unimpeded passage of trade between the Eastern and Western worlds, and—although here the reasoning is deductive—the certainty with which his genius had warned him that the great eastern trade route would in time be overborne by the tide of barbarism which then threatened it; that the Red Sea route, with its difficult and dangerous sea passage, although it could be made great and valuable, could never fulfil the requirements of a trade route such as he had in view; and that on the holding and development of the Mediterranean-Euphrates-Persian Gulf route to the Old World was pivoted the realization of his schemes, the well-being of the Empire of which he was the framer and builder, and the security of civilization and, with it, of mankind.

We now come down to the last forty years. To deal with India's later economic history lies quite without the scope of this lecture. It will suffice to say that under British rule, and assured, for the first time for centuries, of a stable administration, and in the enjoyment of profound peace, India developed rapidly. Railways, fed by branch roads, were introduced and multiplied; irrigation and agriculture were encouraged and extended; telegraphs spread all over the country; lines of coasting steamers were established; and factories arose which needed to be fed with raw materials, and for which, as well as for English trade, new markets had to be sought out and developed.

The most promising markets adjoining India were those of Chinese Turkestan, Central Asia, and Persia. We will pass by the first, although I would note that there is much I shall have to say relating to Russian trade with Persian Khorassan which will be found to apply with equal force in regard to that of Chinese Turkestan. As regards the other two, these countries can only be approached from India from two directions—viz., from the Punjab, through Afghanistan, or through some port either on the Persian Gulf or on the east coast of the Black Sea, like Trebizond.

We will first turn to Afghanistan. Afghanistan lies on the North-West Frontier of India, and is an independent sovereignty under British protection. India allows her a considerable annual subsidy, and in return her foreign relations are subject to British guidance; but, while so, she has absolute freedom, within her own borders, to adopt any system of government and any interior policy which may commend itself to her. The late Amir, Abdur Rahman, was perhaps one of the

Digitized by Google

most gifted men of the last hundred years, for he united in his own person the qualities of a brilliant general, the talents of a remarkably able administrator, and the acumen, foresight, and intuition of a great statesman. The political relations which existed between the late Amir and the Government of India were always cordial, despite the somewhat malicious pin-pricks he was wont to occasionally indulge in, and it is very much to be hoped that these friendly relations will long remain. Afghanistan, a wild, arid, desolate country, is inhabited by numerous tribes of diverse racial descent, who are divided up into sections and subsections. Most of these tribes, and not a few of their subsections, are at feud with one another, for the Afghan adores bloodshed, and is never really content unless he has two or three blood feuds to occupy his leisure hours. Quarrelsome and untrustworthy although he is, yet he possesses the supreme redeeming virtue of patriotism, and should any foreign enemy ever cross into his country the whole nation will drop their feuds and quarrels and will fight to the finish. The policy which commended itself to the late Amir was one of rigid isolation and exclusion, and this policy has been strictly adhered to by his successor. Entry into Afghanistan, a country which possesses no real roads and no telegraphs, is thus barred. The trade which entered Afghanistan from India prior to the war was largely confined to a trade in such articles as were needed for her domestic consumption. The year 1917–18, it is true, saw a truly remarkable increase in trade entering Afghanistan from the North-West Frontier Provinces through the six Indian passes, and this increase can only be accounted for by a great Central Asian demand having arisen in consequence of the disorganization of Russian trade.

While the Amir looked to his Customs department to supply him with a large proportion of the revenue he required to carry on the administration of his country, yet his fiscal policy was not calculated either to encourage trade with India or to develop trade passing through Afghanistan to foreign markets. The dues he imposed were heavy and trade was subject to exactions, such as the transit dues, which were levied on most, if not all, the main roads leading through Afghanistan. What this means can perhaps best be understood by an example I will give. A load of wool despatched from Herat to India, via Kandahar, would first be mulcted in various Herat dues; on the road between Herat and Kandahar it would be called on to pay certain transit dues; on arrival at Kandahar customs at Rs. 40 per camel, and between Kandahar and the frontier no less than seven dues would be recovered—*i.e.*, caravan head-man's due of Rs. 3/5/4; "Delali" Rs. 10/8/4; "Goshi" Rs. 1/10/8; "Aishan" due Rs. 19/4; "Takhtapul" due annas 12—Takhtapul is a well-known place on the road; annas 2/8 "Sardari" due collected at Baldock, the Afghan frontier fort; and, lastly, Rs. 8 for what is termed the "one-tenth" tax. The charge on a donkey

Digitized by Google

load of fruit despatched to British territory by a Kandahar garden owner works out, under the several headings, at no less than Rs. 4/2/6. Wherever it can do so, trade avoids Afghanistan; indeed, such Herat wool as found its way to India favoured the long roundabout route through Persia and Nushki. I am, of course, referring to the time before the railway was prolonged from Nushki to the Baluchistan-Persian frontier.

We will next glance at the position beyond Afghanistan, in Central Asia.

Towards the end of the year 1885, Russia turned her eyes towards the Turkestan Khanates, and these, in course of time, she absorbed. There was a railway at this time connecting Batoum, on the Black Sea, with Baku, on the Caspian, and she now built a railway from Krasnovodsk, a port on the east coast of the Caspian, to Askabad, and this place was not long afterwards connected, through Kuchan, by cart road to Meshed, the capital of Khorassan. From Askabad the railway was then extended to Taskend through Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand. Not many years subsequent to the completion of this railway, Russia took steps to secure to herself the entire trade of Central Asia. This she arranged by the introduction of carefully prepared tariffs which had the end in view of driving all Indian competing trade out of Central Asia, and with such skill were these framed that the end she sought was quickly attained, and our Central Asian trade came, to all intents, to a standstill. It will be convenient to deal with this subject later on, so I will merely refer to the difficult position in which England, with her Free Trade, is placed when faced by an avowedly antagonistic fiscal policy of this type. With other European Powers, the practice in such a case would have been to protest, and, should this protest have been disregarded, to have imposed countervailing duties so framed as to cover the loss incurred. It is a matter of considerable present doubt whether Russia, suffering as she is from septic dissolution and fermenting with the bitter wine of liberty, will be able, in view of the whole or partial destruction of her factories and their machinery; the loss of so much of her limited skilled labour; the exhaustion of her resources; the disruption of her banking system, with all its delicate trade ramifications and organizations; and heavily burdened, as she will remain, with debt, will be able to rehabilitate herself; but if she ever succeeds in doing so, and in repairing the destruction caused by the present orgy of anarchy, then this will only be possible by her reaccepting in full those pecuniary obligations which she has repudiated, and by having recourse to large foreign loans. Should Russia ever come to us for loans, without which her trade organization cannot hope to be re-established, then it would seem that we would be justified in first laying down the condition that the money she asks for shall not be

Digitized by Google

utilized in reinaugurating a frankly hostile economic campaign, and that the artificial and abnormal conditions she imposed in the case of Central Asian and Persian trade shall in future be discontinued.

South of her new province, Russia found herself faced by a country, Afghanistan, whose integrity was guaranteed by the British Government, and whose frontiers were jealously guarded by an Amir who held the most determined views that free commercial intercourse with Russia would carry with it results which would spell the downfall of his sovereignty and the destruction of his country's independence. Between Central Asia and India Afghanistan accordingly lay like a vast wall, through which trade from India could not pass to either Central Asia or Persia, nor could trade from Central Asia and Persia find passage to India. A certain amount of Russian trade, as well as Indian, naturally found its way into Afghanistan, but, as we know, it never penetrated any great distance beyond. Russian trade was subject in Afghanistan to precisely the same disabilities as our Indian trade, and the goods which Russia had to export were, in addition, poor and tawdry. The Peshawar and North Indian bazaars contain a variety of such petty articles as brass samovars, brass tea-trays, glasses for drinking tea, cheap crockery, cheap looking-glasses, but this is about all.

The only other routes by which it was possible for Indian trade to reach Khorassan—and I would note here that the trade of Northern Persia is by far the most valuable that Persia possesses, due to the facts that the rainfall is greater, the country is richer and better developed, and more than half the population of Persia resides in the north—were those leading from the several Persian Gulf ports, or from Trebizond, on the Black Sea. In each case, however, the distance concerned was great and involved a long overland journey.

1. From Trebizond, on the Black Sea, via Tabriz, to Teheran and Meshed was some 1,400 to 1,500 miles.

2. From Baghdad, on the River Tigris, via Hamadan and Teheran, to Meshed was 1,070 miles, and the distances from the two Gulf ports to Meshed by the several routes in common use stood as follows:

3. Bushire to Meshed, via Yezd, Turbat-i-Haidari, 932 miles.

4. Bandar Abbas to Meshed, via Yezd and Tabas, 1,020 miles.

5. Bandar Abbas to Meshed, via Kirman, Naiband, and Tun, 970 miles.

6. Bandar Abbas to Meshed, via Narmashir, Neh, and Turbat, 900 miles.

It may be noted incidentally that although the latter route was the shortest, it was generally unsafe. The objections in case of all these routes were identical. These were the heavy expense which a long overland journey by pack animals involved; the period goods took in transit; the frequent change in carriers; the delays due to an inefficient Customs

Digitized by Google

department, to the impossibility of extending active and consistent assistance to caravans when in transit on a journey which sometimes extended over months; and, lastly, to the difficulty, and in most cases the impossibility, of handling by pack-animals bulky goods such as Persia mainly produced, except when grown in close proximity to the port of exit. After full and careful consideration of the whole question in all its bearings, it was decided that these difficulties could only be surmounted and our trade interests conserved by opening direct overland communication between India and Persia. It was obvious, in the circumstances which have been described, that no route through Afghanistan could be considered. To outflank Afghanistan on the northern side was out of the question. The only alternative, therefore, that remained was the southern approach. We possessed direct communication between the port of Karachi and Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan, by a railway which had the further advantage of being linked up with the Punjab and Indian railway systems. Such difficulties as remained, therefore, related to the section of territory which intervened between Quetta and the Baluchistan-Sistan frontier; but here lay a Baluch country of indeterminate ownership, and the problems which it presented were as varied as they were difficult of solution. Sandwiched in between the Sarlat hills on the Quetta side, Afghanistan on the northern, Kharan on the southern, and the rocky wall of the Sarhad range on the western, this country was largely desert, with a strip of fifty miles of absolute desert on its western face, and was inhabited, for the most part, and surrounded, by wandering tribes of predatory Baluch, most of whom were at feud with one another and whose chief occupation was raiding. This country had never been surveyed and was little known. The western side had been visited by Colonel Charles McGregor* in the seventies, who has left, in his book entitled "Wanderings in Baluchistan," a record of his experiences and personal sufferings. On the east side it had been crossed transversely by Mr. H. Barnes, C.S.,† in the year 1884, to whom Government had consigned the responsible duty of piloting the Afghan Commission across the sandy desert which intervenes between Nushki and the Helmand valley; and the northern border had been examined and surveyed by Captain McMahon ‡ when engaged demarcating the boundary-line between British Baluchistan and Afghanistan, and who had found it unwise to move except under the protection of a strong infantry escort. This territory was claimed by Amir Abdur Rahman, who, alarmed by our railway activity in Baluchistan, had, following the close of his operations against the Helmand valley Baluch, marched an Afghan force south and seized the chief fort, which he garrisoned. Against this violation of Baluchistan rights the Government of India had vigorously

* Afterwards Sir Charles McGregor, K.C.B.
† Now Sir Hugh Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
‡ Now Sir Henry McMahon, G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Digitized by Google

protested, but it was not until 1896, the year in which the boundary between British Baluchistan and Afghanistan was delimited, that he was compelled to withdraw his forces north. In the year 1897 it fell to me to take charge of the country which was now embodied in British Baluchistan under the Boundary agreement, and my instructions from Mr. Barnes, the then head of the Local Government, contained orders to establish overland trade communication with Persia, an enterprise which thus became feasible for the first time.

I need not go into the long story of how the trade route was opened to caravan traffic. The problem proved most complex. In addition to difficulties incidental to a country largely arid and which produced little in the way of supplies, we proved far from welcome arrivals to the Baluch tribesmen themselves, who saw in our advent the beginning of a restraint which was opposed both to their racial instincts as well as to their predatory proclivities.

These Baluch form part of a nation which presents one of the most interesting studies to the ethnologist which is to be found on the Indian frontier. As the result of researches extending back a long series of years, I can say that the Baluch are a Semitic race, and originally inhabited a river valley east of Aleppo. Their language is an Aramaic dialect, and, at a period which dates back many centuries, they moved south-east into Lower Mesopotamia, and later on to the head of the Persian Gulf. There are reasons for believing that the movement was due to pressure, and was not voluntary, but the nature of this pressure is obscure. In the later Sassanian period, when religious persecution was rife, these Baluch, who, in common with so many other dwellers in the Tigris and Euphrates basin, were Nature-worshippers—I have found on the Baluchistan-Persian border many unmistakable traces of this worship; in fact, the worship still survives engrafted on many local Mahommedan practices—moved to the north coast of the Persian Gulf, which they later on followed down to what is now Persian Baluchistan, the inhabitants of which they dispossessed. This migration from north-west to south-east is exceedingly interesting, for it is the only case of a tribal migration in this direction, on a large scale, with which I am acquainted. Among the naked arid hills of Persian Baluchistan the Baluch resided for several centuries, increasing steadily in numbers, and this country still continues theirs by right of possession. Still growing in numbers, they began overflowing their boundaries, and, again taking up the same line of migration, which appears to be one of the immutable laws of migrating nations, they passed up the Sarhad range to the confines of Sistan. The ruined line of fortified guard-posts which mark the Shelag River approach on the southern boundary of Sistan shows how strenuously their intrusion was resented. Robat, at the foot of the Koh-i-Malik Siah, now one of our frontier posts, was, as its name "outpost" implies, but one of these old guard-stations. Checked on

Digitized by Google

the north, the Baluch flowed on and submerged Mekran, Panjgur, Kharan, what is now Kalat Baluchistan, Chagai, Nushki, and they found their way as far as the plains of Kachi and even beyond. Kalat became the headquarters of a Baluch confederacy which comprised the immediate surrounding hill tribes. A considerable period seems now to have elapsed, but in the earlier Moghul period the head of the Kalat Baluch confederacy—for over the Baluch, as with their Semitic confrères the Arabs, whom the Baluch so closely resemble, no King has ever reigned—was granted a valuable strip of territory in the Dera Ghazi Khan district in recognition of the valuable military services he had rendered to the Delhi throne. Attracted by the richness of this grant, the manhood of the Kalat Baluch confederacy moved, with their flocks and families, down to the Dera Ghazi Khan district, leaving behind them a vacuum which was filled by the Brahui, the Indo-Dravidian indigenous tribe whom the Baluch had originally dispossessed. The Brahuis are not great warriors, but the lands round Kalat were poor and arid, while those at Dera Ghazi Khan were rich and well watered. Composed as the Baluch are of so many loosely co-ordinated sections, it was apparently the business of no particular tribe or section to restore Baluch authority in the Kalat hills, and no serious attempt would ever seem to have been made to do so. It was this which militated against the further development of the nation, for Kalat commands the exit of the Bolan Pass, and the mastery of the Bolan, in other than Baluch hands, carries with it the severance of the eastern from the western Baluch. It is to this fact, indeed, that must be ascribed the somewhat surprising position we find in British "Baluchistan"—the name itself is indicative of the erstwhile Baluch supremacy—where a numerically inferior and weak Brahui population, regarded by the Baluch, to whom they will not give their daughters in marriage, with contempt, holds the political ascendancy, although surrounded by and embedded in an immense Baluch population. In time the Baluch, swarming north, west, and east, penetrated into Sistan and Birjand, and made their way up the Helmand to a point where their advance was finally arrested by the Nurzai Afghans. From Dera Ghazi Khan the Baluch sent off detachments, still in the same migratory line, to Dera Ismail Khan, the Salt range, Bahawalpur, etc.; but, being no longer fed by fresh streams of Baluch vitality from the west, owing to the interruption of their lines of communication, the movement into India slowly came to an end. Had this not been the case, it is probable that the history of the Panjab and Sind would have had to be rewritten. It will be of interest to say that an eminent art specialist to whom various specimens of Baluch work were submitted for examination declared that they represented the only pure instances of Assyrian work which had ever come under his notice in India.

It had been supposed that the northern frontier of our new British

Digitized by Google

district was closed by impassable deserts where it bordered on Afghanistan, but this, it was now found, was far from being the case. Several routes traversed this region, but the country was so wild and difficult of access as to supply permanent, and almost impregnable, refuges for any wandering band of marauders, facilities which these did not hesitate to avail themselves of to the full. It was not long before Amir Abdur Rahman indicated his general attitude towards the trade route. Orders were issued forbidding the sale of wheat to our district Baluch, and as these Baluch had been accustomed for generations to purchase their grain in the valley of the Helmand, these orders added in no small degree to our difficulties.

To the south of the new district, through which the overland route must pass, was the Baluch State of Kharan, whose Chief, the late Sir Nauroz Khan, possessed important transfrontier Persian connections and interests, and was uneasy as to what our presence on his borders would entail. This Chief nourished an undying racial antagonism to the Brahui Khan of Kalat, an antagonism which had, in the past, driven him into the arms of Afghanistan, and had seen him fighting against us in the last Afghan War, despite the dislike which has always existed between Baluch and Afghan. In the occupation of the territory lying between his State and Afghanistan the Kharan Chief was fearful he saw an unfavourable turn to his long struggle for independence from Brahui Kalat domination. In these circumstances it was not perhaps surprising that he set himself to oppose, more passively, perhaps, than actively, but none the less effectually, the consolidation of an influence which was so essential for the furtherance of the intentions Government had in view.

Lastly, away to the west, beyond a fifty mile stretch of waterless desert, was Sarhad and the Sarhad mountains. Sarhad or "Yagistan, the country of outlaws," is populated for the most part by Damani, a wild Baluch tribe closely related to the Marri Baluch of British Baluchistan. These reside on the slopes of the range, and Sarhad itself has always borne the worst of reputations. Here anyone who had committed a more than ordinary repulsive crime was always certain of a refuge and a warm greeting. Their unenviable reputation is recognized even by the Sarhaddis themselves, for once when in Sarhad I enquired of a holy Syed who possessed a local reputation for wisdom and piety why it was that the Sarhaddis were in such bad repute. He pointed to the column of sulphurous vapour which could be seen from where we sat rising above the crater of the dying Koh-i-Daftan volcano, and answered: "Do you see that mountain? There is a road leading direct from the centre of that mountain down to the nether regions. The smoke you see comes from hell fire. Is it surprising that the persons who live round that mountain and breathe in its emanations are not distinguished by godliness?" The logic of

Digitized by Google

his answer was unanswerable. I also remember asking the same hoary-headed ruffian if it was true that one or two families I had happened to come across on the Koh-i-Daftan Mountain were not Mahommedan by religion, and on his saying that they were not, I enquired, somewhat mischievously I fear, why it was that so eminent a divine as he evidently was had not converted these families to the true religion. His answer, with uplifted eyes, a look of resignation, and a weary sigh, was that all the time and labour he had spent in slitting their noses and ears, with this very end in view, had been quite thrown away. This mountain has many remains that indicate that at one time it was regarded—no doubt this was in Zoroastrian days—as a place of pilgrimage.

It was evident that the only method of successfully administrating a country of this type, surroundings, and some 30,000 miles in area—later on, when Kharan was added to the charge, the area approximated to some 42,000 square miles—was by gaining the personal support and sympathy of these wild people. Had force been available, and naturally it was not, its use in dealing with such an elusive people, inhabiting such an immense territory, and with refuges on every side where they could not be followed, was quite out of the question. The story is a long one, and extends over nearly twenty years of strenuous labour. It is a tale of endless trouble, much work which had to be done and redone, and done again, many disappointments, many delightful joys, and ultimate success. Reserved and suspicious although the Baluch were, we finally won their confidence, and many are the instances of kindly thought and chivalrous feeling I recall with pleasure. What the settlement of this country meant I think will be understood when I say that crimes of violence became exceptional; cultivation, rude and primitive although it was, increased to a remarkable extent; all tribal forts were abandoned without a single exception and fell into ruin; the carrying of arms absolutely ceased; the revenue increased tenfold; every blood feud—very many were found to date back generations—was enquired into, examined, and settled; and peace and tranquillity reigned throughout a country in which peace had never previously been known.

The suspicions of the Kharan Chief were allayed, but his confidence and that of his Nausherwani following was never really won. A somewhat sullen acquiescence in a presence which was clearly repugnant was as far as we could progress. The position in this State and on the intervening border was never quite satisfactory, and culminated, in 1911, in the murder of the then Chief and disturbances which, threatening to involve Western Kalat, Persian Baluchistan, and the Helmand Baluch, compelled the Indian Government to depute me, with a military force and some guns, under the command of Colonel C. Jacob,* to deal

* Now Lieut.-General Sir Claude Jacob, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., etc.

Digitized by Google

with a position the end of which could not be foreseen, and this was done so effectually that, from this side, there has never been any further trouble of either an active or passive nature.

On the northern side the relations which were gradually built up, as years passed, with the transfrontier Baluch and Afghan tribesmen lacked nothing in either cordiality or friendship. Suspicious at first, they yielded their confidence in the end, and throughout a period of little less than twenty years the relations which were established with these tribesmen remained unimpaired, and were distinguished by many spontaneous acts of good feeling, and were indeed far more friendly than anywhere else on the Indo-Afghan border.

But perhaps the most remarkable change of all took place in the west—that is to say, beyond the waterless belt, on the Sarhad border. Persian authority had always hung loose over their outlying Baluch tribes, but a few years subsequent to the opening of the trade route to caravan traffic Persian Baluchistan revolted; the Persian Deputy-Governor fled from Bampur; his forces disbanded themselves and scattered all over the country; and the Sarhad Baluch started raiding on an immense scale, their forays, as time went on, extending hundreds of miles and eventually reaching as far as, and even beyond, Kirman and Birjand. Despite this, our trade route, which lay within less than a single day's easy march of their tribal headquarters, was never touched, until the spasm of unrest which followed the opening of the war passed over the country in 1915.

The Baluch is a peculiar individual, but quickly reacts to kindness, always provided that this is guided by a tact and experience which is founded on an intimate knowledge of his tribal customs and somewhat remarkable personality and mentality. In the absence of this knowledge, the results which may follow well-intentioned acts are frequently the reverse of what is anticipated. To give a somewhat typical instance of the working of the Baluch mind: Shortly before quitting the frontier, the speaker happened to express to a Baluch some surprise that he had seen a tribesman who was a member of a tribe living without the district, with whom there was a blood feud, walking about quite openly. The answer given was that, as a matter of fact, the tribal elders concerned had only, a few days before, held a consultation on the subject, at which it had been decided that the intruder was to be disposed of, but, while so, it had also been decided that the matter was to be postponed a few months. Curiosity being aroused, steps were taken to ascertain the explanation, and it was found that, with the amiability of their race, it had been decided not to give the District Officer any unnecessary trouble just then. It need scarcely be said that the exercise of this kindly intention was rendered unnecessary.

The trade route which was opened ran from Nushki, at the foot of the Sarlat Hills, along the northern glacis of the Kharan Range to

Digitized by Google

a place called Dalbandin. Here it struck north-west until it reached the southern slope of the Koh-i-Sultan, an isolated and extremely rugged range of wind-cut peaks which will be found on the map springing from the plain immediately west of the Chagai Hills. Following a direction south, but parallel to this range, the trade route struck boldly west to Robat, at the foot of the Koh-i-Malik Siah Mountain, on whose summit stands the pillar which marks the point where the three frontiers of Persia, Afghanistan, and British Baluchistan meet. This route, some 469 miles in length from Quetta and some 367 miles from Nushki, was selected as being that most suited to the requirements of caravan trade, and it outflanked the great desert. A somewhat general belief exists that a camel is an animal which can negotiate long marches without much difficulty, requires very little water, and although not a hill-climber, yet cares little for moderately hilly country. On the contrary, the ideal camel track should have stages not more than thirteen to fifteen miles apart, be provided with a good supply of water at each halting-place—to the camel the quantity more than the quality is more important—and be as level as possible. A camel will never step over an obstacle, be it only an inch or so in height, but will always go round. The desiderata of a good caravan track are therefore those given, added to which there must be good grazing, with plenty of wood for the drivers. Given these conditions, and a country where the rainfall is scanty, and a camel will go anywhere. In mud a camel is useless, and whereas the Bactrian camel can stand extreme cold, our Afghan and Baluch camels, accustomed as they are to hot climates, succumb unless they start on their journey, if it is a lengthy one, in good condition and receive a regular daily allowance of crushed wheat.

Apart from such difficulties as were attendant on the control of a population and of the surroundings of such a country as I have described, the purely trade-route problems with which we were faced resolved themselves into four.

There was, firstly, the difficulty of providing shelter and accommodation along a road which extended to such a distance. This, however, was overcome, and in the course of a few years every stage other than one lying in the centre of the waterless belt was provided with a series of wells, caravanserais, guest-houses, and travellers' bungalows, with storehouses, post and telegraph offices, and guard-posts, at suitable intervals apart. The actual number of these, all built by tribal labour and most by the Baluch levies themselves or under Baluch supervision, was: Large guard-posts, several of which in size partook of the nature of strong forts, 11; ordinary trade-route guard-posts, 11; storehouses, 10; travellers' bungalows, furnished, 21; serais and mehmankhanas, 19 of each; telegraph offices, 6; hospital dispensaries, 4; with a sufficiency of wells at each stage to meet the requirements of caravan

Digitized by Google

trade. In addition a broad track, cleared of stones and ramped where necessary, was carried right through the 370 odd miles to the frontier.

The next problem had relation to the supply of food. This gave rise to ceaseless anxiety. The grain produced in the country did not suffice for the requirements of its inhabitants, and the demands which were made on the trade-route resources during the height of the caravan season were frequently extremely heavy. The system eventually adopted was to build roomy storehouses and lay in supplies during the summer months, when the flow of traffic had moderated.

The next difficulty concerned the somewhat severe climatic conditions to which this country is subject. In summer the heat and in winter the cold are equally intense. Inward-bound caravans, on reaching Nushki, found that there lay before them an ascent to Quetta of some 3,000 feet, and that in the depth of winter the country they now entered was frequently under snow, devoid of grazing, and was without inhabitants, as they had moved with their flocks and herds down to the plains below. So many camels, weakened by a long inward journey, succumbed on the last section that it was realized that unless some very radical improvement was made here the caravan route could never prove a success. The delay between the arrival and departure of caravans frequently extended to a fortnight or more, and so, being unable to keep their animals at Quetta for so long a time in winter, carriers found it necessary to send them down to graze on the Kachi Plains, which added another 200 miles of inward and outward journey. This difficulty was overcome in 1905 by extending the railway to the foot of the hills at Nushki, a measure that did more than anything else to popularize the route. With the railhead at Nushki, the distance to Meshed was thus reduced to some 1,010 miles.

Before leaving the subject of climate, I would like to allude to a somewhat remarkable phenomenon which is found in the district through which the trade route passes. It is what I will call, for want of a better term, a " wind-stream," which blows almost daily, throughout the summer months, from north to south down the waterless belt. The origin or—if I may employ the word—the source of this wind has been traced to the north of Herat, to the oasis which lies beyond the Paropomisus Range, between the Murghab and Hari Rud Rivers—a region that for a long period in history was known as the " Badkhyz," or place where the wind gets up. From Herat this wind blows, in an almost direct line, south to Lash Juwain, where it is said to attain its maximum velocity. From here it continues to Sistan, and, following the Helmand up its course, it rounds the corner of the bend at Bund-i-Kamal Khan, continues for a distance of some forty miles, and then, again turning south, proceeds on its way until it eventually blows itself out in the vicinity of the Arabian Sea. In summer, the average breadth of the stream is from fifty to eighty miles, but it is sometimes

Digitized by Google

less, for it fluctuates considerably. In winter it blows intermittently and, to a great extent, loses its stream characteristics. Its influence as an agent of denudation is apparent everywhere in the centre of its path, for it has scooped out troughs in places some 20 to 30 feet deep, a 100 and more yards wide, and a mile or so in length; has chiselled out the valley of the Helmand until the river has been left running along a raised channel, like an aqueduct—no doubt this is to be ascribed to ground saturation offering a greater resistance to wind action—and has cut the Koh-i-Sultan mountain range into shapes so fantastic as to be quite beyond description, polishing, with wind-blown sand, one of its western buttresses, which is composed of obsidian, until it shines like glass, and piling sand in masses up against the northern side of the range until it has reached not far short of the very summit.

The last problem, and a most important one too, related to the onward despatch of goods from railhead, and this proved both difficult and complex. In summer the demand for carriage could generally be met, but in winter, when trade was at its height, there was frequently a shortage of animals, and rates fluctuated greatly in sympathy. As years passed, the question became an insistent one, and eventually a camel contract was entered into, under which goods arriving at railhead were transported to the Sistan border for Rs. 23 per camel, the number of days taken in transit being limited, with halts, to twenty-eight. With the introduction of this contract all rate fluctuations terminated, for when private hirers found they were unable to arrange their own carriage they had recourse to the Government agents. The contract worked with remarkable precision until the year 1915, when it is stated that a shortage of camels took place and the contractors were unable to carry out their agreement. From the Sistan border another contract, under the supervision of the Consul Sistan, worked in unison.

Following the termination of the contract a large accumulation of goods took place at railhead, and this, combined with the extremely unsatisfactory nature of the outlook in Persia, due to Turkish aggression, led to the momentous decision to extend the line to Dalbandin, a distance of 113 miles. The work was carried out, with remarkable celerity. Crossing as this extension did, an open plain, the construction presented no engineering difficulty. At a later date, and for reasons which closely corresponded, although in this case they related more to the position in Central Asia brought about by the Russian collapse, it was decided that the line had best be continued to the Baluchistan-Persian frontier, and this has now been done. In place, therefore, of a tract of difficult country, from the point of view of transport, we now have a broad-gauge railway-line running from the port of Karachi, on the west coast of India, direct to the Persian border,

Digitized by Google

which is linked up with the Punjab and our Indian railway systems.

With that consideration which has always distinguished the Government of India when dealing with questions of trade, certain very important railway concessions were granted, a few years ago, to all trade which passed by rail to Nushki. These concessions are:

First, a rebate is allowed of two-thirds the actual freight charges by the North-Western Railway on all goods, including live-stock, proceeding to and from Persia and Afghanistan, provided the maximum freight exceeded the sum of Rs. 5.

Second, a rebate of one-third freight is granted on all goods proceeding to the same destinations over the East Indian and Oude and Rohilkand Railways.

Third, a Customs drawback of seven-eighths on all goods imported from England, via either Bombay or Karachi, and re-exported, under Customs seal, without breaking bulk.

Fourth, the grant of free railway passes to Persian and Afghan traders visiting India on business over the North-Western and East Indian Railways.

With railhead on the Baluchistan-Persian frontier, the distances to the three important trade-distributing centres now stands as follows:

1. To Sistan about 100 miles.

2. To Meshed, via Sistan, about 630 miles, but there is a direct route running from Robat to Neh and thence to Birjand which reduces the distance to about 540 miles, and has the advantage of avoiding Sistan and its troublesome inundated area.

3. To Herat, a distance proportionate to No. 2.

The Nushki route, in addition to having the advantage of the up-to-date facilities for dealing with cargo provided by the port of Karachi, and the exceedingly valuable railway concessions just enumerated, now becomes the shortest route we have by about 360 miles. Against this, trade passing through Gulf ports is sea-borne, but this fact is to a certain extent discounted by the disembarkation difficulties attendant on steamers having to lie off the shore, and by the fact that it is not uncommon for the first hundred miles or so of the road up-country from the coast to be interrupted. The latter disadvantage will scarcely lie in the case of the new railhead, for once clear of the Sarhad border, which it will now be our business to see adequately policed by the Persian Government, all danger is left behind.

It would now be well if we were to consider what steps can advantageously be taken to develop to its very fullest capacity the great material advantages which the new terminus supplies to our trade.

Apart from the opening up of a country, on our side of the frontier, where salt in vast quantities is to be obtained, and where lead, copper, antimony, iron, ochre, and sulphur, have been found, as well as cut-

Digitized by Google

crops of marble and jasper, it would seem that the linking up of the frontier terminus by roads suited for wheeled traffic connecting rail-head with Sistan and Birjand is a measure which easily comes first in importance. The distance from Askabad, on the Transcaspian Railway, to Meshed is 177 miles; without, therefore, the stimulus which the Russian pre-war system of bounties supplied, we may take it—the conditions on either side being equal, an hypothesis which is scarcely reliable, for very real advantages now lie with us—that the meeting-point of corresponding Russian and British economic pressure would lie somewhere in the vicinity of Birjand. I am making the somewhat bold assumption that Russia will be able to rehabilitate herself and revert to pre-war conditions. East of the great desert barrier to which I have referred more than once in this lecture there are clearly two points of equal strategic and economic importance—Herat and Sistan. Draw a line connecting these two places and balance this line on Birjand, and the Power which has the ability to tip it from here one way or another is the Power which holds the dominant position. Between Robat, on our border, and Birjand there is an admirable alignment for a cart road, and, as the gradient is gentle throughout, the cost of a road such as we require would be approximately small.

The Sistan road-connection should be equipped with brick or stone bridges, so that the Shelag Nullah overflow and the several deep irrigation cuts which have to be forded on entering inhabited Sistan may no longer prove the impediment to trade which they have hitherto been. It is quite an ordinary occurrence for trade passing between Nasratabad and Robat to be held up for days by floods. The country intervening is dead-level clay plain, so the cost of a road, apart from the bridging, should be trifling. With the thousands of vehicles of all kinds, including motor-lorries, which the termination of the war has now thrown on the market, it would be well worth considering whether some of these could not be utilized for such an admirable purpose as this. Nothing is more certain than that we shall find it necessary to establish wheeled transport on this line in the very early future, and this being so, wisdom requires that we should face this fact and take such steps as are necessary with this end in view. A light railway or tram line would, of course, be still better. This road would follow the telegraph-line by which Robat is connected, on the one side, with the Indian telegraph system, and on the other with Meshed, through Sistan and Birjand.

With the railway terminus on this border and east of the desert barrier, Sistan must now assume its proper place as the great distributing centre of South-West Afghanistan; but while this result will assuredly follow, we must not forget the great potentialities which Sistan herself possesses for purely agricultural development. The River Helmand, the largest river in Afghanistan, discharges, at Sistan, on to an open

Digitized by Google

plain. Its water is richly charged with silt; there are immense stretches of land fit for cultivation lying to hand, provided a market can be obtained for the grain they could and are ready to produce; the country lends itself to irrigation; and labour is both cheap and abundant. The Persian Government do not permit the export of cereals, but it is to be hoped that this attitude will be modified if they are tactfully approached. They would have every reason for reconsidering their decision, for if their orders were rescinded they would be able to dispose of their revenue grain at highly remunerative prices; the resulting increased cultivation would be accompanied by a proportionate rise in their land revenue, and the extension of cultivation would in itself prove a valuable insurance against those years of scarcity from which neither Sistan nor the surrounding country are exempt. Several years back we conducted a very valuable import trade with Sistan in "ghi," or clarified butter. On the initiative of our great trade rivals in Persia, an embargo was placed on the export of this article from Sistan, and a few years subsequently our Consul reported that Sistan was then scarcely producing sufficient ghi for her own requirements. Our trade with Persia is largely an export trade, and it therefore follows that anything that can be done to assist, no matter in how small a degree, in equalizing the balance should receive our most careful consideration. As I shall have to refer later on to this matter, I will merely say here that there is no question relating to our trade with Persia which assumes a higher importance than this.

The caravan route terminated on the Baluchistan-Sistan frontier at Robat. This place, perhaps the most important of the old guard-posts which protected the southern approach to Sistan, and where there are extensive remains of copper workings, is situated at the immediate foot of the Sarhad rock-wall, which makes, at this place, a somewhat sharp turn west. Onward from Robat outgoing caravans had two roads which they could select—viz., that via Nasratabad, the headquarters of the Persian administration of Sistan, distant about 100 miles, and that which runs direct to Birjand, through Neh, and thus avoids the detour through Sistan with its inundated areas and troublesome and intricate irrigation system. From the point of view of ancient trade communications, the country in the vicinity of Robat presented an interesting problem I was anxious to solve, and which can be explained in a few words. Excluding the somewhat unimportant track which leads to Mekran from Sistan, and runs parallel to the eastern glacis of the Sarhad Hills, I knew there was no other which came from Sistan and traversed British territory. I knew that Sistan, with its highly developed system of irrigation canals, had once formed the headquarters of a Governorship which had embraced within its limits the larger portion of what is modern Afghanistan, and Baluchistan as far down as the Kachi Plains. I knew that a succession of great armies had

Digitized by Google

marched from Sistan to Kirman, and *vice versa*. It is scarcely necessary to recall to mind that this was the route selected by Alexander the Great as being the easiest for the return of his sick, time-expired veterans, and the women whom he despatched under Krateros to await his arrival at Carmania or Kirman. Incidentally it may be observed that while Krateros is generally supposed to have taken the Bolan route, yet it is worth while remembering that the more direct Siwi-Sanjawi-Khojak route was well known at this time and was in common use. I further knew that Antiochus the Great had marched with his whole army direct from Sistan to Kirman, at the close of what was afterwards to prove his unsuccessful Indian campaign. It thus seemed open to no reasonable doubt that Sistan must have been connected with its neighbouring sister-province of Kirman by one of those great direct posting roads which formed such prominent features both in the time of the Persian Empire and of those empires which succeeded it. Further, I knew that, following the abandonment of the Black Sea Caspian route to India, through Bactria, a more western route had been taken by trade, and that this route had connected the capital of the time being in Southern Mesopotamia direct with India on the one side, and with the Ægean Sea on the other. And, lastly, there were the accounts of the Arab travellers who had made it clear that in their period a great route, long since forgotten, had run from Hormuz, the present Bandar Abbas—the name in medieval times was a synonym of great wealth—to Sistan, which had been in almost daily use. Taking all these points into consideration, it seemed open to no reasonable doubt that the remains of some great trade route were to be found close to Robat, and I made it my task to find it. Later on an opportunity offered of climbing the Koh-i-Daftan Mountain, a peak in the Sarhad Range which, from a height of 13,000 feet, commands a view of the plains for a great distance around. A glance was sufficient to convince me that the great trunk road, if it ever existed, must have passed immediately between the western foot of the range and the great white mass of shimmering heat which represented the great desert, and which I could see extending in an unbroken band as far as the eye could reach. Thanks to the good offices of Mr. Gabler, of the Indo-European Telegraph Department, search was made, and the old trunk road was found, with its ruined stages provided with caravanserais, posting and store houses, guard-posts, and, more interesting still, with lofty lighthouses, on the summits of which traces were found, in some cases, of the beacon fires which were kept burning at night to guide the flow of traffic, which apparently never ceased. For many years it has been one of my ambitions to see this old-time trade route restored and pulsating with life and energy, and with our railway terminus in such immediate vicinity to it we may look forward, I think, with confidence to this now ensuing.

Digitized by Google

The Persian is the most unwearying of land travellers, but he detests the sea, and will never willingly embark on it. It is quite certain that our Frontier terminus will attract a yearly increasing number of Persians to India, provided that the difficult section between Bam and the railway is made easily passable. Branch connection with Kirman by means of a caravan track of the type of the erstwhile Nushki-Sistan caravan trade route is most desirable and should be established. All that is needed is to have stages marked out which should be provided with wells, caravanserais, storehouses, and accommodation for Baluch-Persian levy guards. The grant of levy service, for guard duties, to the Sarhad Baluch would be followed by the steadying effect that levy service invariably carries with it on the Frontier. Naturally the re-opening of this route would have to be arranged in friendly co-operation with the Persian Government. This branch-route connection outflanks the great desert, and, if made, must become the main route by which all Persians will travel from the Yezd direction. Some years back I was so favourably impressed with the prospects which a direct caravan route connecting Robat with Kirman, through Bam, then held out that a scheme for this was prepared; but, unfortunately, border lawlessness intervened to prevent its materializing. Telegraph communication over this section is already provided by the Indo-European overland telegraph line.

It is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the political effects which our new railway will carry with it, as conditions are at present obscure, and they keep changing from day to day. I shall therefore merely touch on a few instances where we can, with every confidence, estimate with precision the results which will follow.

The late war has emphasized, with an insistency which almost makes one's head ache, that in these times, when whole nations take part in warfare, no army can hope to operate successfully without unlimited munitions supplied by lateral feed railways. The new line must, in these circumstances, become a highly important factor in securing the effective defence of our Indian Empire.

Another of the recent war's lessons is the prominent part played in a campaign by antagonistic political propaganda. Any hostile propaganda directed towards India, through Afghanistan, from the west can now be short-circuited.

The railway provides the Government of India with effective means of translating into active action, should circumstances ever demand it, their treaty obligations towards Afghanistan, and we may take it that this is quite as patent to H.M. the Amir as it is to us.

We have shown in innumerable ways, during the past twenty-five years, that the policy which animates us towards Persia is one of friendly assistance combined with a desire that she shall work out her salvation on her own lines without outside interference. This

Digitized by Google

policy we are now in a much more favourable position to render effective.

The fact that Afghanistan is surrounded on two sides, can be penetrated from several intervening points, and is guarded by us from outside aggression, should not only exercise a stabilizing effect on the interior and exterior politics of that country, but will supply the Amir with moral strength to deal with any recalcitrant political faction in his country. In Oriental countries political passions are prone to blaze up and burn violently.

For many years past the Baluch tribes of the Sarhad have been in a state of open revolt against the Persian Government, and have raided as far as Kirman and beyond Birjand, inflicting immense damage and suffering. This state of affairs will now, happily, terminate, and permanently so.

The arms traffic between the Persian Gulf and the Indian frontier which prior to the war had engaged the anxious attention of the Indian Government can now be brought under effective control, a matter of extreme present importance in view of the immense supply of rifles, machine-guns, munitions, and explosives which will soon be thrown on the very limited arms markets of the world.

The railway has already proved its great potential value as a defensive insurance measure, and as the years unfold, the rôle which it is destined to play here will not fail to become more and more apparent.

Let us now direct our attention to that great trade-distributing centre Meshed, the head of the Khorassan Government, with a population of 80,000 and a pilgrim traffic to the shrine of the Imam Raza of some 50,000 pilgrims annually, and the capital of a province possessing various deposits of copper, iron, and coal, which have never yet been touched, and the most celebrated turquoise-mines in the world, which have remained unworked for several years owing to maladministration.

Meshed, east of the great desert, is situated 177 miles by cart road from Askabad, on the Transcaspian Railway; 84 miles by hill-track from Doshak, a railway-station on the same line; 175 miles from Merv; and about 231 miles from Herat. A branch line connects Kushk, on the Afghan-Russian frontier, with Merv, and Herat itself is some five marches from Penjdeh.

The trade of Khorassan, in round figures, is two and three-fifths millions. I would like to say, in regard to this figure and such others as I will quote, that the latest reports available are those for the year 1914–15, and that subsequent to that year no Consular reports were issued. This is to be regretted, I think, for in the peculiar circumstances which have governed Russian and British trade with the Khorassan province it would have been a matter of distinct interest to have been able to trace the gradation of effects which followed on the compulsory

Digitized by Google

withdrawal of those artificial conditions on which Russian trade with Khorassan and Central Asia has been supported for so long.

For a long period in her history India had conducted a highly lucrative trade with Central Asia and Khorassan, and this continued down to the year 1880. Prior to the accession, in that year, of the late Amir Abdur Rahman to the throne of Afghanistan, this trade had largely passed through Afghanistan to Central Asia and Khorassan. It had been subject to many vicissitudes, but was healthy, and had survived all. The first serious blow this trade received was from the policy inaugurated by Amir Abdur Rahman, under which heavy dues, etc., were imposed. Under this blow Indian trade wavered, demand contracted, and prices rose. In the year 1885 Merv fell to Russian arms, and not long afterwards the construction of the great Transcaspian Railway to Askabad was undertaken, which was later on extended to Taskend, through Bokhara, and Samarkand. In the year 1895 Russia introduced, as has been said, a system of tariffs and bounties, framed with the end in view of driving all competing Central Asian trade out of the market, and of placing her trade with Khorassan in a position of such predominance that no successful competition would be possible. In the case of our Central Asian trade this end was quickly attained, and since that date every year has borne evidence to the growth of Russian trade at the expense of ours. In 1913–14 Russian trade with Khorassan stood at over £2,300,000 sterling, whereas our trade had dropped to £130,000 sterling, with exports £15,000 and imports £115,000. British trade put up a gallant fight, but it was a losing one, for on the Russian side there were the following overwhelming advantages:

Ready access by railway and a cart road to Meshed itself. Khorassan exports being almost wholly confined to such bulky articles as wool, cotton, dried fruits, raw hides, etc., our traders were unable to touch them at a profit, and this gave the Russian trade very material advantages. Buying and selling in Persia, a country of mere tracks and pack-animals, is very intimately interassociated, and the trader who can move bulky articles profitably and at the same time supply the seller or buyers' needs has trade all his own way.

A system of favourable tariffs and bounties. The nature of these can best be judged by giving a few examples.

Some of these bounties amounted to 15 per cent. of the value of the goods concerned. On cotton goods the bounty stood at Rbs. 1 c. 40 on 6½ pounds. In 1914–15 the value of the sugar exported by Russia to Khorassan amounted to £350,000, and this bounty-fed sugar could be purchased in Meshed at half the price it stood in the Askabad bazaar. Persian cotton, of which a great deal is grown at Sabzewar, was allowed entry into Russia at a nominal customs of c. 40 per 36 pounds, as against a duty of Rbs. 4 c. 15 imposed on cotton importations from all other countries.

Digitized by Google

The establishment of selected trade agents at Meshed, Sabzewar, Turbat-i-Haidari, Sheik Jam, and Birjand, etc. These acted as local distributing agents, kept in touch with producers and buyers, and arranged prolonged credits; for instance, they would sell tea at 10 Krs. per 6½ pounds cash, but would allow customers credits for ten, twenty, and even fifty months at Krs. 12, 14, and 20 respectively, a system which seems greatly to appeal to the Persian mentality.

The predominant position which Russia enjoyed owing to the loan of 22,000,000 roubles she had made to Persia, on the security of the Persian Customs income. It is useless to blink at the fact that in innumerable little ways which had, in the aggregate, a great effect the Belgian Customs employees, with whom the collection of Customs rested, were made to feel that their personal interests lay in favouring Russian trade at our expense. It is true that some of these employees endeavoured to keep the balance equal, but these were the exception.

From the favourable position she held in Northern Persia, the Russians were in a position to deal far more effectively than we were with fraudulent bankrupts, defaulting buyers, sellers, carriers, etc.

The unscrupulous use of any circumstance which could be turned by the Russians to their advantage. For instance, in 1896, when plague first appeared in Bombay, the Russians succeeded in closing all trade routes by which Indian trade passed from the Gulf ports to Khorassan, as well as the road from Herat to Meshed, but they were careful to keep their own trade route through Penjdeh to Herat open.

Against this, our nearest point of entry was placed some 900 miles away; the time involved by the journey was from 80 to 120 days; bulky goods could not be moved; our valuable tea trade, from the point of view of securing return trade, had passed almost wholly under the control of Russian dealers, and was compelled to adopt the Bombay-Constantinople-Batoum-Baku route to Askabad.

I have frequently been told that I am optimistic; that to recover our lost Persian and Herat trade is impossible; and year after year now for ten or fifteen years past it has been said that we have reached the limits of caravan trade expansion through Nushki; indeed, kind friends have urged me, in my own interests, to abandon what they believed was a hopeless struggle, successive consulate reports being adduced to support them in this view. The fight, however, was one which appealed to me. The issue was as clear as the stakes, and difficulties were great. I was confident that the future would see, as has happened, important political and trade developments; and although we have not yet won, yet we have now definitely passed well beyond the first and second lines of our great rival's defence. In the year 1897–98, the first year of the working of the caravan route, the value of our trade passing through Nushki amounted to rather over 6 lakhs; in the year 1913–14 to 51 lakhs; and in

Digitized by Google

the year 1917–18, the last year for which returns have been received, to rather over 60 lakhs, or, in pounds sterling, to some £400,000. These figures may not possibly seem large when brought into comparison with the immense figures of English trade in various parts of the world, but it is to be remembered that they represent almost wholly new trade; they have been built up laboriously without artificial stimulus other than the assistance rendered by the railway concessions to which I have referred; they relate to caravan-borne trade, as distinct from rail-borne trade, attracted from an immense distance and across some 370 miles of almost desert country; and they have been obtained in the face of great difficulties and an almost crushing difference in value between our exports and imports which compelled, in many cases, pack-animals to come down to railhead empty. Yet, again, that these figures, if compared to the entire "Land-borne trade of the provinces of Sind and Baluchistan" for the year 1897–98, the year the trade route was first opened to traffic, stand at 60 lakhs to 81 lakhs.

Apart from the question whether Russia will be able to rehabilitate herself and re-establish those conditions in Transcaspia and Central Asia which existed prior to the war—a matter of very real doubt indeed in view of the tide of anarchy under which she is at present submerged, which has converted that once great Empire into a heaving mass of discordant factions, parties, and races, and has tumbled all her institutions into one general ruin—I can say, with every assurance, that no more favourable opportunity has presented itself to us, for more than twenty years, of recovering that economic position in Central Asia in general, and in Khorassan and Herat in particular, which we enjoyed for so long, and which has been filched from us by methods which were—well, scarcely fair. With a railway from Karachi direct to the Sistan frontier we have at our disposal all the means for doing so, and it now remains for us to make the fullest possible use of all advantages, and they are many, which a railway terminus on this frontier provides.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think we have listened to a most instructive and suggestive paper. There are one or two most competent authorities on the subject-matter of the lecture in this room, and I dare say they will favour us with some of their observations. I will invite Sir Hugh Barnes to be kind enough to make a few remarks.

Sir HUGH BARNES: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, as an old Baluchistan officer I have listened to Colonel Webb Ware's address with the greatest of pleasure, because it recalls to me many memories of that very strange country of which he has spoken to-day. I think you will all agree with our chairman that his address has been singularly interesting and instructive. It could hardly fail to be full of information, because I think it is no exaggeration to say that there is no man living

Digitized by Google

who has anything like the knowledge possessed by Colonel Webb Ware of that great Baluchistan desert, the Registan, and of the Chagai district through which the trade route passes. I can speak with some authority on this point, because it fell to me when I was Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan in 1896 to send Lieutenant Webb Ware, as he was then, to be the first Political Officer in charge of the new district of Chagai. Apart from the ordinary business of administration, Lieutenant Webb Ware's instructions were to develop the trade route to the Persian border. There had always been a little trade dribbling through from Persia to the value of about half a lakh a year; but the object was to improve the road and build posts on an absolutely desert route of over 400 miles, and, if possible, bring about some kind of activity in the trade between Persia and India. Lieutenant Webb Ware threw himself into the work with tremendous zeal and energy, such zeal and energy that very soon the trade route began to bring forth very fruitful results; and in the course of this work he acquired such an affection for the country and the people that, in spite of all temptations to go elsewhere, he remained in the district for no less than nineteen years—that is to say, from 1896 to 1915, when he was invalided home. I think, in these days of frequent and often unnecessary transfers, that is something of a record for the control of a single district by one officer. (Applause.) As you may very well realize, long before those nineteen years were over, Colonel Webb Ware's knowledge of the country and of its inhabitants was quite unique, his influence among the tribesmen was unbounded, and his name throughout the whole of that frontier was a household word—not only on our side of the border, but also among the nomad Afghans of the desert beyond. Now, I am not going to comment much on what Colonel Webb Ware has said, but he has asked me to supplement his address by some of my reminiscences of the desert; I can also fill up some of the gaps in the early history of this line, and can tell you something as to the particular events—the very interesting events—which led to the pushing on of this railway in 1916. (Map shown.) My first view of the desert was at sunrise in the year 1880, from the top of the Khojak, from which elevation you look over a wide panorama of the Afghan plain for some thirty or forty miles. On a clear day you see the hills over Kandahar, but what immediately arrests your eye is the great desert to the south, shining up in the early rays of the morning sun like a great orange band, extending to the horizon as far as the eye can reach, with here and there a great black, jagged peak sticking up out of the wilderness of sand. It is a most remarkable view. My first visit to the desert was in the same year, when I rode from Kandahar with Sir Oliver St. John and Sir Robert Hume seventeen miles to the edge of the desert, where we wondered at the great billows of sand piled up 20 and 30 feet high on the banks of the little Dore River, the only protec-

Digitized by Google

tion against the extension of the desert into the cultivated land of Kandahar. That was only a visit, and my first exploration was in 1884, when I was sent down to Nushki by Sir Robert Sandeman to prepare the road for the Afghan Boundary Commission across the desert to the Helmund. The Commission was going up to settle with the Russians the western boundary of Afghanistan, and the Amir refused, you well remember, to allow it to go through Kandahar, the shortest road to Herat, and insisted it should go through Lash Juwain and Afghan Sistan. The only way to do this was to cross the desert, and it was decided to attempt to find a road to the Helmund from Nushki. At that time very little was known of the desert at all; the only notes we possessed were some written by the late Sir Charles McGregor, Quartermaster-General in India, who at one time had travelled in the southern parts of the desert; but except that there was a track to Chagai, nothing was known as to the practicability of the desert beyond. After being a month at Nushki, I was joined by Captain Maitland, of the Indian Intelligence Department. Between us we discovered and stocked with supplies a route north of Chagai to a place called Galichah, about fifty miles from the Helmund. The distance from Nushki to Khwaja Ali, on the Helmund, was 225 miles. It was not an easy road to follow; we had to mark it out with ploughshares, flares, and posts in the sand, and we had to dig about 800 wells to provide water. Even then it was impossible to pass the whole of the Commission through at once. The party consisted of 1,500 men and 1,500 animals, and they had to go across in three or four parties at one day's interval, so as to allow the wells to fill up. At that time the old thirty-two miles to the inch map of India and the frontier showed the Afghan boundary as a green line about fifty miles from the Helmund, and accordingly we were to hold that the boundary of Baluchistan went up to *that* line. I went along with the Commission as far as Galichah, fifty miles from the Helmund, from which place they had to march fifty miles without water to the river. The Afghan Commissioner used to dispute with me at every stage as we went across that the boundary was reached, and that it was time for me to go back; but on the authority of the map of those days I went on as far as Galichah, where I said good-bye to the Commission and had to ride back with my Baluch escort across the desert. I have a very pleasant recollection of the ride. The fine bright desert air was most exhilarating, and I remember the high spirits of those Baluchi tribesmen. Whenever they got to a bit of flat open ground, they used to race their horses one against another. After this for some years nothing particular happened at Nushki beyond the ordinary border troubles. Part of the Boundary Commission came back by the same route, but nothing of importance occurred until 1895–96, at which time Captain (now Colonel Sir Henry) McMahon was engaged in demarcating, with the aid of

Digitized by Google

an Afghan Commissioner, the southern part of the Durand line—that is to say, the line agreed upon by the Amir and Sir Mortimer Durand as the boundary between Afghanistan and our own sphere of influence among the border tribes. Captain McMahon demarcated the Zhob border in 1895, and in the early part of 1896 traversed the desert with the Afghan officials and laid out the present line to Koh-i-Malik Siah, the point where the three empires, Persia, Afghanistan, and India meet. A good deal more was given to the Afghans than we thought to be theirs in 1884. But their claims were very extensive, and the line fixed on represented a compromise accepted by both sides. As you may imagine, to march from Chaman right across the sandy desert of which Colonel Webb Ware has shown some pictures was not an easy business, and Captain McMahon had a very difficult and arduous task, which he accomplished most successfully. When Captain McMahon came back I happened to be in Simla as Acting Foreign Secretary, and he pointed out the very urgent necessity of having a British officer in charge of the Chagai district between the hills and the new border, because the Khan of Kalat had practically no authority there at all, and there was serious danger that the new Frontier might be unsettled by raids on either side. The result was that Lieutenant Webb Ware was sent down to be the first Political Officer of the Chagai district. Captain McMahon, at the same time, suggested we should obtain control of Nushki, which was a small district paying revenue to the Khan of Kalat. He suggested we should take it over on terms similar to those on which we hold Quetta. Quetta is not British territory; Pishin and Sibi are British territory regularly annexed, because we took them from the Afghans after the Afghan War. Quetta is what is known as an "Assigned" district. We hold it on a lease in perpetuity from the Khan of Kalat at an annual quit rent. The proposal about Nushki was very favourably received at Simla, and in 1899 an arrangement was made transferring the Nushki district to us in consideration of an annual quit rent. Nushki became Lieutenant Webb Ware's headquarters. About that time there arose the question of running a branch from the Quetta Railway down to Nushki. Colonel Webb Ware has told you the reason for it. From Nushki to the Persian Frontier is an ideal camel country—most of it absolutely flat, a great deal very sandy. But Quetta is 5,500 feet high, Nushki only 2,500, and there is a mountain road between the two which is a difficult road for the rather lightly built camels of the desert. Also, there is very little camel grazing at Quetta, and the nomad Baluchis of the desert were shy of going into new country with which they were not acquainted, and which was often in winter under snow. The proposal for a railway was strongly supported by Lord Curzon, who was then Viceroy. He obtained the necessary sanction from the Government at home in 1902, and the line was completed in 1905. At that time it was certainly in

Digitized by Google

my mind, and I believe that it was also in Lord Curzon's mind, that the railway would some time or other have to be extended to the Persian Frontier both for military reasons and in the interest of trade. But after 1905, beyond the improvement of the camel route through the desert, carefully shepherded all those years by Colonel Webb Ware, nothing was done until 1916. The arguments in favour of pushing on the line were twofold. There was, of course, the commercial reason, the advantage to trade of bridging the desert and of reaching the inhabited and cultivated country on the other side of it. Incidentally, too, it was always held that this railway would be a very great military and strategic advantage, because it would enable us at any moment, if necessary, in the event of an attack from the north, to put troops into the oasis of Sistan. Of course, in those days, when these views were held, the great anxiety of the Indian Government for many years—from the time when Colonel Valentine Baker wrote his book on "Clouds in the East" onwards—was, as you know, the aggressive policy of Russia on the far border of Afghanistan. When I went out to India, Russia was on the Caspian, but not across it. Gradually she encroached or advanced, very naturally, no doubt, until she was at Merv. Then came the Boundary Commission which settled the western boundary of Afghanistan, but it was always in the mind of the Indian Government that there might be some day an attack from the north, either in conjunction with Afghanistan, or under circumstances which would bind us to go into Afghanistan to defend it from encroachment. You will see that the occupation of a place like Sistan by a hostile force would not only upset the whole of our Frontier arrangements, and cause unrest and trouble throughout the whole of the border, but also, in the event of a British force operating from Kandahar in the direction of Girishk, on the Helmund, its flank could be turned up the Helmund River. On the other hand, if Sistan was held by us, not only would that manœuvre be impossible, but also considerable support could be given to any army occupying, or operating in, Southern Afghanistan in the way of supplies up the Helmund River, the Helmund itself being absolutely unassailable because of this desert, called the Dasht-i-Margo, on the north, and the corresponding desert on the south. Nevertheless, nothing was done after 1905, partly, I dare say, because Lord Curzon himself had left India, partly also, perhaps, because there was a Liberal Government in power. Whatever the other merits of Liberal Governments may be, I think most of us will agree that they did not in those days shine in the matter of military preparation. There was also a very plausible reason for not pushing forward, because, as you will remember, in 1907 came the welcome entente with Russia, with which our chairman had a very great deal to do. That, for the time being, removed the immediate fear of any aggression from the north. I will now tell you how it came about that in 1916 the Govern-

Digitized by Google

ment of India decided to push on the line. (Map of Persia shown.) In order to do so I must turn your attention for a moment to Persia. When Turkey entered the war, Persia, of course, was a neutral nation, and had every desire to remain neutral. It was to her advantage to remain neutral, and there was every hope that she would be able to keep aloof from the great conflict because, of course, Persia had no army which could be of any military value to either of the belligerents. That, however, was not the view of the Germans or Turks, and no sooner had the Turks joined in the struggle than all the German officials in Persia commenced to start at once a tremendous anti-British propaganda, which was so universal and so well concerted that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that their plans were carefully prepared before the war. I am, as perhaps you know, chairman of the Imperial Bank of Persia; therefore in what I am telling you I am speaking of what I know from the information I have had from time to time. The first thing the Turks did was to take Tabriz, and that without any provocation at all. They turned our Bank Manager and Consul out of Tabriz, and our branch there was closed. This only lasted six weeks, for the Russians came down from the Caucasus and reoccupied the town. Almost simultaneously the Turks advanced on Ahwaz, a town on the Karun River, partly, no doubt, to embarrass our expedition at Basra, and partly in the hope of damaging the Anglo-Persian oilfields situated in the hills, whose pipe-line runs down the Karun from Ahwaz to the Shat-el-Arab, the estuary of the Tigris and Euphrates. A few British troops were detached to defend Ahwaz, and as our expedition gradually advanced up the Tigris, the Turks were compelled to retire from this part of Persia. But they adhered to their object, and the next thing they did was to advance in the centre and capture Kermanshah, which our Consul and Bank Manager had to leave in a hurry. About the same time a German Consul, called, I think, Schiedemann, succeeded in winning over to his side the Swedish officers and the Persian gendarmerie under their orders, and took possession of Hamadan, where also our bank had to be closed. Very shortly after these German conspirators reached Kum, and there was a plot to persuade the Shah to go down there in the hope of bringing him over to their side. This was defeated by the efforts of the Russian and British Ministers in Teheran, and the Germans and their followers retreated south and seized Sultanabad and Ispahan. Our Consul at Ispahan, with the whole of the bank staff and all the ladies and children, had to march with very inadequate transport through the Bakhtiari Hills down to Ahwaz to obtain refuge. Almost immediately afterwards the enemy seized Shiraz, and our Bank Manager there, Mr. Fergusson, with all his staff, and our Consul, Colonel O'Connor, were taken prisoners, and brought down to a place called Borasjun, and remained in confinement for eight months. This coup was engineered by another

Digitized by Google

German Consul called Herr Wassmuss. From Shiraz the German filibusters pushed on to Yezd and Kirman, and our Bank Manager and Consul were obliged to take refuge in Bandar Abbas. Thus, at the end of 1915, out of seventeen branches of this Bank in Persia, no less than seven were in the hands of the Germans and Turks—Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, Ispahan, Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirman; practically the whole of Southern Persia was under German influence, and all the trade routes to the Gulf were closed. The position was obviously rather a critical one, especially as there was reason to suppose that the Germans were trying to get emissaries into Afghanistan. In fact, I believe they did succeed in getting a deputation into Kabul, but failed to influence the Amir. In January, 1916, I went to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, and pointed out that the position was a very unpleasant one. According to our information, there were only about thirty or forty Germans at Kirman, supported by a number of levies which they had raised. I pointed out that that was a game two could play at, that our officers were very much better at raising tribal levies than the Germans, and that there were plenty of men in Baluchistan a great deal better than any men the Germans were able to raise in Persia. I also urged the pushing on of this railway, which would enable us to strengthen all our Frontier posts from Koh-i-Malik Siah all along the border, and so enable us to exercise some control in Eastern Persia. I wrote two articles on the railway in that excellent little paper the *Indiaman*, now alas! defunct, and I asked Colonel Webb Ware if he could assist. He responded, with his usual energy and enthusiasm, with a series of masterly memoranda, full of knowledge and information as to the route the railway should take, and the character of the country —in fact, with a complete description of the whole of the route from Nushki onwards to the Persian Frontier. These were sent to the Indian Government; I have no doubt that the Indian Government were also looking into the matter on their side. You will remember that in March, 1916, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, with a few Indian troops, was sent to Bandar Abbas, where he raised some levies, advanced to Kirman, and drove the Germans successively out of Yezd, Shiraz, and Ispahan, so that before the end of 1916, with the help of the Russians in the north, most of the German and Turkish emissaries were out of the country—at any rate their influence was gone. Also, in the summer of 1916 the Indian Government took up the question of the railway and obtained the sanction of the Home Government to pushing it on to Dalbandin. It was represented to them that the railway could not possibly remain with its terminus at that place. To leave it there was like stopping a bridge in the middle of a stream. We needed to bridge the whole of the desert, and until this was done the railway could not attain its full usefulness or be as

Digitized by Google

productive as it might be expected to prove if it ran into Persian territory. Well, I have no doubt that the admirable arguments used by Colonel Webb Ware in his memoranda had a great deal to do with the decision of the Indian Government in pushing on to Dalbandin, but you will see also that their hand was to some extent forced by circumstances. They were bound to do something with the Germans in Kirman. But after Sir Percy Sykes's brilliant and successful march through the South of Persia there was not the same immediate necessity to push on from Dalbandin, and whether they would have gone on as quickly as they have done if nothing further had occurred I do not know; but in the meantime another danger had arisen. The collapse of Russia had taken place, the Germans had obtained control of the Black Sea, the Turks had landed at Batoum, and were clearly aiming to gain possession of Baku. There was an obvious danger that, if they strengthened themselves sufficiently at Baku, they might be able to send a small force across the Caspian on to the Transcaspian line, and so to Merv, which, although it might not be a serious military danger, would yet be sufficiently strong to create very great unrest all along the border among the Turkomans and Afghans. So here, again, I fancy the Indian Government's hand was to a certain extent forced by circumstances. The railway to Dalbandin was started in the autumn of 1916, and was completed in March, 1917. In this summer of 1917, after the Russian collapse, the Government decided to push the line on to Mirjawa, on the Persian border. Work was begun in the autumn of 1917, and I believe this extension was finished last March. Since then the line has been pushed on thirty or forty miles to the neighbourhood of Koh-i-Malik Siah, possibly to a place called Dusdap, which I think Colonel Webb Ware has mentioned as being an important plateau, from which you look over Sistan and the country between the hills and desert. In the meantime, owing to the Armistice, the danger from the north has, in its turn, disappeared, at any rate temporarily, and there is no object in going farther. The points to remember—and why I mention them is that there are people who object to an advance of any kind on our Indian Frontier on the assumption that it implies an aggressive or jingo or militaristic policy—are, first, that there is, of course, nothing aggressive or even unusual in running a commercial railway through your own territory to the borders of a neighbouring friendly power; and, secondly, in this particular instance the hands of the Government of India were practically forced by the events in Persia arising from the aggressive policy of Germany in that neutral country. This completes up to date the history of this interesting and important railway. As to the future I agree very generally with what Colonel Webb Ware has said. Of course, any further extension of the line must depend on the Persian Government, seeing that we have now reached the Persian border. How far the Persians may be able

Digitized by Google

to finance any railway extensions in the near future I cannot say; but this at any rate may be asserted, that, with the railway brought practically on to the Persian plateau, the Persian Government have now an admirable opportunity of providing Eastern Persia with a system of railway communications which can hardly fail to be advantageous to their trade; and, although I have no knowledge at all of what the views of the Government of India or the India Office here may be on the subject, I should imagine that if as a first step the Persian Government were to ask for the extension of the line into Nasratabad in Sistan, the Government of India would be only too happy to meet their wishes on very favourable terms, because such an extension into the middle of a very fertile and cultivated area, to a town where there is a local Governor, a British bank, and a British Consul, must be of advantage to both parties. I think it would be a wise course to suggest this to the Persian Government. Whether it is possible to extend south in the direction of Bampur and Kirman is a much bigger question; but, at any rate, we may anticipate with confidence that the closer association brought about between Persia and the frontiers of India will certainly, as time goes on, increase the trade between the two countries. I heard the other day that already the railway as far as Mirjawa was obtaining satisfactory traffic. I may mention that an excellent illustration of the military value of this railway is afforded by a telegram in *The Times* the day before yesterday, which stated that a British force accompanied by an anti-Bolshevist Russian force had completely defeated a Bolshevist force fifty miles north-east of Merv. How do you suppose the men got there ? They could not have got there without very great delay and expense unless this railway had existed. (Applause.) Therefore, although it would have been very much better if the railway had been made ten years ago, when it could have been made very much more cheaply, or even if it had been built at the very beginning of the war—still, it came in time to be of very great use during the last stage of the great struggle. I have nothing further to say except that I think it must be an extraordinary gratification to Colonel Webb Ware, after twenty years of unobtrusive work and patient endeavour on the trade route, to see at last his dearest ambition fulfilled and a line of railway built between Nushki and the Persian Frontier. I hope he will not object to my saying so, but there is no doubt that his knowledge and experience of the desert, and his ability, when this emergency arose, to put before the Government in the most minute detail every possible thing that they could require to know with regard to the 400 miles of desert, so that it was possible for them to operate quickly, without very much of a survey, and without much discussion as to the proper route by which to proceed, had a very great influence in bringing about the rapid and immediate completion of the line. Although his work has lain for many years in

Digitized by Google

an out-of-the-way district, where it has not been noticed, I am glad to think that at last all that he has accomplished in that part of the world is receiving recognition.

Sir HENRY MCMAHON: Ladies and gentlemen, at this time of the evening I am not going to keep you for more than a minute. The pictures and the lecture have reawakened many old memories, but I am not going to bore you with those. We have listened to a most interesting and useful lecture by Colonel Webb Ware, and I just want to add a word of praise as to his work in that part of the world, which has facilitated and led to the railway of which we have all been talking. It is almost impossible to realize the change that has occurred in the country from the time when I first had the pleasure of seeing it. A slight reference was made by Sir Hugh Barnes to where the Afghan boundary was thought to be when he went to the Helmund in 1884, and what it is on the map as shown to you just now. Well, of course, the boundary was in a land which was absolutely unknown—known neither by the Afghans nor by us ; as strange to the Englishmen on the Commission as to the Afghan officials who met them—a country on a perfectly incorrect map. In 1893, at Kabul, that portion of the boundary was the subject of great discussion, and nobody took any great interest in it except myself. In fact, I was in charge of all the negotiations for the Baluch boundary, and, strange to say, no portion of the whole of our boundary between India and Afghanistan caused more discussion with the Amir than that bit of Chagai. He had had an obsession for many years that it was the strategic point on which the safety of Southern Afghanistan depended, and he was not going to give it up. We had the greatest difficulty in persuading him to do so. He had taken every precaution to make it Afghan territory, because, when I went there to demarcate the boundary, we found Afghan posts and garrisons sixty miles south of where we hoped the boundary to be. Those had to be removed, and we got the boundary where we wanted it. In those days, from a few miles beyond Quetta to as far as the Persian border it was an absolutely uninhabited country, and almost unknown; and Nushki, which is now the capital over which Colonel Webb Ware has reigned so long, was by no means a friendly place. It was peopled by a wild, savage lot, so afraid of what I would do with them—I was angry with them because they had been rude to me from a distance—that when I went to Nushki in the first instance all the inhabitants fled and the head-men hid down wells. (Laughter.) I had them searched for and found, and took them back tied up as prisoners to Quetta. *Here* (showing on map) is Nushki. From here onwards, where we are talking of, is a railway, and Sir Hugh Barnes has just told us there is a lot of traffic by that railway. But we met no one at all from a point near Chagai. In a journey of six weeks—n my diary I saw it noted the other day—we only met three inhabi-

Digitized by Google

tants. Some years afterwards I went to Sistan and spent two and a half years on a mission there. I came home in 1905. I had a large party with me—something like 1,400 men, many horses, and about 3,000 camels. I came back by the trade route which Colonel Webb Ware had opened *here* (showing), and, instead of going through long waterless tracts—fifty and seventy mile stretches without water—as I had done eight years before, I found a long line of stages with wells at each stage; and when I came to Nushki, this very inhospitable place which I have just referred to, I found a nice tidy town built. I was met by deputations of the inhabitants. There were decorations and flags over the houses, and I was there for two or three days in the enjoyment of all the hospitality and entertainment the town could give me. That was all the result of the working of Colonel Webb Ware amongst a primitive, wild people in an absolutely desolate and inhospitable country. This is the country through which the railway you have now heard of runs. As to the prospects of the railway, everything has been touched on, I think, except the enormous potentialities of Sistan itself, which I venture to prophesy will provide traffic for more than one railway in the days to come. I thank you, Colonel Webb Ware, for your most interesting lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we ought not to separate, ladies and gentlemen, without conveying our very heartiest thanks to Colonel Webb Ware for his most instructive paper; also, I think we ought to add that we are much indebted to both Sir Hugh Barnes and Sir Henry MacMahon for the very useful and interesting observations they have been good enough to make. I therefore hope I may be authorized to thank Colonel Webb Ware very much for his paper. (Applause.)

Colonel WEBB WARE: My Lord Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the vote of thanks which you have passed is one for which I desire to express my grateful appreciation, as well as for the interest and attention with which you have listened to my lecture. The discussion which followed, I think, was of particular interest. I feel far from deserving the tribute which has been extended by Sir Hugh Barnes and Sir Henry McMahon to the work with which I have been so intimately associated for so long. But if the Nushki-Sistan trade route has in any respects proved successful in the past, and the foundations have been well and truly laid for the success which I so firmly believe awaits its railway-borne trade in future, then permit me in turn to express the deep sense of the obligation under which I labour for the official assistance and sympathy I have received from the heads of the Baluchistan province, and for the consideration which has so readily been extended to me by the Government of India. (Applause.)

This ended the meeting.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX

THE NUSHKI TRADE ROUTE*

A MUCH NEEDED RAILWAY

By Sir Hugh Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.

At a time like the present, when the grant for capital expenditure on Indian railways has been cut down from £12,000,000 to £3,000,000, it may seem rash to propose the construction of a new line, especially of a frontier line. But there is one project to which the events of the war have added so much importance, both from the commercial and the political point of view, that I think it deserves the serious consideration of the Government of India. I refer to a proposal more than once made, but never carried out, for building a light line of railway from Nushki to Nasratabad in Sistan, or, at any rate, to our Frontier post at Koh-i-Malik Siah, on the Sistan border.

The Nushki trade route from Quetta to Sistan was opened in 1897 in the hope of developing an overland trade between India and Persia. It was at that date placed in charge of Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Webb Ware, of the Political Department, who, as Political Agent for Chagai, has with unabated zeal and enthusiasm remained in charge of it almost continuously for the past nineteen years. It is mainly to his energy, enterprise, and knowledge of the people that the success hitherto achieved is due.

In the beginning the trade was small. Camel carriage was the only means of transporting goods over the 450 miles intervening between Quetta and Sistan, and the first 100 miles from Quetta down to the edge of the desert at Nushki ran through a network of hills, and was difficult. When Lord Curzon came to India he cordially supported the development of the route, and his Viceroyalty saw the appointment of a British Consul in Sistan, the establishment there of a branch of the Imperial Bank of Persia, and finally the construction of a railway on the standard gauge from Quetta to Nushki, thus eliminating the difficulties of the first part of the route. From Nushki to the Sistan border the trade is still carried on camels, but the road, which runs for the most part between the Kharan Hills and the Registan Desert, passes over an absolutely flat pebbly plain, presenting no difficulties to the construction of a light railway.

The railway to Nushki had an immediate effect on the trade, which has now reached a value of about £350,000 per annum. But this appears to be the maximum obtainable under present conditions, not only because of the increasing expense and great delay of camel carriage, but also because the limit of camel transport appears to have been reached. Unless something can be done the trade is likely to remain at a standstill, but if means can be found of increasing, quickening, and cheapening the transport facilities, a very great expansion may be looked for, even in ordinary times.

The present moment offers an exceptional opportunity for taking action. Owing to the war, Russia has prohibited exports to Persia, trade by the Baghdad-Kermanshah route has ceased, and all the

* Formerly contributed to the *Indiaman* by Sir Hugh Barnes.

Digitized by Google

southern routes to the Gulf have been closed by the German intrigues. The Nushki route, therefore, is practically the only channel left open to Persia's foreign trade. Not long ago it was reported that no less than 2,000 camel loads of goods were stacked on the Nushki railway platform awaiting onward despatch, but that sufficient camels were not forthcoming. In September last the manager of the Imperial Bank of Persia at Meshed wrote:

"There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that if quick transport were available on the route from Nushki to Sistan the piece goods import trade would be diverted from its present channel, and possibly also the large wool and cotton exports from this province could be profitably exported via India."

He added:

"We cannot but hope that the attention of our Government will be directed to the great possibilities for our trade which would now ensue from the Nushki route being better organized and a general speeding up of the transport. We venture to state that the result would astonish everyone."

It may be added that camels take the best part of a month to reach Sistan from Nushki, and the friction, delays, and disappointments connected with the organizing of caravans are a serious deterrent to enterprise. By rail goods could reach our Frontier at Koh-i-Malik Siah in a day. That is very briefly the case for the railway from the commercial point of view.

The political and administrative advantages of the line are hardly less important. I fancy the general public have a very hazy idea of what the Germans have been doing in Persia. That unhappy country, being neutral and of no military value to any of the combatants, might reasonably have expected to keep aloof from the great conflict. But this was not the view of the Germans. At an early stage of the war they incited the Turks to attack and occupy Tabriz, whence, fortunately, they were speedily driven by the Russians.

Next Ahwaz was threatened, but here British troops detached from the Basra expedition stood in the way. Then Kermanshah was occupied, and at Teheran the German, Austrian, and Turkish Ministers planned, in effect, to kidnap the Shah and his Government, in the hope of forcing Persia to join the Central Powers. The plot failed, thanks to the exertions of the British and Russian Ministers and the timely advance of Russian troops. The conspirators took refuge first in Kum, and then in Ispahan. They posed as the supporters of the Democratic party, preached a Holy War, suborned the Persian gendarmerie and their Swedish officers, rushed in arms and ammunition through Kermanshah, and raised from the dregs of the population a miscellaneous collection of armed levies.

The result has been that gradually during the past six months we have had the humiliation of seeing our Consuls and bank managers driven in succession from Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, Ispahan, Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirman. Kirman was the last place to be seized. It was captured, we are told, by a party of thirty or forty Germans and Austrians, aided by some tribesmen and malcontents from the town, in spite of the loyal efforts of the Bakhtiari Governor, Sirdar-ul-Zafar. The advance of Russian troops in the west has cleared Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, and Ispahan of the German filibusters, but Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirman still remain in their

Digitized by Google

hands, and the British Consul at Shiraz, Major O'Connor, and the local manager of the Imperial Bank, Mr. Fergusson, are still detained as prisoners in the hills above Bushire.

But what, it may be asked, has all this to do with the Nushki Railway? Well, in the first place, the unrest in Persia has compelled the Indian Government, at great expense and with much delay, to strengthen its forces on the Sistan border. Secondly, it clearly behoves us to co-operate with the Russians in reasserting the authority of the Persian Government by clearing, at any rate, our own sphere of the German "banditti." For this purpose what a boon this railway would have been had it existed at the present time! We could certainly have saved Kirman. We could also have prevented or promptly punished the murderous raids which during the past two years, under German instigation, have been made from Persian Baluchistan on the peaceful inhabitants of the Mekran. In short, with the aid of the railway we could, with the minimum of expense and effort, have ensured the maintenance of Persian authority in South-Eastern Persia and have kept the peace of the border.

In a previous article I pointed out the political and commercial advantages of the proposed line from Nushki, and suggested that had the railway been in existence now it would have been of great value in enabling us to frustrate German intrigue in Eastern Persia.

With this object-lesson before us of the value of the line, both to the Persian Government and to ourselves, it is surely wise to see that we are not caught a second time without it. The Germans, in our place, with their usual foresight, would, no doubt, have constructed the line long ago, or if it had not been made at the beginning of the war, they would have pushed it on rapidly during the past year. Our failure to recognize its value in time is one more instance of British lack of preparation. Let us, at any rate, exercise some imagination now. The utility of the railway will not cease with the end of the war. The Indian Government is deeply interested in the maintenance of the independence and prosperity of Persia. England and Russia have mutually agreed to respect her independence and integrity. As one of the objects of this war is to uphold the observance of treaties, it is inconceivable—so long as Persia remains neutral—that this agreement should fail to be observed. We may be confident, therefore, that after the war the British and Russian Governments will make a determined effort to set Persia on her legs once more. It will greatly assist us in contributing our share towards the accomplishment of this desirable aim, and will also ensure for all time the security of our own Frontier if the Indian communications with the Persian border are improved in the way suggested.

It will not be out of place to mention that in another direction also the proposed line would have a military value which is not to be despised. Not only would it greatly reduce the cost of our Frontier posts, but, as may be seen from a glance at the map, the power rapidly to place and maintain a military force on the Sistan border would, in the event of trouble in or with Afghanistan, at once give us the control of the Helmund valley up to Girishk—a very important advantage.

There remain to be considered the administrative advantages of the line. One of them would probably be a considerable saving in the cost of maintaining our troops in Quetta. Sistan, watered by the Helmund, is the granary of Eastern Persia, and, owing to its inaccessi-

Digitized by Google

bility and its peninsular position, almost surrounded by deserts, grain and flour, sheep, wool, and ghi, are extraordinarily cheap, and could be landed in Quetta at lower prices than supplies from India. Another gain would be the opportunities afforded for the development of the country on the British side of the border. It is true that in appearance it would be difficult to find anywhere a more barren and desolate-looking tract than that through which the route passes after leaving Nushki, with the bare Kharan Hills on one side, and on the other the great Baluch desert, known as the Registan. But the security afforded by the existing road, with its line of levy posts, has already done much to settle the nomad population down to peaceful pursuits, to increase their flocks and herds, and to add to the revenue. The influence of the railway would, obviously, be much wider. According to Colonel Webb Ware, who knows the country more intimately than anyone else, it would open up a highly mineralized tract where salt can be obtained in unlimited quantities, and iron, copper, lead, sulphur, antimony, and ochre are known to exist. He also believes in the possibility of extensive cultivation from the waters of the Mashkhel River if only a railway were available to carry away the produce to the markets of Quetta. All our experience on the Indian Frontier tends to show that even in the most inhospitable surroundings a railway tends in a very astonishing way to create traffic where none appeared to exist before.

But what, it may be asked, would be the cost of the line? It is important that the line should be treated purely as a branch or feeder line to the main railway at Nushki, and that it should be constructed on a narrow gauge, preferably the metre gauge. This for two reasons—first, that the line must be a cheap one; and, secondly, because it is desirable that no encouragement should be given to the notion that it might form a link in the proposed Transpersian Railway, which it is desired should run along the coast. The distance from Nushki to our Frontier outpost at Koh-i-Malik Shah is about 350 miles. The line for the whole way would traverse a flat plain, free from all engineering difficulties. A telegraph-line already exists, and intermediate stations would be few, and might be of the simplest and most inexpensive description. I am told on high authority that in a country such as that described the cost of laying the permanent way of a metre gauge line with light 36-pound rails would probably not exceed Rs. 24,000 per mile, even at present prices. If second-hand rails were used the cost would be less. Some of the metre-gauge lines in Sind are said to have been laid down for Rs. 15,000 per mile. Extra charges would be the survey expenses and cost of rolling stock. But probably old rolling stock, quite good enough for the immediate purposes of the line, could be obtained cheaply from the metre-gauge lines in India.

If these suppositions are correct, it is obvious the cost of the line would not be very great, and it could be laid at a very rapid rate. Probably, owing to the demands of the war, the Indian Government have no old rails in stock, and it would take some time to obtain a new supply. But I suggest that it should be possible to utilize the coming summer months in pushing on a survey of the line and preparing estimates, so that the construction, if decided on, can be begun in the early autumn.

Meanwhile, as a temporary arrangement, it might be practicable to relieve the congestion of traffic by organizing a motor-lorry service

Digitized by Google

from Nushki for at any rate a portion of the way to the Frontier. This would greatly relieve the strain on the supply of camels. But I have no hesitation in saying that a motor service would be no adequate substitute for a railway. The maintenance of a permanent and regular service would require the construction of a first-class metalled road, which would take as long to make, be far less satisfactory, and nearly as expensive as the light railway suggested. It is the railway that is really needed, and the adoption of half measures is likely to end, as is so often the case, in a waste of public money.

Digitized by Google

OBITUARY

LIEUT-GENERAL SIR JAMES HILLS-JOHNES, V.C., G.C.B.

By the death at Dolaucothy, in Carmarthenshire, on January 3, 1919, from the effects of influenza, of Lieut.-General Sir James Hills-Johnes, V.C., G.C.B., the Central Asian Society loses one of its original members and the Indian Army one of its most distinguished officers. Lord Roberts, in his "Forty-one Years in India" (Vol. I., p. 195), introduces him to us as "Jemmy Hills, one of the subalterns in Tombs' troop, an old Addiscombe friend of mine"; and a few pages later tells how "Jemmy Hills" won the V.C. for gallantry that saved the situation, and not merely a comrade's life—a form of gallantry which is considered by many not appropriate to the V.C. It is true that Major Tombs also on this occasion won the V.C., and saved Hills' life, but Tombs' action also saved the situation.

I do not think it necessary here to retail the list of the campaigns in which Sir James took part. That has been already fully done by all the leading papers of the day. He assumed in 1883, by Royal licence, the additional name and arms of Johnes, by reason of his marriage in the previous year with the co-heiress of John Johnes, of Dolaucothy, on the borders of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire. In 1888 he retired from the Army, and in 1890 he made the journey which, doubtless, accounts for the early interest which he took in the formation and development of the Central Asian Society. He and I, having independently determined to avail ourselves of the invitation given by Russia to the world to visit the first Exhibition at Tashkent, met at Baku, and made the journey thence together to Tashkent and back to Tiflis between September 14 and October 9, 1890. At Tiflis we parted, Sir James being bound for England via Moscow and I via Constantinople.

I could say much of the interest of our trip, but I limit myself to two incidents. At Geok Tepe, the famous scene of General Skobeleff's siege of the Teke Turcomans, our train stopped, and we had half an hour or more to walk from the station to the so-called Teke fortress. While we were still inspecting it, a loud whistle came from our engine. We started promptly for the station. Sir James said, "I am too lame to run," and then he told me how he had been injured by a wounded boar which he had tackled in a patch of sugar-

Digitized by Google

cane. We agreed to catch or miss the train together. We caught it. General Annenkoff during our trip was kindness itself, and at Amu Darya on October 3 gave us a farewell luncheon, bidding us "bon voyage" in a neat little French speech, to which Sir James replied in French, with that resolution which has characterized him through life. During the thirty years of his retirement he was a man of mark in his county, and when Sergeant Robert Bye, V.C., of the Welsh Guards, was welcomed home to Llanelly on Saturday, September 29, 1917, he was personally congratulated by Sir James Hills-Johnes, who was then the oldest living wearer of the Victoria Cross. The *Daily Graphic* of October 1, 1917, has preserved an excellent picture of that scene, upon which we who knew him cannot now look without a feeling somewhat deeper than interest. Sir James was present at one, if not more, of the meetings of the Society in, I think, the first half of the past year. As far as I remember, he did not join in our discussions; but the part which he played in the Second Afghan War, and his visit to Tashkent in 1890, made him at home with that great "Central Asian Question" which was the *fons et origo* of the Central Asian Society.

A. C. YATE,
Hon. Sec., Central Asian Society.

January 6, 1919.

COLONEL R. H. JENNINGS, C.S.I., R.E.

To all who knew the late Colonel Robert Henry Jennings, C.S.I., R.E.—whose loss the Society has to regret—during the period of his service under the Government of India, it is well known that he was not cast in any ordinary mould. The mere routine of his life (*vide* "Who's Who") records his education at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, his receipt of a Commission in the Royal Engineers in 1872, and the various appointments which he held in the Political Department from 1879 till his retirement from the service in 1905. My own first personal meeting with him was on an occasion of some moment. My regiment, the 1st Baluchis, was encamped at Sharigh, protecting the Harnai Railway, then under construction. At a late hour on the night of the 1st or 2nd of August, 1880, an officer with a small escort rode into our camp and had an interview with Colonel Bell, commanding the 1st Baluchis, and Colonel Lindsay, R.E., constructing the railway. That done, he (Lieutenant R. H. Jennings) remounted and disappeared in the dark, bound for Duki or Thal Chotiali. He had left Quetta in the morning, come through with relays of horses and escort, and went on from Sharigh with fresh horse and escort. Quetta to Thal, via Kachh and Sharigh is a good

Digitized by Google

120 miles, and, as far as I know, Lieutenant Jennings covered the distance with only such halts as were necessary for interviews with the senior officers of the several stations which he visited, and for food for man and beast. The news he carried was that of the defeat of General Burrows at Maiwand. His ride was a good performance, acting on the Roman maxim of transmitting bad news swiftly and good news at leisure. Colonel Roome, from Thal, joined us with his force at Sharigh in a few days, and we then all moved on to Chaman, preparatory to an advance for the relief of Kandahar—a relief which, unfortunately, Sir Robert Phayre left entirely to Sir Frederick Roberts. Sir R. Phayre was in 1880 what Britain is accused of having so often been in the war just ended—viz., "Too late!"

Of Captain Jennings' subsequent travels in Baluchistan and Persia in 1886 I heard much at the time; and those who had the privilege of reading the diary which he dressed up for the edification of the Foreign Office and Army Headquarters at Simla assured me that it was distinguished by a bold originality of theme, style, and humour, such as the Foreign Office and Army Headquarters, to their regret, rarely met with in "Reports." Refreshing diaries of the Captain Jennings school were admirably adapted to relieve bureaucratic monotony. It must have been just before he took these travels that I met him in the Panjab Club at Lahore, on my return from the Afghan Boundary Commission and on my way to the Delhi-Ambala manœuvres of 1885-86. He was then employed on the Army Staff. Subsequently I rarely met him, and only once recollect seeing him at a meeting of the Society. One can but regret now that he was never moved to revive for the benefit of our Society the reminiscences of journeys which so edified Simla and Quetta thirty years ago.

Sir Hugh Barnes, who saw much of Colonel Jennings in the eighties of the last century at Quetta, writes to me: "I was very fond of him when we were together for a while at Quetta. His spirits in those days were exuberant and irrepressible. He was tremendously good company, and one could never feel downhearted in the presence of his infectious optimism. He was a great athlete too."

A. C. YATE.

February 11, 1919.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO MARCH 22, 1919

Digitized by Google

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Chairman of Council:

1919. THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.B.

Vice-Presidents:

1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.
1908. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.
1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.I.E.
1917. THE RT. HON. SIR H. M. DURAND, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Hon. Treasurer:

1917. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E.

Hon. Secretary:

1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

Members of the Council:

1918. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
1918. COLONEL A. C. BAILWARD.
1918. T. J. BENNETT, ESQ., C.I.E.
1916. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
1916. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.
1919. SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY, K.C.I.E.
1916. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1917. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.

Assistant Secretary:

1917. MISS L. B. PHILLIPS.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS

The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.

A

1910. Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.W.F. Province.
†Aglionby, Captain A., Junior Naval and Military Club, 96, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1916. Ainscough, T. M., Lindley Mount, Parbold, near Wigan, Lancs.

B

1908. *Baddeley, J. F., 34, Bruton Street, W. 1.
1917. Bahrein, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.
1910. Bailey, Captain F. M., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1906. Bailward, Colonel A. C., R.A. (ret.), 1, Prince's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W. 1. M. of C.
1916. Baluchistan, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta.
1918. Mrs. M. M. Banks, 7, Wadham Gardens, N.W. 3.
1905. *Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Woodlands Corner, West Byfleet, Surrey. M. of C.
1913. Barrow, Major-General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., India Office, S.W. 1.
1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, A.D.C. to C.-in-C. Advance G.H.Q., and Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Resident, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.
*†Bennett, T. J., C.I.E., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent. M. of C.
1916. Bernière, Col. H. J. de, 115, Jermyn Street, S.W. 1.
1910. Bigg-Wither, Captain F., I.A., Deputy Commr., c/o Messrs. A. Scott and Co., Rangoon, Burma.
1916. Bombay, Sec. to Govt. Political Dept., Bombay, India.
Bosanquet, O. V., C.I.E., Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, Indore, C.I.
1916. †Bruce, General C. D.
†Buchanan, W. A., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C. 2.
1919. Bunsen, The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de, P.C., G.C.M.G., Old Lodge, Taplow, Bucks.
1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

C

1907. †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1918. Campbell, John MacLeod, Glen Saddell, Carradale, Argyll.
1919. Carnock, The Rt. Hon. Lord, P.C., G.C.B., 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1903. *Chirol, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. 3. Vice-President.
1918. Christie, Miss A., 40, Ovington Street, S.W. 3.
1918. Collis, Mrs., 17, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W. 6; The Ladies' Army and Navy Club, Burlington Gardens, W. 1.
1908. Cox, Lieut.-Col. Sir Percy Z., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Knockrind, Simla.
1914. Crewdson, Major W. T. O., R.F.A., 44th Battery, Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force.
1907. Cuningham, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.)
1907. *Curzon of Kedleston, The Rt. Hon. Earl, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants, 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W. 1. Hon. President.

D

1908. Dane, Hon. Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Clarendon Lodge, Millbrook, Hants.
1908. Daukes, Major C. T., c/o Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay India.
†Dartrey, The Earl of, 10, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.
1906. Davis, W. S., Bhopal Agency, Sehore, Central India.
1918. Davis, Mrs., 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
1903. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.
1906. Dobbs, The Hon. Mr. H. R. C., C.I.E., I.C.S., C.S.I., Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1910. Douglas, Captain H. A., Derwent Lodge, Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
1903. *†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane, W. 1.
1907. *Durand, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Penmain House, Rock, Wadebridge, Cornwall. Vice-President.

E

†Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1911. Etherton, Captain P., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P., India.
1918. Evans, T. Herbert, St. David's, Lisvane, Glam.

Digitized by Google

F

1915. Flower, Hon. E., Durrow Castle, Durrow, Queen's County, Ireland.
1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1915. Fraser, George, Imperial Institute, S. Kensington, S.W. 7.
1916. Fraser, The Hon. Mr. S. M., C.S.I., C.I.E., the Resident, Hyderabad, India.
1918. Frazer, R. W., 35, Briardale Gardens, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
50 1918. Frazer, Mrs. R. W., 35, Briardale Gardens, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1906. Fryer, Sir Frederic, K.C.S.I., 23, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7. M. of. C.

G

1908. Gabriel, Vivian, C.V.O., C.S.I., c/o The War Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, and Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.
1919. Garbett, C. C., Revenue Board, Bagdad.
1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1908. Godfrey, Lieut.-Col. Stuart H., C.I.E., 7, Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W. 11.

H

1918. Harford, Frederic Dundas, C.V.O., 49, Egerton Gardens, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1904. *Hart-Davies, T., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
*†Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W. 7. Vice-President.
60 1908. Howell, E. B., I.C.S., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, 23, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.
1918. Hunter, Mrs., 81, Holland Park, W.

I

1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.
1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1915. Ingram, M. B., Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.

J

*†James, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham.
†Jardine, Mrs., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
*†Jardine, W. E., I.C.S., C.I.E., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.

Digitized by Google

K

1907. *Kelly, Col. J. G., C.B., 1, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, S.W. 5. M. of C.
1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
†King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.
1918. Kuwait, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.

L

1904. *Lamington, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1. Vice-President.
1908. *Lloyd, H.E., Capt. Sir George A., D.S.O., 48, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1.
1912. Loch, Lieutenant P. G., 97th Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Bombay, India.
1908. Lockhart, Lady, C.I., 187, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1918. Lovett-Beresford, Major-Gen., C.B., C.S.I., 59, Madeley Road, Ealing.
1909. Lyall, Lieut.-Colonel, R.A., I.A., Parachinar, Kurrum Valley, N.W.F. Province, India.

M

1909. Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E. M. of C.
1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.
1903. Malcolm, Brigadier-General Neill, D.S.O.
1906. McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., 59, Pont Street, S.W. 1.
1915. Maunsell, Colonel, Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2.
1912. Medlicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1910. Miles, Major-Gen. P. J., c/o Lloyds' Bank, Bath.
1903. Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7. M. of C.
†Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, 14, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 2.
1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

N

1905. Neill, Professor J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), 10, Holland Park Court, Holland Park Gardens, W. 14.
1916. North-West Frontier Province. The Hon. the Chief Commissioner, Peshawar, India.

O

1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Shiraz, Persia.
1905. Oliver, Captain D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.

Digitized by Google

P

1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1819. Patel, F. B., 208, Upper Clapton Road, E. 5.
†Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1907. Pemberton, Col. E. St. Clair, R.E. (ret.), B6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1, and Pyrland Hall, Taunton.
*†Penton, Sir E., K.B.E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
†Perowne, J. T. Woolrych.
1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. 1.
*†Picot, Lieut.-Colonel H. P., Indian Army (ret.), 33, Onslow Gardens, S.W., Junior United Service Club.

R

1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1916. Rajputana, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General, The Residency, Mount Abu, Rajputana, India.
1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.
*†Ronaldshay, H.E. The Earl of, Governor of Bengal, Government House, Calcutta, India. Vice-President.
1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., 46, Abingdon Villas, Kensington, W. 8.

S

1918. Salvati, Signor M. N., Via Lamarmora 41, Torino, Italy.
†Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1918. Shah, Ikbal Ali, 11, George Square, Edinburgh.
1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R.E., 4, Via Michele, Florence, Italy.
1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co., 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.W.F. Province, India.
1910. Stirling, Capt. H. F. D., 59th Sind Rifles, Frontier Force, Chitral, N.W.F. Province, India.
1907. Stokes, Major C. B., 3rd Skinner's Horse, Military Attaché at Teheran, 50, Marlborough Hill, N.W. 8.
1903. Stoner, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W. 8.
†Sykes, Miss Ella E., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1904. Sykes, H. R., Longnor Hall, Leebotwood, Shrewsbury.
1907. Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross.

Digitized by Google

T

1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.
1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, 96, Brook Green, W. 6.
1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., Indian Army, 7th Hariana Lancers, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Maymyo, Burma.
1907. Trevor, Sir Arthur, K.C.S.I., 16, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W. 10.
1907. *Trotter, Col. Sir H., K.C.M.G., C.B., 18, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
1915. Tryon, Capt. H. W., J.P. (late Gordon Highlanders), 32, Hans Mansions, S.W. 1.
1908. *Tucker, A. L. P., C.I.E., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.

V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1.

W

1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W. 1.
1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W., and Moystown House, Belmont, King's Co., Ireland.
†Walton, Sir Joseph, M.P., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1905. Watson, Major John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.
†Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W. 1.
1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Allan, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Calcutta, India.
1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
1918. Worthington, A. B. Bayley, Town Thorns, Rugby.

Y

*†Yate, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal, Shropshire. Hon. Sec.
1905. *Yate, Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales Terrace, W. 8.
1916. Yorke, Mrs. R. F., F.R.G.S., M.R.T., Ladies' Imperial Club, 17, Dover Street, W. 1, and Hotel Cecil, Western Parade, Southsea.
*†Younghusband, Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1. Vice-President.
1918. Young, Mrs. Henry, Galgorm Castle, Ballymena, Co. Antrim, Ireland.

Digitized by Google

RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. The Central Asian Society was founded in 1901 for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application, the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his

Digitized by Google

membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Honorary President, (2) the Chairman of the Council, (3) six Vice-Presidents, (4) the Honorary Treasurer, and (5) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be an Assistant Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary President shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for five years, and shall be eligible for re-election. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for four years. Two shall retire annually by rotation, and not be eligible for re-election as such until after the expiration of one year. They are eligible on retirement for re-election on the the Council.

13*a*. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Assistant Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman,

Digitized by Google

exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Assistant Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the latter is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of the Vice-Presidents and twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the

Digitized by Google

sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the first Wednesday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Wednesday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION.

_____

_____

being desirous of becoming a Member of the CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, *we whose names are hereunto subscribed do hereby recommend to the Society as a Candidate.*

Proposer _____

Seconder _____

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PRINTED BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD.,
GUILDFORD, ENGLAND

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. VI.

1919

PARTS III. AND IV.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

AN OLD ROUTE TO INDIA.

At the monthly meeting of the Central Asian Society, held on the afternoon of Wednesday, March 12, 1919, under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Holdich, a paper on "An Old Route to India" was read by Mr. Frederick D. Harford, C.V.O., F.R.G.S.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, expressed regret at the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Carnock, the President. They had met that evening, he went on to say, to hear something regarding "An Old Route to India." He thought it would not be very long before they would be asking themselves by what new route they could get to India. They would be thinking of flying there by ships in the air or perhaps by a more direct and better understood method —partly by railway and partly by motor service. They could not fail to find a discussion of the subject not only of very great interest, but of considerable importance to those in whose hands might lie the arranging of future routes to India, especially as they knew it was no uncommon circumstance for these arrangements to be left to the decision of people who knew less about the business than members of a Society like their own. He then introduced Mr. Harford.

The ancient Median road from Persia to Mesopotamia has served for countless ages as a highway for invading armies, and for the passage of caravans bringing the produce of Persia, India, and China to Baghdad, and thence across the desert to Syria, Constantinople, and the Levant. One of the chief outlets for this trade was Gaza, and in ancient days, in addition to the existing three roads running south of Gaza along the coast to Egypt, to the north to North Syria, and to the south-east to Akaba and Mecca respectively, there was one which led to the east past the historic city of Petra (south of the Dead Sea), and thence to Mesopotamia and Charax, said to be Mahammerah, now some forty-two miles inland owing to the silting up of the great rivers, whence the petroleum pipe line now runs towards Ahwaz, and another to Gerrha at the innermost recess of the Bay of Bahrein on the Persian Gulf. An extensive field of ruins found here about sixty years ago is clearly the site of Gerrha, and as this place is shown there on Ptolemy's map, this seems now beyond dispute.

Digitized by Google

Gaza was the most important centre of the Indian and South Arabian trade. Politically it depended on Egypt, which long controlled its destinies, but commercially it depended on South Arabia; and Dr. G. A. Cooke says that the chief luxuries of the ancient world —silks, precious stones, pearls, perfumes, incense, and the like— were drawn from India, China, and South Arabia, and that Rome was a large importer. After the first century, when Petra became Roman, the trade passed largely into the hands of the Palmyrene merchants. The Romans built roads everywhere in Syria, and they can be traced far across the desert by the massive milestones, many of which are still standing.

The conductors of caravans were honoured at Palmyra with pillars alongside those of royal personages in the famous colonnade there. These leaders were generally of noble birth, and on some of them the title of "Prince of the Desert" was conferred. The caravans at this time (the third century) generally went to Vologasias, a vanished city, south of Babylon, named after the Parthian Kings.

The ruins of Palmyra (Tadmor) were discovered by two British merchants of the Levant Company in 1678, but they were forced by the Arabs to leave at once. However, in 1691 the merchants returned with Mr. Halifax, the chaplain of the Company, and a report of their visit and a picture of Palmyra, as it then was, were published by the Royal Society. I show this picture on the screen, as also a picture made by Wood and Dawkins, which appears in their splendid work on Palmyra published in 1753. The reproductions of the interior decorations of the Temple of the Sun might have been designed by Robert Adam, and perhaps inspired him, as he went to Rome in that or the following year, to study Græco-Roman art.

The number of ruined towns, forts, and stone conduits for water lying south-east of Aleppo and north-east of Tadmor mentioned by the English travellers in the eighteenth century, to whom I shall allude presently, is very striking, and proves that in Roman times, and when Palmyra was at the zenith of its prosperity, those regions had a considerable resident population, which has now practically disappeared. Two of these ruined towns are described as having church spires.

Without embarking on a history of the trade between India and Europe, I may recall here that Alexander the Great led his armies to India via Persia and returned by the Indies and the Persian Gulf and Euphrates to Babylon. In order to compete with the Phœnicians, whose chief port was Tyre, he founded Alexandria on an unrivalled site, where a narrow isthmus connects Asia with Africa, with communication by sea with Europe and India. This brought wealth to Egypt under the Ptolemies, and after the death of Cleopatra the Romans took up the trade with India by the overland

Digitized by Google

caravan routes across Syria and Arabia to the Persian Gulf, via Palmyra in the north and Petra and Akaba in the south, as well as by the isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea. Mr. E. S. Bouchier, in *Syria a Roman Province*, says that from North China a special silk route, mentioned by Ptolemy, led through Turkestan to Bactria, Media, and the Euphrates. He adds that there was a great Roman road from Antioch to Chalcis (north-west of Damascus), which was described by St. Chrysostom, and formed part of the route to Babylon.

At that time the desiccation of Northern Arabia, which is estimated by present-day authorities to date from the time of Mahomet, after a terrible seven years' drought, which led to the emigration of numbers of the Arab nomad population to Tunis, had not yet occurred. Palmyra and Petra were flourishing places, numerous Roman roads ran through Syria from north to south and from west to east, khans or rest-houses were to be found at regular stages on the desert routes, and wells and drinking-places were provided and kept in order, instead of being allowed to fall to ruin, as they have done under Turkish rule, which never repairs anything on principle. The more remote caravan-routes were marked by big stones at the side, but paved roads were commoner in Syria, says Bouchier.

To illustrate these facts, I may mention that in 1909 Mr. Douglas Carruthers discovered the ruins of a large khan at Bayer, to the north-east of Maan, between the latter place and the famous oasis of Jauf, a clear proof, he thinks, that this was the old trade route from Petra (and thus from Gaza and Egypt) to the Euphrates and Persian Gulf. The old name of Jauf was Duma, and it is repeatedly mentioned in the chronicles of the Caliphs who succeeded Mahomet, in their wars of conquest in the west, as a place of great military importance.

The Romans sailed from Suez with the Etesian winds, and knew well how to make use of the monsoons so as to ensure fairly safe navigation at the proper season, bringing back the riches of the East to Europe.

After Mahomet's time came the Saracens, who in turn gave way to the Turks. In course of time the Genoese and Venetians obtained leave of the Porte to appoint Consuls in Egypt and Syria, and for some 200 years enjoyed a highly lucrative trade with India; but the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese eventually led to the decay of this trade, a fate which was later on shared by the Levant Company, which was founded in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and in the seventeenth century was at the zenith of its prosperity.

The fact is that the Portuguese found their trade with India so lucrative that in the first half of the sixteenth century they deter-

Digitized by Google

mined to close the two principal trade routes between India and Europe. They occupied Ormuz, the Gibraltar of the Persian Gulf, and so practically closed the overland trade from Basra to the Levant; and though they failed to capture Aden they almost stopped the traffic between India and Suez by occupying Socotra and sending warships to cruise about the Strait of Babel Mandeb, while in the east they had settlements at Goa and Malacca. The result was to divert trade to the Cape route. In course of time the East India Company, with its settlements at Surat and Bombay, and Gombroon (Bender Abbas), Bushire, and Basra in the Persian Gulf, supplanted the Portuguese, and ever since it has been the policy of Great Britain not to allow a foreign Power to establish itself in that Gulf, which was policed by frigates of the East Indian Company, who also utilized this route to carry dispatches between Bombay and Basra to or from England.

Prince Lichnowsky's disclosures as to the alleged intention of Great Britain to allow a German company to construct a railway from Baghdad to Basra, and to surrender the navigation of the Tigris, hitherto the monopoly of a British company, may be mentioned here, but the result of the war has fortunately disposed of the question otherwise.

It must not be forgotten that it was not for nothing that the Turks showed such zeal for the welfare of Mesopotamia by constructing the dam designed by Sir W. Willcocks for the irrigation of a large area of incredibly rich land. This eminent engineer has pointed out that once irrigation was in action, a railway would have to be built to carry the produce, as he has laid it down as an axiom that no river can serve the double purpose of irrigation and transport. Thus the German company would have had a most lucrative traffic the moment irrigation began. It is sufficient to add that certain irrigation works were effected by our wonderful troops last year, huge crops resulted, and the railway from Baghdad to Basra is now apparently a reality, though somehow the Press seems to have overlooked this fact; but it is a British undertaking, and not German.

Since the outbreak of the war the Royal Geographical Society have compiled a splendid new map, composed of a number of large sheets on the I/M scale under the direction of the War Office, of Syria, Palestine, Northern Arabia, and Mesopotamia; and in November, 1916, I volunteered to assist in translating and making précis of the journeys of various foreign travellers, chiefly in Northern Arabia, with a view to filling up some of the many gaps in existing maps, and at the same time I undertook, at the desire of Mr. Douglas Carruthers, the well-known traveller, who was collating all such information from various sources, to do what I could in the way of research work. He especially wished to discover the journal of

Digitized by Google

Mr. Carmichael, who travelled from Aleppo to Basra, across the desert, in 1751, the route of which is shown on a map in a book by Edward Ives published in 1773. It was during a search for this journal, carried on by us for about twenty months, when it was at last found, as an appendix to vol. I. (1772 edition), *A Voyage to the E. Indies*, by John Henry Grose, that Mr. Carruthers and I were fortunate enough to unearth a number of books, MSS., and maps, which have been utilized in the production of the new map. The paper I have been asked to read to you to-day is a sort of by-product of this work, and was the subject of an article by me which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* in July of last year. A short paper on the same subject by Mr. Carruthers and myself jointly, and a far more important paper by Mr. Carruthers, appeared in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society in May and September last respectively.

This research work threw a good deal of light on the importance in old days of what was styled on Ives's map as "The Common Route of the Caravan from Aleppo to Basra" for the trade between the east and west. I will therefore mention some of the earliest travellers who have left a record of their adventurous journeys of some 760 miles through the Great Desert, keeping well to the west of the Euphrates without approaching any place that can be called a town.

In 1528, Antonio Tenreiro was sent with despatches by the Portuguese Governor of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf to Basra, and thence overland by the Great Desert to Aleppo, reaching Portugal safely. Five years previously he had travelled from Aleppo to Basra, and his description of these two journeys is the earliest known to me. In 1563, Cæsar Prederick, a Venetian, went to India via Aleppo, Baghdad, and Basra and Ormuz, and in 1569 a Venetian jeweller, Gaspar Balbi, visited Baghdad and Basra. The traveller Rauwoff, in 1574, found a pigeon post maintained by merchants trading with those two cities, and in 1606 Gaspar de Bernardino, a Friar, who travelled from Baghdad to Aleppo, mentions as a curious fact that homing pigeons were used by the caravan-bashi to report to Baghdad their progress in the desert. They were thus able to report an attack on the caravan by a hostile force, with the result that the latter was attacked and deprived of the booty. In the eighteenth century we learn from an English traveller (Mr. Beauwes) that the merchants of Aleppo let fly pigeons with a billet tied to the neck "to gain early knowledge of the arrival of trading vessels at the port of Alexandretta with European merchandise. Bernardino saw the Arch of Ctesiphon, "large enough for a ship in full sail to pass under." He was the first traveller to mention its existence.

Pedro Teixeira, in 1604, was another overland traveller who has left a record of his journey. But after Tavernier's journey from

Digitized by Google

Aleppo to Basra in 1638 (with the exception of one Richard Bell and John Campbell) I can find no record of any traveller by this route till 1745, when William Beauwes travelled from Aleppo to Basra in order to collect material for a ponderous tome published by him called *Lex Mercatoria Rediviva*, or *The Merchants' Guide*, which gives many details of caravans and of the goods carried by them in Syria, Arabia, and Persia. Mr. William Foster, of the India Office, discovered a journal of this journey among the Orme MSS. there.

John Newberry, one of the pioneers of the Levant Company, was the first Englishman to travel from Aleppo to the Gulf of Persia—namely, in 1580. In 1583, when Queen Elizabeth granted the first charter to the Company, John Newberry, Ralph Fitch, John Eldred, "and other honest merchants" proceeded overland to Basra. They sailed from England for the Levant on the *Tiger*, and this event is recorded by Hakluyt and also referred to by Shakespeare in *Macbeth*, where one of the witches says "Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master of the *Tiger*." Othello, too, just before he stabs himself, recalls how "in Aleppo once" he killed a Turk "who beat a Venetian and traduced the State"—an allusion to the trade of Venice with Syria. Eldred remained for a time at Basra to trade, while the other merchants sailed down the Persian Gulf to Ormuz, where they were promptly arrested as spies (at the instigation of Venetian traders, they believed) and sent to the Portuguese settlement at Goa, where they were imprisoned for a time. It is obvious that the Venetians and Portuguese feared that their trade monopoly with the East was likely to be endangered, and subsequent history has shown that they had good grounds for their fears.

John Eldred's venture prospered so well that in five years he returned home with other merchants from Tripoli in Syria in the *Hercules*, "the richest ship of English merchant's goods that ever was known to come into the realm," says Hakluyt. He was thus able to buy an estate near Bury St. Edmunds and build Old Saxham Hall, popularly called "Nutmeg Hall," from the source of its owner's wealth. This estate was recently advertised for sale, but the original Hall was burnt down.

Early in the seventeenth century the Italian Pietro della Valle* and the French traveller Tavernier went overland to Basra, and in the Finch MSS. recently published there is a letter from the English Consul at Aleppo complaining that he had entrusted important despatches to "one Taverneer" for the President at Surat, but that through knavery or negligence on the part of the traveller they had fallen into the hands of the Dutch. With the latter nation, of course, trade jealousy was very strong, and for a long time the Dutch kept to themselves as far as they could the sources of their very profitable

* Della Valle also describes the Arch of Ctesiphon.

Digitized by Google

trade with the East. There is no doubt that the Arabs in the same way made a mystery of the source of many of the products of the East which were carried by caravan across Arabia to Egypt and the Mediterranean.

From the middle of the eighteenth century to the turn of the last century a considerable number of Englishmen (most of them in the service of the East India Company) utilized the overland routes by Aleppo and Basra as an alternative to the voyage by sea, which was limited by the monsoons to a certain part of the year, in those days of sailing vessels. Bartholomew Plaisted, Carmichael, General Sir Eyre Coote, James Capper, Eyles Irwin, Julius Griffiths, and Major John Taylor, and two Frenchmen, G. A. Olivier and Louis Jacques Rousseau, are some of those who left journals of their journeys.

In the recently published Memoirs of William Hickey, allusion is made in the first two volumes to three gentlemen who travelled overland, about 1760, by this route at different times, going to or from India, and it is there noted as then little used by Europeans. One of them was murdered for the sake of the diamonds he was carrying.

In the last 110 years no traveller seems to have used this route, and its disuse as a caravan route is attributed to its unsafe nature, due to factions among the nomad tribes in the desert, and also to the hostility of the Turkish Pasha at Baghdad to caravans passing direct across the desert to Aleppo, which deprived him of the tribute he levied on all caravans which passed by way of Baghdad.

One of the most notable features on this desert route is the splendid Sassanian Castle or Palace of Ukheidir, which stands alone in the desert a little to the west of Kerbela, which was visited by Massignon in 1907 and Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell in 1909. The latter quotes a statement in a book by Carsten Niebuhr, published in 1778, that a place answering to this description was mentioned in the journal of an Englishman. Evidently she was unaware that she could have found first-hand information about this Castle in several of the journals I have cited above, such as Della Valle, Carmichael, and Rousseau. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is stated that General Sir Eyre Coote " came back to England by the overland route through Egypt, which he was one of the first to adopt, in October, 1770." The writer, knowing that Coote travelled overland, evidently took it for granted that he went via Suez, whereas Irwin mentions in his journal that he had the very same guide that travelled with Coote from Basra to Aleppo; and a further proof is the mention, in the *Journal of a Tour to Hebrides in* 1773, of a conversation between Dr. Johnson and this famous Anglo-Indian General, who had just returned from India " through the deserts of Arabia." The diary of this journey was published in 1860 in the *Journal* of the Royal

Digitized by Google

Geographical Society, but the date of the journey is there wrongly given as 1780 instead of January, 1771.

I mention these facts to show how little this overland route and the fairly extensive literature on the subject is apparently known, even to those who are specially interested in the history and geography of Arabia and Syria.

On Major James Rennell's maps of Western Asia the routes of a number of travellers who had traversed the desert from Basra to Aleppo or from Baghdad to Aleppo in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are to be found, and all but one of their journals—that of Holford—were eventually unearthed either at the British Museum or in the Orme Collection of MSS., thanks to the help of Mr. William Foster of the India Office.

As most of these travellers were in the service of the East India Company, I was led to consult the Bombay Factory Records at the India Office, and found therein many proofs of the extent to which this overland route was used for the conveyance of despatches and mails between India and England, especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Apart from these old authorities, I have not found any reference thereto in books published in the last hundred years or so, except by Colonel Chesney, of the Euphrates Valley expedition, and Mr. Barker, who wrote the biography of his father, the famous Consul-General at Aleppo and elsewhere in the first half of the nineteenth century.

As regard the political use of the overland route, the Finch MSS. recently published show that so far back as 1665 the English Consul at Aleppo used to send despatches and parcels by express messenger to Basra for transmission to India by the intermediary of the Latin Fathers at Baghdad and Basra. In this year we find the Earl of Winchelsea writing to Sir George Oxenden, President of Surat, as follows: "Amongst other curiosities of the East Indies I have a particular liking for that drinke which they call tea, and therefore I beg you to doe me the favour to send me by the caravans which come to Aleppo . . . a provision for 2 years, with the best receipt how to make it, and with the vessels to make it and drinke it in, and a silver cup after the Chinese manner, with woode in the midle." No doubt the records of the Levant Company, which are hidden away at the Record Office, will some day be published, and properly edited should be of great interest. I commend this project to anyone who has the skill and leisure to do it. The Levant Company (also called the Turkey Trade Company) appointed the Ambassador at Constantinople, and Consuls at Aleppo, Smyrna and Iskanderun; but foreign Ambassadors at Constantinople had to put up with incredible indignities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Edward Barton, Queen Elizabeth's second Ambassador, was poisoned by the

Digitized by Google

Turkish nobles, who feared the Grand Signor might become a Christian (see the Historical MSS. Reports). When France went to war with Turkey in 1798, the aged French Ambassador was shut up in a fortress for three years. Colonel Taylor, writing in 1790, thought that the existence of the Turkish Empire was not necessary to Great Britain, "as the Arabs are the natural guardians of those countries, provinces, and seas which divide Europe from an immediate connection with India." This dictum is of special interest now that the future of Arabia is to be decided, and that the Hedjaz forces have rendered us such valuable services in the war.

The diary of the Rev. Henry Teonge, Chaplain R.N., who visited Aleppo in 1676 with a squadron of H.M. ships which had called at Iskanderun while searching for Barbary pirates, gives a graphic picture of the life led by the wealthy merchants of the Levant Company at Aleppo. The Consul gave him a breakfast, when thirty-six dishes were placed on the table at once in three rows. Then on Saturdays they rode out with about forty of the English "to a river valley to recreate themselves. A princely tent was pitched, and they went in for duck hunting, fishing, shooting, hand-ball, krickett, and scrofilo; and then a noble dinner brought thither, with all sorts of wines, punch, and lemonade." Richard Bell, who visited Aleppo in 1669, speaks of coursing and hare hunting and wild boar hunting. The master fined all who did not observe order in the field. Turks, French, and Dutch took part in the sport. It was a proverb at that time that the Levant merchants sent their partners to Aleppo and their clerks to Constantinople, and the old cemetery at Aleppo contains the graves of many English merchants who succumbed to its deadly fevers and other ills at this time. In its palmy days the British factory at Aleppo comprised no less than eighty firms; in 1795 there were only four British firms there.

The commercial value in old days of the Basra-Aleppo route is shown by the fact that even in 1751 the caravan by which Carmichael travelled carried £250,000 worth of merchandise; at this period, too, caravans of young camels for sale used to be sent via Basra to Aleppo, and Plaisted mentions in 1757 that with the loaded camels a total of 5,000 camels was made up when he travelled. The pace of a loaded camel is almost exactly two and a half miles an hour, so that it is used as the unit in computing distances in the desert—a "camel-hour" it is called by some travellers. A small caravan took about twenty-five days, and a large caravan about forty-five days, to go from Basra to Aleppo.

The birth of Islam in the seventh century led to thousands of pilgrims annually visiting Mecca and Medina, and a number of pilgrim roads leading to those holy cities arose in consequence; some of them still exist, others have been superseded. The chief roads ran

Digitized by Google

to Egypt, Damascus, Baghdad, Basra, Kufa (near Meshed Ali, or Nedjef), and Wasit, south of Kut-el-Amara. The Persian Haj or Darb Zobeida leading from Mecca to Nedjef still exists. Long before Mahomet's time, however, Mecca was a heathen shrine resorted to by pilgrims, and a famous mart. It was, in fact, a city of merchants as well as a holy city, commanding two great trade routes between the lowlands and inner Arabia, the chief goal of caravans being Syria and especially Gaza, and through Djeddah trade was carried on with Abyssinia by sea. This mercantile character has been preserved by Mecca, and large markets are held during the pilgrim season. Beauwes spoke in 1745 of the immense riches brought there by five different caravans.

The Bombay Factory Records show that during the latter half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a regular service of express couriers called Tatars, or "Life or Death" Tatars, says Chesney, conveying despatches to and from India via Basra. They travelled night and day, generally alone, and Mr. Manesty, the Resident at Basra, informed his Directors in 1799 that he had lately received despatches by them from Aleppo in thirteen to fifteen days, adding that a good Tatar would pass from Aleppo to Constantinople in eight or ten days. Thence the despatches were sent overland via Vienna, and during the French war to Hamburg and Yarmouth, instead of via Calais, Ostend, or Harwich; fast vessels carried the mails between Basra and Bombay. Some of the private travellers went from Aleppo to Iskanderun, and thence by sea to Venice or Genoa, and then overland to a Channel port.

Mr. E. E. Barker in his biography of his father, who was Consul at Aleppo from 1799 for many years, relates how, during the war with France and Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt and Syria, the official correspondence with Admiral Sir Sidney Smith could only be sent by this route, as the Mediterranean was unsafe. This route was also of vital importance during the campaign against Tippoo Sahib in 1799, as the French had occupied Suez. When Napoleon escaped from Elba in 1815, Mr. Barker was able to send early news of this dramatic event to India in the same way. He had learnt it from a newspaper which arrived at Latakia in six days from Genoa.

Warren Hastings, when Governor-General of Bengal, opened negotiations with the Beys of Egypt in 1774 for the passage of despatches via Suez to and from India, and in 1775 the East India Company appointed an agent at Cairo. Colonel John Taylor states that it was despatches sent via Suez that led to the fall of Pondicherry and the principal French settlements in India in 1778, before the latter were prepared or had any knowledge of the war. However, the East India Company succeeded in having an Act of

Digitized by Google

Parliament passed prohibiting British subjects from exporting produce from India via Suez after April 5, 1782, fearing their trade monopoly by the sea route might suffer. Another reason was the hostility of the Shereef of Mecca, who feared to lose the dues levied by him on ships that called at Jeddah, and induced the Grand Signor to put pressure on England to stop any trade via Suez, under pain of confiscation of the cargo and other penalties. It was also feared that the English would make maps of Egypt, and return and conquer it as they had conquered India. All this is set forth in a Firman quoted by Brissot, a French writer. Not knowing of this Firman, some English merchants going from Suez to Cairo were soon after despoiled and murdered.

The genesis of the Suez route to India is thus described by the traveller Karsten Niebuhr, father of the historian. Mr. Holford, an experienced mariner living at Bombay, obtained from a friend there a copy of a chart of the Arabian coast of the Red Sea made by Niebuhr in 1762. This gave him the idea of sailing direct to Suez, which he had often threatened the Jeddah authorities he would do, owing to the exactions placed on British ships which visited Jeddah. The Turks and Arabs, who never sailed out of sight of land, thought this was impossible, considering it the most dangerous navigation in the world. However, in 1773 Mr. Holford conducted the first English ship to Suez. The result was that prices for India goods fell so much through all the Levant that the East India Company could not afford to send them from London to the Levant, so they prohibited their Factors from trading on their own account, which they had hitherto been allowed to do. In 1774 other ships went to Suez, and in 1776 five ships sailed direct from India; and Niebuhr says when important events occurred, couriers were sent with despatches by this route. The Mr. Holford named above is probably the person whose route is shown on Rennell's map as having travelled from Aleppo to Baghdad in 1780. His journal I cannot discover.

The despatches of the British Factors or Residents in the Persian Gulf among the Bombay Factory Records at the India Office are a strange mixture of high politics and commerce. In the same despatch, Mr. Manesty, in 1799, would report the receipt of despatches from England and India, the arrival of warships from Bombay, the prices of goods he was dealing with on behalf of the East India Company, how he proposed to send a courier direct by the desert to Aleppo and also via Baghdad to Aleppo, to see which was the quickest route. He used to send duplicate despatches at short intervals, but he found that the first messenger merely waited for the second to catch him up, so that plan was abandoned. He would report how the Kia Pasha of Baghdad, when making an expedition in 1798-99 against the Wahabis, who occupied the oasis of

Digitized by Google

Hesa and Dereyah, asked him to secure the benevolent neutrality of the Sultans of Oman and Muscat, thus showing the extent of British influence in the Persian Gulf. Mr. Manesty would also report how he had intercepted the letters of French emissaries to Indian potentates, and how on several occasions he had actually seized these emissaries on vessels in the Gulf, and removed their papers by force from their disguised bearers. Mr. Manesty was on such good terms with the Bedouin tribes that he reported once that if the plague came to Basra he would go into the desert and stay with the Muntefik Sheikh. This same Sheikh in 1800 carried his despatches from Basra right across Arabia to Jeddah. Mr. Manesty was able to boast that his despatches sent by the desert routes had never been lost, and that when one of his couriers was robbed of them, they were recovered, and the thief's head was cut off as a mark of good faith.

All travellers admit the good faith of the Bedouin towards travellers under their protection, and it was the custom for the caravans to take with them a *Rafik*, or representative of every tribe on the route, and pay a tribute; then the caravan was safe. The Arabs of Mesopotamia have, however, nothing of the "noble savage" about them; and Balbi, travelling from Baghdad to Basra in 1580, says he met "many lions and Arab thieves" on the journey. This bad reputation they still maintain.

In recent times there was an express mail service between the British Consulates at Damascus and Baghdad, and the Turks later on had a similar postal service. From the description of the route by travellers it seems quite feasible to go by automobile from Damascus to the Euphrates—water, too, is found here at no great depth apparently—and indeed a very large area of the Syrian and Arabian deserts has a hard surface; but the two Nefûd deserts, which are of drifting sands, would be impassable. It will now be possible, therefore, for future travellers to explore many quite unknown districts of Arabia, as there are said to be the remains of many old cities in Southern Arabia north of Hadramut, which no European has hitherto been able to visit. The automobile and the aeroplane will open up vast possibilities of exploration in this land of mystery.

Colonel Taylor states that in 1790, a year after his journey from Aleppo to Basra, he reported to the Governor of Bombay on the great advantage of the Suez route over the former route in point of time. He proves this in his book by a number of itineraries from India to England. However, I believe it was not until 1837, on the introduction of steam navigation, that the Suez route was finally adopted, after Colonel Chesney had reported favourably on the possibility of a scheme for utilizing the Euphrates for steam navigation along a large portion of its course. This scheme, however, came to naught, to the great disappointment of this intrepid explorer, as did

Digitized by Google

the scheme in 1856 for the Euphrates Valley Railway, which would have been a sort of Baghdad Railway from Tripoli to Basra. Chesney had reported on the feasibility of a Suez Canal before he studied the Euphrates route, and, by the irony of fate, it was his report which induced M. de Lesseps (who was not an engineer) to take up the Canal project many years later, which has influenced the development of our Empire so vastly. The chief opposition to the Euphrates Valley Railway came from Napoleon III., who in 1869 opened the Canal to irrigation. The medal commemorating this event bears the legend "L'épargne française prépare la paix du monde." However, next year the Franco-German war broke out.

Beauwes, who visited Basra in 1745, wrote: "The English and the Dutch make a considerable figure here, they having their factories here, and despatch their letters by land, which is done by way of Damascus and Aleppo. The caravan of Bassorah is one of those that carry to Bender Abbazi (Gombroon) a part of those rich goods with which that trade is supported, and the same caravan brings back on its return the products of India, China, Japan, and Europe, of which Bender is the depository, staple, and storehouse for Persia and the three Arabias." He also speaks of the Persians who passed Basra on their pilgrimage to Mecca, and sell goods which they bring in their little caravans going and coming.

Of the trade of Bender Abbas, Beauwes wrote in 1745: "Divers caravans of merchants are seen coming in from Ispahan, Basra, Laor, Aleppo, Baghdad, Herat, Shiraz, and the Levant, with gold and silver stuffs, velvets, taffeties, porcellain, feathers, morocco leather, wool brocades, carpets, Turkey camblets and other slighter ones from Arabia, dragon's blood, manna, myrrh, incense, raisins, dates, Barcun horses, but particularly raw silk (which is the greatest article in the Persian trade), turquoises, and pearls."

The same writer alludes to the caravans from Aleppo and Suez, which joined forces en route, and went to Mocha in South-West Arabia; the merchandise carried included merceries from Nuremberg, and Hungarian, Venetian, and Moorish gold ducats and dollars. On the return journey, all kinds of medicinal and odoriferous plants, and, above all, coffee.

However, from a paper read by Lt.-Colonel G. S. F. Napier before the Royal Geographical Society in November last, it seems certain that motor roads are to replace caravan routes both in Northern and Southern Persia. He himself had been by motor from Baku to Baghdad, and a railway is being rapidly made from Baghdad to Khanikin on the Persian frontier, where the motor road would begin. Colonel Napier said that Sir Percy Sykes was doing much to improve the roads in South Persia, which were much worse than those of Northern Persia. Cars had travelled from Quetta to Kerman and

Digitized by Google

thence to Shiraz. A practical motor road had been surveyed between Bender Abbas and Shiraz, and should now be an accomplished fact. Both in Northern and Southern Persia, with the great supplies of petrol at Ahwaz and Baku and the Pipe Line in Southern Persia, motor transport is simplified and cheapened, and is likely to be a far more paying affair than a railway in hilly and remote districts, and a dangerous rival to the caravan, which, however, will probably always be found indispensable in certain regions of the East. Motor roads will anyhow be invaluable as feeders to railways in Persia.

In conclusion, I must allude to the recent flights by large British aeroplanes from Cairo to India, one of which followed an old caravan route by flying from Damascus to the Euphrates and Baghdad via Tadmor.

The Engineering Supplement of *The Times* for February describes a scheme, of which Mr. Gustave Defosse is the author, for a Ship-canal starting from Suedia, the ancient Seleucia, ascending the Nahr-el-Asi (the Orontes) towards Antioch, and thence via Aleppo to Kalat Balis on the Euphrates. The total length from Suedia to Fao, at the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab, would be about 969 miles. It must be remembered that Aleppo is 1,100 feet above sea-level, and in view of the very high cost of such a scheme it is probable that a railway running from west to east, connecting Damascus with the Euphrates and another linking up the Egyptian railway system with Basra, are far more promising propositions. Hitherto the Bedouin tribes have been opposed to railway development, which is one reason why the Hedjaz railway has not yet been extended from Medina to Mecca, though it has been surveyed, following very closely the old caravan route. The Bedouin do not relish the idea of losing the tribute which from time immemorial they have levied on caravans that pass through their territory.

These, then, are the latest forms of locomotion which may be destined to supplant the old-time caravan in the Arabian Peninsula and in the East generally in the near future.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that the paper was so full of geographical and historical references that it afforded many points for useful and interesting discussion. A great deal of it recalled the ancient routes across Arabia from Aleppo, or Syria, to Baghdad; from Syria to Bushire on the Persian Gulf; or from Syria to Muscat, at one time the chief centre of the Arabian trade. They had but little conception of the amount of commercial traffic which those routes carried in the days of Arab ascendancy—days to which they could hardly conveniently look back because they were so remote, and the history regarding them was so exceedingly vague. A book had lately been published by Colonel Miles, who had lived for some time at Muscat,

Digitized by Google

at Basra, and at Baghdad. Colonel Miles was thoroughly saturated with the traditions of the East and with Oriental literature generally. From reading his book, which was entitled *The Countries and the Peoples of the Persian Gulf*, he had, for the first time, arrived at some idea of the greatness of Arabia in the days of her ascendancy both by land and sea, when all the commerce of Asia was under her control, and she had complete command of the sea from the Persian Gulf to the Indian coast. She was then by far the most powerful nationality, as her people were the most wealthy on the face of the earth. He thought it was somewhat a matter of pride to us, or it ought to be, that there is a prospect of at least some of her former power and independence being restored to her through British intervention and influence. As regards routes across Arabia to India, he confessed he did not think any of those which had been suggested or mentioned as being possible would materialize or come into use in the near future. If in order to reach India they had to pass overland through Persia, they would have to adopt the Northern system of railways connecting up with the Russian system, which now had its terminus at Tabriz or Teheran. From Teheran the railway may eventually be carried across Persia either on a Northern line near the Elburz Mountains towards Herat or southward first of all into Central Persia and thence eastwards towards India; or by a third route, which he regarded as hardly practicable, one which kept to the coast. They must remember that the Arabs, when they wanted to reach India, carried on their trade by sea. It was only because they had the command of the sea that they were able to trade with India. Their trade route was principally from Muscat to Charbar on the Makran coast of Baluchistan, which was an Arab colony the same as Gwadur, further east. Charbar was the point at which the first of our seaplanes that made the flight to Delhi from Egypt rested en route. It is a station on the Indo-Persian telegraph line. At Charbar the influence of the south-west monsoon begins to fade away, so that whilst the monsoon winds carried the traders conveniently to that point, they afterwards adopted a land route and followed the Makran coast to the north-east corner of the Arabian Sea, and then turned southward to Sind. It had always seemed to him that those who were more or less cultivating the idea of overland routes to India were a little bit hazy in their minds on the point as to how they were to cross the frontiers of India. There was one historic way from the far north which Alexander the Great followed, but that way was entirely out of the question. He referred to the passes of the Hindu Kush. All mediæval routes centred on the north-west corner of India. This appeared to have formed the one great gateway into India, the one which, through all time, had proved to be the most easy of access, and, as regarded Asia, the most vulnerable. That was

Digitized by Google

the route by which the Arabs conquered Sind and held the whole of the Indus Valley. That, he could not help thinking, would be the necessary objective in any line that might now be contemplated to India. The Arabs very carefully avoided any contact with what they might call the independent tribes of our Indian frontier. They never meddled with them at all. Neither did the Greeks ever meddle with them. Indeed, we were really the first people who had dived into the recesses of the frontier hills and instituted anything like a reasonable and sound administration of their country. It might, perhaps, be said, Why should not the line go through Persia to Quetta? That, of course, was matter for discussion. For his own part, he thought the connection between Quetta and the Indus Valley was a weak one, and that a better, a stronger route into India could be found further west of Quetta and nearer the coast. That also was a point which was quite open for discussion. He should like to ask some gentlemen present interested in the Indian frontier to express their views on the subject.

Sir Francis Younghusband said he had been extremely interested in the paper, for it renewed their knowledge of Arabia and convinced them of the magnificent country it was in the olden days, and how very much the caravan routes to India used to be utilized. The paper had also opened up visions for the future, and it was about this aspect which they should be chiefly concerned. He thought the lecturer had said that the domination of the Arab in the old days was preferred to that of the Turk in more recent times. Now that the Turkish domination had been done away with, they had to deal with the Arabs alone. From all the accounts which had reached us they were an exceedingly intelligent race, of whom it was possible to make something. If they looked at the map of Asia and of Africa, they would see what a very important point was that about the Suez Canal, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. They would see how these formed, as it were, the strategic centre of our Empire, from which the routes to India, to Australia, and to East Africa radiate. And from there, from Palestine and Syria, would radiate the new route to India across the desert of Arabia. The lecturer had said a good deal about the route from Damascus to the Euphrates Valley, and he did not know if he could give them any more information about it. If he could it would be most welcome. He was talking to an officer who had recently returned from that part of the world, and who informed him that he did not think that what is marked on our maps as desert is really quite so desert as it is made to appear. He was informed by the officer, though perhaps the lecturer might have more information, that the part between Damascus and Hit on the Euphrates is capable of a great deal more cultivation than it is being put to at the present time. Probably it was more populated in the old days than

Digitized by Google

it is now. In that case it might be possible to make a railway from Damascus to the Euphrates Valley. A strong railway had already been made from Basra. I think it is a metre gauge railway from Basra to Baghdad.

Colonel A. C. YATE: The latest information, I think, is that the railway stops at Amára and is again recommenced at Kut-el-Amára, the piece in between being linked up by river navigation.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND thought the connection did not get through to Kut, but went up the Euphrates Valley and then across to Baghdad. Then came the question whether, and if so, how, Mesopotamia should be connected with India by rail. The Chairman had said that the railway connection between Arabia and India would possibly pass through North Persia. Perhaps Mesopotamia would like to be linked up with India, and he dared say Sir Percy Sykes would be able to tell them of the possibility of connecting Basra with India through Southern Persia. The last lecture they had in that room described how the Nushki Railway had been extended to the Persian border, and as it did not seem to be anything so very great, it might be possible to construct a railway to connect up the extremity of the Baluchistan Railway with Mesopotamia. Then, of course, came in the question of the use of motor cars. This was exceedingly interesting, and the accounts that were received of the uses to which motor cars had been put afforded ample scope for speculation as to the extent to which they would be utilized in the development of new and hitherto unthought-of routes. It aroused wonder to hear of the way in which officers at Mesopotamia had been engaged in expeditions by motor car from Mesopotamia right up to Baku. Then they had heard of motors being used in the desert. The latest information opened up the prospect of a great revolution in our ideas of transport across the desert. Thus, motors, combined with seaplanes, aeroplanes, and other mechanical contrivances, added greatly to the facilities by which they would be able to survey regions and areas which had hitherto been unexplored, and which might, after being properly reconnoitred, be found adaptable for the construction of railways and other lines of transit. Observers who travelled to and from these regions might be able to open up negotiations and engage in friendly intercourse with the chiefs of the tribes through whose province new lines of communication might be opened. By means of motor cars, seaplanes, aeroplanes, and all the other of the modern mechanical means of transit, he certainly thought that in a very short time we should have through communication between the Mediterranean Sea and India, and that by these means India would be very much more closely connected with Europe than she had been in the past. The whole subject was important from whatever point of view it was considered, and he

Digitized by Google

hoped that under the auspices of the Society they would have many more illustrated lectures of a kind similar to the one to which they had listened. The subject and the great possibilities it involved ought to be brought more prominently before the public.

Colonel A. C. YATE said he was afraid the country described by the lecturer was one of which he had no personal knowledge. He was thinking that perhaps in view of the importance of the railway route which would lead from Constantinople across Asia Minor and beyond—the well-known route of the Baghdad Railway, which would no doubt, *en passant*, be linked up with the port of Alexandretta—they might consider for a moment the position of Cyprus, which of late had been very much discussed. As they were aware, the Greeks had set their eyes with great affection upon Cyprus. He gathered from a letter he had received from a very well-known member of the Society—he would not mention the writer's name, as the letter was marked "private"—that the question merited more serious attention than it is receiving in this country. Venezélean eloquence, as they learned from the newspapers, was having a very great effect upon the Peace Conference. Personally, he did not himself feel such a very strong sympathy with the claims of the Greeks. He regarded Cyprus as of such importance to this country that he did not think those claims should be conceded. He was sure Disraeli would not have taken it, as he did in the year 1877-78, unless with a special object in view. He had it on the best authority, that of Mr. John Murray, a member of the Society, who told him how Lord Lytton once took him down to the India Office, and there showed him the papers which made it clear how Disraeli intended to use Cyprus. It was to be a *tête-de-pont* for Alexandretta, the Mediterranean end of a railway, which he was said to have projected, and which he was unable to carry out because a Gladstonian Government came into power in 1880. Little Englander Government as it was, it in 1882 started our Egyptian policy, which had proved a decidedly big thing. Under the circumstances he could not but regard Cyprus as being of the very highest importance to this country. The *Near East* weekly bore testimony to the determination of the Greeks to secure Cyprus to themselves, if possible. The population of Cyprus was, doubtless, largely Greek, but they had done and would do extremely well under British administration, and would strengthen our hands as they required to be strengthened in order to carry out the policy which it was no doubt our intention to carry out in accordance with our mandate for the government of Palestine, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. There was one curious little thing he wished to relate with reference to Sir Harford Jones, whose name had been mentioned by the lecturer. In 1800, Mr. (as he then was) Harford Jones was Consul-General at Baghdad. The French

Digitized by Google

Consul-General contemporary with him was a Rousseau, a cousin or nephew of the famous Jean Jacques. It so happened that, when in Cambridge recently, he (Colonel Yate) was examining the stock of a well-known bookseller, who invariably had his stall in the market-place there, and came across four quarto volumes containing *Emile*, *La Nouvelle Héloise*, and other works of Jean Jacques, and found that these had been presented by the French Consul-General of Baghdad, Rousseau, to Mr. Harford Jones in 1800. They bore the signature of the donor and the bookplate of the recipient, and the interest of the "association" persuaded him to become the purchaser of the volumes.

Sir ERIC SWAYNE remarked that one or two points had been raised as to the jealousy of the Arabs generally of interference with their trading routes. Of course they were in former times, as in many respects they continued to be, the greatest traders in the world. The nature of the country which they traversed necessitated their carrying on the trade by caravan. In various parts the tribes were, even to-day, jealous of interference with their prerogative as regards the levying of duties and so on. But he was sure that the Arabs were a reasonable people, and if they were properly handled it would always be possible to arrange with them a composition. With them it was only a question of a figure. Another thing was the matter of protection to the caravans given by the tribes through whose country they passed. This was assured by the individual who represented each tribe. When the Aban, as he was called, was appointed, he technically took control of the whole of the caravan, including the property of all the persons connected with it; it was regarded for the time being as his property. Behind the Aban was the whole of his tribe, and any interference with the caravan was taken up by the tribe, whose members made war against those who were guilty of it. This sometimes led to bloody bouts, which went on alternately year after year, but which the tribes wished to avoid. The caravan and all belonging to it was to the Aban sacred, and thus his power was very great, and he was paid fees. The power of appointing the Abans belonged to the tribes through whose country the caravan passed, and thus when it went into the country of another tribe the Aban was changed, and its full control as well as the responsibility for its safe passage were formally handed over to the new one. In ancient times, he believed, there was a valuable trade carried on in Arabia derived not only from Arabia, but from the Somali coast; the distance, so short across the coast of Aden and the Arabian Sea, would prove no hindrance at all. They also did trade with that horn of Africa which projected into the Indian Ocean next Somaliland. In Somaliland, for instance, there were many features of the same kind of trade as they had in Arabia. There was the coffee which was called

Digitized by Google

Mocha coffee, because it was brought to Mocha. But subsequently that trade was brought to Aden, and Mocha was left alone. All the caravan routes, so far as coffee was concerned, led to Aden, but the article itself came from various parts, including Amhara, which was one of the outlying states of Abyssinia.

Mr. HARFORD, in the course of a brief reply, said he thought there were portions of territory between Damascus and Baghdad which were by no means an absolute desert. They were less of a desert than many British grouse moors and deer forests. Water could be found by digging down, and that not very deeply. In the rainy season the Arabian deserts could support large flocks of camels or sheep.

The CHAIRMAN said that nothing remained for him to do but to ask the audience to join in a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Harford for his very interesting paper.

Digitized by Google

THE BOLSHEVIK AND GERMAN DANGER IN RUSSIA: ITS THREAT TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE

On the afternoon of Wednesday, April 2, 1919, Mr. E. P. Stebbing, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., gave a lecture on "The Bolshevik and German Danger in Russia: Its Threat to the British Empire" at a meeting of the Central Asian Society held at 22, Albemarle Street, London. In the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B., the President, the chair was occupied by Sir Francis Younghusband, and there was a large attendance.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that fortunately members of the Society had with them that afternoon Mr. Stebbing, who was very well known in India as an accomplished officer in the service of the Department of Forests, and who had recently spent a year or two in surveying and studying the possibilities of the very valuable forests of North Russia, and had availed himself of the exceptional opportunities afforded him of studying the Russian people as well as the changes which had taken place in their economic and social condition in recent times. He had pleasure in introducing Mr. Stebbing.

Mr. E. P. Stebbing, who had a very cordial reception, then read his paper, which was in the following terms:

The history of Russia since the Revolution has proved a difficult one to follow even by those who have had at one period or another the opportunity of studying it at first hand on the spot. For those to whom no such chances have offered the significance of the changing scenes in that unfortunate country must have proved enigmatic. And yet it is not open to doubt that the fate of Russia, the future of Russia, both politically and economically, is of immense importance to an Empire such as our own.

I propose to divide my remarks to-day into a brief review, so far as such review is possible at present, of the events during the periods of the Provisional Governments, the Bolshevik and German Government up to the armistice, and the Bolshevik Government since then; to glance at the German aims in Russia and the East; and then

Digitized by Google

discuss briefly the commercial possibilities of Russia and the necessity of counteracting German influence and penetration.

1. *The Provisional Governments.*—The advent of the Bolshevik as the ruler of Russia came as a shock to the bulk of the Allied public, who had been led to believe that Kerensky had the situation well in hand. But this was the reverse of the case. The first Provisional Government contained men of high ability and promise. But visionaries, coupled with that self-elected Government, the Soldiers' and Workmens' Council, or Soviet, of whom Kerensky long remained a member, swept away the men who might have brought the new Republic safely through the great dangers confronting it. Kerensky took the helm, and from that time dated the rise of the Bolshevik, supported by German propaganda and German gold. The Russian nation in part went to war to shake off the German yoke. The autocracy mismanaged the war and the Revolution took place. The Revolution was not pleasing to the Germans. It was probably the last thing they wanted. But they sat down to turn the altered conditions to their own account. The Allies held aloof from the struggling Republic, pinned their faith on the popular idol who, though burning with patriotic ardour for his country, had no experience of public affairs and proved a weak and vacillating idealist who was from the first swayed and overruled by the Soviet. The Soviet contained able men who, as the months went by, proved that they were capable of learning by experience, and became more moderate in their views. But within the Soviet was a faction, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, who gradually waxed in power. Even the fiasco of the July 1917 rising only acted as a temporary setback to their German-aided schemes. After the dismissal by Kerensky of that patriotic and fine soldier Korniloff there remained no doubt in the minds of many Entente onlookers that the advent of the Bolshevik to power was a certainty. The Provisional Government disappeared on November 8, 1917, and with its disappearance went the last hope of saving Russia from anarchy and appalling disaster.

2. *The Bolshevik and German Régime in Russia up to the Armistice and its Threat to the East and India.*—The Bolsheviks assumed the reins of government in Petrograd with ease. Moscow witnessed some fighting before it was mastered, but within a comparatively short space of time the Soviets held that city, with Kieff, Kharkoff, Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, Samara, Saratoff, Kazan, and Rostoff. Lenin and Trotsky had Russia under their heels. The year which followed was full of incident and menace. It witnessed the announcement by Lenin of his policy; the peace treaties between Russia, the Ukraine, and the Central Powers; the peace forced on Roumania; the meeting and dissolution of the Constituent Assembly; the disappearance of the Russian Army and the formation of the Red

Digitized by Google

Guards; the withdrawal of the Allies from Russia, and, with the disclosure of the growing power and intentions of the Germans, their subsequent return; the formation of new Governments, and the beginnings of armies, in Siberia, North Russia, and elsewhere; the results of the Bolshevik attempts to govern; the inauguration of the Red Terror; and finally the collapse of Germany and her Allies.

We will briefly review these incidents.

Lenin announced his future policy as follows: He said there were three problems before the Russian democracy: (1) The immediate termination of the war, for which his Government would propose an armistice to the belligerents; (2) the handing over of the land to the peasants; and (3) the settlement of the economic crisis.

The moderate wing of the Soviet at once announced that they disapproved of the *coup d'état*, and withdrew from the Soviet. This action raised the hopes of the Entente that Lenin's rule would be a brief one. But events have shown that they had in Lenin to deal with a different type of man to his predecessors, and one who was prepared to act with extreme ruthlessness. The whole course of events in Russia turned upon the manner in which these resolutions were carried out. For the Bolshevik theories when translated to practice were to result in the almost complete subjection of Russia to Germany, in the total financial and economic ruin of the country, and in the institution of the Red Terror. To get rid of the Army was Lenin and Trotsky's first object. To the Army they had promised peace, and the steps by which they fulfilled this promise resulted in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The Allies naturally refused to participate in the negotiations, and Trotsky repudiated Russia's foreign debts. The Germans proved too clever for the Bolshevik leaders, and the latter's refusal to put their names to the treaty, whilst declaring the war at an end, resulted in a German advance on the Eastern Front and the exaction of far severer terms. The signature of the treaty did not stay this advance, Germany's object being to seize the northern ports of Murmansk and Archangel and the Siberian Railway; at the former she proposed to set up submarine bases from which to harry the Atlantic shipping; the latter would open to her the rich Siberian granary. A peace had been already signed with Ukrainia, and a shameful peace was now forced on Roumania. After the Brest treaty a cloud of German civil emissaries commenced a wide and deep penetration of Russia, with the object of securing concessions and exploiting the country on a large scale as soon as Germany had won the war.

Lenin's other activities were in connection with the land, which he ordered to be partitioned amongst the peasants, and his campaign against the *bourgeoisie* and capitalists and industries. Within a short period he took over the gold reserve of the Banks, broke the power of

Digitized by Google

the landed classes and *bourgeoisie*, whom he brought to beggary, and reduced to impotency most of the industrial organizations of the country. He instituted a class war on a gigantic scale and brought about a reign of terror throughout the country. Lenin also hoped that the working classes of the Allied and belligerent countries would rise and overthrow their rulers and that the Bolshevik creed would spread throughout the world. At the time these hopes were premature, but to further them the Bolshevik Government sent representatives to the Allied and belligerent nations with secret instructions to spread the Bolshevik propaganda. Lenin's treatment of the Constituent Assembly, that assembly devised by the first Provisional Government, which was to settle the future government of Russia, sharply illustrated the methods by which the Bolsheviks intended to keep in power. The Assembly met once, declared against the Bolshevik régime, and was promptly dissolved by Lenin, a Congress of Soviets being substituted for it.

The Russian Army had to a great extent disappeared before the Germans commenced their advance into Russia, the promise of the partition of the land and the fear that they would not obtain their share luring masses of the peasant soldiery to desert and return to their villages. The notorious highly-paid Red Guard, who were practically given a free hand in their treatment of the *bourgeoisie*, took its place. The formation of this Red Guard was undertaken by Trotsky, who had resigned his position as Commissary for Foreign Affairs to avoid putting his name to the Brest treaty and was appointed Commissary for War. By now, owing to their refusal to join in the Brest treaty and under the influence of German propaganda, the Entente, and especially the British, were being regarded with dislike by an increasing section of Russians, which culminated in an attack by the Bolsheviks on the British Embassy and the murder of the British naval attaché and the imprisonment of Entente representatives and subjects.

Under the Bolshevik régime the dismemberment of Russia soon became a practical reality. Finland, the Ukraine, the Don region, and Siberia, had declared their independence. The Caucasus followed suit, and a Government of the North subsequently came into being. At the end of 1917 the Allies withdrew from the North; the Archangel depôts were broken up, large amounts of stores being left behind, a part of which were subsequently transferred by the Bolsheviks and made over to the Germans. The Embassies removed into Finland and later left Russia. This action produced a deep impression on anti-Bolshevik Russia. They saw themselves deserted by the Allies and left to the mercy of the Bolshevik and German.

For some six months Germany had a free hand in Russia. She extorted a heavy gold indemnity from the Bolsheviks, and economic

Digitized by Google

concessions which were to bar the Allies from the country for a period of years. Her continued advance became a grave menace to the East. Japan was alarmed at the thought of Germany appearing at Vladivostock, to which end the Austro-German prisoners in Siberia were being formed into striking corps. We ourselves were confronted with the double menace in the North, and in the East the danger to India via Persia. We had killed the Baghdad Railway scheme, but Pan-Germanism, in view of the great offensive on the Western Front commenced in March, 1918, was rampant in Germany, and she was riding roughshod over Eastern Europe and part of North-West Asia. The position had been carefully thought out, and provinces, waterways, spheres of influence, important strategical, economic, and political positions were falling into her hands. She had possession of the Baltic (to Sweden's great alarm) and the Baltic and Western Provinces, proposed to set up her own nominee as King of Finland, and, in spite of the treaty, was in command of the Ukraine. She had occupied Odessa, the great grain mart, and was marching eastwards with the object of disputing with the Turks for Baku and making the Black Sea and Caspian German lakes. Turkey and Persia would be under her thumb, jumping-off places to the domination of Asia. In Germany they were using such phrases as " Berlin-Batum," " Berlin-Bokhara," and " Hamburg-Herat "—ominous phrases for the British Empire. The Allies had as yet taken no steps to stop this victorious career, having their hands very full in the west. But Mr. Balfour, in the House of Commons, pointed out that with Russia derelict there could be a German penetration from end to end of the country, which would be absolutely disastrous to Russia and certainly would be very injurious to the future of the Allies. The question before the Allies was, How could practical assistance be given?

Before the Allies moved in the south Germany and the Bolsheviks were threatening the Siberian Railway. In the north intervention was forced upon us by the German and Finnish advance on Murmansk and the transference to Germany of our stores from this and the Archangel depôts. We reoccupied Murmansk in February and March and Archangel as soon as the port became ice-free. A Government of the North was proclaimed at Archangel, which worked in unison with the Allies, and Russian recruits joined up with the Allied forces. The Allies marched south and occupied portions of the Murman and Archangel-Vologda Railways and moved up the Dvina River. It was not, however, till August that the full entry of the Allies into a struggle with the Germans and Bolsheviks took place. In the south this entry was the outcome of the extraordinary rise of the Czecho-Slovak troops. These troops had fought on the Russian side till the collapse of the Russian Army, had then been promised a safe conduct to Vladivostock by Trotsky, from whence they were to be shipped to

Digitized by Google

fight in France. Trotsky went back on his word, with the result that the Czechs rose, seized points in South Russia, and eventually, with the help of the Allies, the whole of the Siberian Railway. A strong mixed force of the Allies landed at Vladivostock, but valuable time was lost before portions of it were sent into Western Siberia. The time so granted enabled Trotsky, with German assistance, to constitute several Bolshevik armies. Some stiff fighting took place, but the Czech parties in the west were relieved to a great extent before the capitulation of Bulgaria and Turkey brought about the collapse of Germany.*

Considerable trouble was experienced by the Allies with the various competitive Governments set up in Russia in opposition to the Bolsheviks. After some preliminary friction the Government of the North worked smoothly enough, and the Allies strengthened it by stabilizing the rouble at 6d. In Southern Russia and Siberia several opposition Governments arose, and considerable friction resulted amongst the Siberian ones. These were at length amalgamated at a National Congress assembling at Ufa, which was attended by members of the old Constituent Assembly and representatives of the Siberian Governments, and others from the Ural, Orenburg, Astrakhan, etc., and of the various political parties, Cadets, Social Revolutionaries, and so forth. The programme adopted was the re-establishment of Russia's unity and independence, freeing the country from the Bolshevik, and annulment of the Brest treaty.

I need not pause to consider at length the internal condition of Russia as the result of a year's rule of the Bolshevik and German. The Red Terror stalked through the land. No man's person, family, or property was safe unless he purchased immunity by allegiance to the Bolsheviks and worked openly for them. Industry was replaced by anarchy. As a result of the hopeless dislocation in the transport services, the feeding of the population went from bad to worse. Cholera, starvation, violence, and murder were the conditions under which existence was carried on. The Red Terror had completely unnerved the Russian people, and by means of that Terror the Bolshevik leaders, the greater proportion of whom were not Russians, being mostly of Jewish origin and of the *bourgeois* or *petit bourgeois* class, maintained themselves in power.

3. *The Bolshevik Government and German Penetration of Russia since the Armistice.*—Certain clauses of the Armistice agreement with Germany entailed the evacuation of Russian territory, as existing in August, 1914, of all German troops, instructors, prisoners, and

* A small British force had been sent through Persia to occupy Baku, an extraordinary march which was brought to a successful conclusion. The support given us by the Armenians was insufficient, and after stiff fighting we withdrew, the Turks seizing the place.

Digitized by Google

civilians, the stoppage of all requisitions and seizures by Germans, and the abandonment of the Treaty of Brest and the supplementary treaties. Some foresaw at the time that the enforcement of these clauses would prove difficult, and events have proved this to be the case. Russia is as much the prey to German penetration at the present moment as at any time previous. With Germany's record and Germany's Eastern ambitions it would be insensate to credit that her big financiers and economists have given up their dream of exploiting Russia.

Affairs in Russia since the armistice have been kaleidoscopic. But they have gone steadily on the downward grade. A great danger to Europe and the world, which had become apparent during the last month or two of the war, was the spread of Bolshevism. Just before she capitulated Germany had dismissed the Bolshevik Ambassador and suite from her country, and other nations soon followed suit. Switzerland had become a hotbed of this pernicious creed.

The collapse of the German, instead of weakening Lenin's power, served to increase it. Perhaps one of the causes, if not the chief cause, lay in the fact that, owing to the vacillation of the Allied policy towards Russia, combined with the Red Terror and the scarcity of food, numbers of officers of the old Russian Army were forced to join the Bolshevik armies in order to save themselves from starvation or to prevent their families from being butchered. And industrial workers and peasants joined for the same reason. The armies are also said to contain a certain number of German effectives. The outcome has been that the new Russian armies and the Allies have found themselves opposed during the winter by Bolshevik forces which have grown in size and organization. They are said to be deficient in artillery and ammunition, however, and it is doubtful whether their cohesion is likely to bear the strain of reverses. In the North the Allies have experienced checks and retirements. But these are probably not of great military importance. In the South the Don Cossacks have had a chequered time. In Western Siberia Admiral Koltchak was eventually elected Dictator, and set himself enthusiastically to reorganize and strengthen the new young Russian armies, who gradually took over the positions held by the Czechs. Intermittent fighting took place during the winter. The Siberian Government assembled at Omsk, where there are details of British forces.

The Allies lost no time in occupying Baku, Odessa, and other Black Sea ports, and in sending naval expeditions into the Baltic; but with the passing months it became obvious that the Allies had as yet no definite policy as regards Russia. The offer of a conference between Allied representatives and members of all the Russian Governments, including the Bolsheviks, on Princes Island, provided the Bolsheviks

Digitized by Google

ceased fighting, met with no success, and the Bolshevik leaders took advantage of the welter of anarchy supervening to invade the Western and Baltic provinces and later Poland. The policy of drift has resulted in the condition of East Europe becoming chaotic, a condition which Lenin and Trotsky have exploited to their own considerable advantage. Hungary has thrown in her lot with the Bolsheviks, not improbably at the instigation of Germany, and the latter may be preparing or intending to do the same. The Peace Council appear to have realized the great danger threatening Europe. We have to defend Esthonia, Livonia, Poland, and Roumania, and the Czecho-Slovak kingdom against Bolshevik and German designs. The Bolshevik policy and the German policy is to upset the authority of the projected League of Nations and to prevent the Allies and the world reaping the fruits of their victory. Hungary must be brought to heel and Germany kept from joining the Bolsheviks and thus securing a firm grip on Russia. The Allies, in fact, must have a definite Russian policy. The drift policy has resulted in the occupation of the Ukraine by the Bolsheviks, who are now advancing on Odessa. They have assumed the offensive in the Baltic provinces and Lithuania and are menacing Riga. In the South-east they are exerting heavy pressure on the left wing of Denikin's Cossack Army in the Donetz coal-basin, and the Allies have had to retire a little in the North. The position is brightest on the Ural front, where Koltchak's new armies have recently inflicted a severe defeat on the Bolsheviks, captured Ufa, and apparently surrounded their Fifth Army. This success may have far greater consequences than are at present apparent, provided the Allies give the Russian armies, wheresoever fighting, a far greater material support than has yet been the case, and provided a definite line of policy is laid down and adhered to. Bolshevism is a plague-spot in the world, as M. Pichon has recently well said, and its expansion requires to be prevented at all costs. The Bolsheviks do not and never have represented the Russian people. To rid Russia and the world of the Bolshevik danger would not improbably result from the occupation of Petrograd and Moscow. There is said to be a force in Finland within a few miles of Petrograd who would take that place if allowed. With the Northern Government the position is perhaps not so grave, and, with sufficient backing, should be settled in the summer.

4. *The German Aims in Russia and the East.*—During their great offensive on the Western Front last year the Germans left no manner of doubt as to their aims and objects in Russia and the East. Confident that they were giving the knock-out blow to the Allies in the West, the supporters of her Eastern policy gave tongue in no uncertain voice. All the world could understand. She meant to make of Russia's Western Provinces buffer-States under her own tutelage; and she intended to constitute buffer-States from Russia's eastern provinces

Digitized by Google

and keep Turkey and Persia in vassalage. To those of us who have served in India and the East and have some acquaintance with that fascinating borderland country where Baluchistan marches with the Afghan and Persian frontiers, it is obvious that Germany's success in her designs would have meant a protracted struggle with her for India, an empire she had long coveted. For she had recognized its immense potential economic value to a greater degree than we had ourselves. And she would have exploited it for her own aggrandizement, not in the interests of its peoples. These were her military and political aims. But even more important in her eyes, I believe, were her economic ones. A perusal of German journals and of articles from the pens of her leading financiers and economists, published during her great successful offensive of last year, proved most instructive. There was no doubt about their point of view. They were in haste to concede to the military party the strategic frontiers they asked for and so have done with them. Their clear vision was fixed upon the enormous potential wealth of Russia and of the countries beyond. Rich concessions were to be their share of the booty, the working of which would pave the way to a future domination of the East and the shattering of the British Empire. Is not this a true statement of the case? It is no new one. It was a magnificent dream, that dream of the German imperialists. The methods by which they sought to give it practical reality were medieval. But they came near to success. She had Russia in her grip. Indemnities and concessions had been extorted from her. Germany would have cried quits on the Western Front to have been allowed to keep that which she had won in the East. For with that she would rapidly have grown wealthy again and powerful enough to make another bid for Eastern domination. She came so near success: Has her defeat removed this danger for good? Have her great financiers and economists given up their dreams for all time? The disappearance of the Kaiser and the military caste, if the latter have really gone, is unlikely to put an end to these ambitions. Why should they? Might has failed and diplomacy has failed. But peaceful penetration remains. Russia is full of German agents and business men at the present moment, carrying on business so far as possible and endeavouring to obtain valuable concessions from the Bolsheviks. Scarce a month ago a prominent Bolshevik leader was being pestered by Germans to be given forestry and mining concessions in Kostroma and Olenetz. The Germans were prepared to accept a modest five per cent. profit so long as Germany was allowed to buy the minerals and timber for home use at world market prices! When the Bolsheviks captured Kharkoff from the Ukrainians, numbers of active Germans were discovered armed with maps and estimates and busily engaged in mapping out South Russia for exploitation. The Urals also are being overrun with German

Digitized by Google

prospectors, armed with permits from the Bolsheviks. This being the position, how do we propose to deal with it?

5. *The Commercial Possibilities of Russia and the Steps to counteract German Influence and Penetration.*—We will first briefly glance at the commercial possibilities of Russia.

European Russia may be regarded as a great plain, bounded by the Scandinavian, Carpathian, Caucasian, and Uralian mountain systems, with direct access to the open sea in the North only, and then during the summer months, with the exception of the ice-free port of Murmansk. Vladivostock is the Far Eastern outlet. In this vast country the rivers have played the most important part in transportation, the Volga being one of the chief. Railways are necessary to exploit the great mineral wealth of the mountainous regions. It is the want of railways which has kept back development. In this great tract there is a great diversity in climate, soil, and zones of vegetation. From the north there is a wide extension of glacial drift in a south-east direction, followed by the wide belt of fertile black soil in South Russia stretching eastwards beyond Lake Baikal. Towards the north there is the great forest belt, the largest in the world, passing in a southerly direction through rye and flax lands to the wheat-growing areas and vine plantations. Historical development has concentrated the industries to the Moscow region, the Ural mining region, the Donetz coal-basin, and so forth.

Roughly speaking, it is possible to divide European Russia commercially into eleven regions and Siberia into two as follows: (1) The northern forestal region; (2) the Petrograd region of the north-west, where agriculture and forestry form the chief industries; (3) the Moscow industrial region; (4) the central corn-growing region; (5) the Ural mining region; (6) the south-east cattle-breeding and fishing region; (7) the Caucasus, with its steppe districts devoted to agriculture, its mineral wealth, and forests; (8) the southern corn-growing region; (9) the southern mining region, including the Donetz coal-basin; (10) the south-west agricultural region, especially devoted to cereals and beet; (11) the Poliessky region, forming the western extremity of the forest region. In Siberia (12), the Western plains, especially devoted to agriculture and allied industries; (13) the Eastern plateaux region with valuable resources; with a forest belt in each.

From the British point of view the following centres may roughly be regarded as serving these areas: Archangel, Petrograd, Moscow, Ekaterinburg, Samara, Kharkoff, Rostoff, Odessa, Baku, Omsk, and Vladivostock. From each of these centres any part of Russia could be reached from the particular centre in twelve hours. Now this is of considerable importance. Germany's superiority in commercial activity in Russia in the past was in part due to her fortunate

Digitized by Google

geographical position. She ran a good service of fast trains and had a highly organized system of travellers. She was thus able to attend any call or customer at short notice. Britain had a longer route and was therefore at a disadvantage. We should require to set up show-rooms and so forth at the above-mentioned centres. Our travellers in the past were very far from being the equal of the Germans. Moreover, British merchants had not awakened to the great value of the Russian markets and of her unexploited natural resources.

I regret that time will not permit me to discuss these areas at greater length. But their existence and potential value has been indicated.

Now what steps can we take to prevent the German from maintaining his hold on Russia and exploiting her? It will not prove easy. Whatever the terms dictated to Germany at the Peace Table, it will not in all probability prove possible to bind her in any effective manner which would bar her from Russia. Nor would the Russians probably wish her to be barred out for trading purposes; though she would wish Germany to be kept from exploiting her, and so once again growing rich at the expense of Russian industries, Russian agriculture, and Russian development. The one safe road to bar out Germany would appear to be that the Allies should determine to support the true Russians and the new Russian armies in their efforts to re-establish public order and the rights of the individual by getting rid of the Bolshevik; and then in giving assistance in re-establishing her finances. Both the first and the second are of importance to the British Empire. A strong, friendly Russia is a necessity; and for the second we have large outstanding loans to her. It would be as well in my view to treat German ambitions and designs in Russia as a still living force. A Russia extricated from her present appalling position by the Allies would be more ready to turn to her saviours than to the enemy who showed so clearly in the Brest treatment and his subsequent treatment his real intentions towards Russia. But to render this solution possible the Russians themselves will have to make up their minds to set their faces against any further German exploitation. And the Allied Consuls, their merchants and travellers, will have to adopt methods more in sympathy with Russian requirements and customs, and work more on the German lines than those, our own for instance, followed in the past.

The example of Hungary and the danger of Germany joining openly with the Bolsheviks in Russia may have shown the Peace Council the danger of any further procrastination in this Russian Bolshevik matter. The solution of the Russian situation, the first step anyway, is to get rid of Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolshevik group who are now maintaining themselves in power solely through the Reign of Terror. A firm policy on the part of the Allies, a stout

Digitized by Google

backing of the Russian armies in the field, and the occupation of Petrograd and Moscow would, so far as can be judged, dispose of the Bolsheviks.

The rehabilitation of Russian finances and the re-establishment of order and the restarting of her industries will prove a difficult business.

Russia's two chief resources with which to make a start are her timber and grain. With the disorganization existing amongst the peasantry and the large areas remaining untilled the grain export trade will take a few years to re-establish. There remains her one realizable and valuable asset, the great wealth of timber in the northern regions, the Caucasus and Black Sea littoral, and the Amur region in the Far East. It is in the North that I see the first way out. We are supporting the Northern Government, to whom we have given recognition and stabilized the rouble. The Allied and Russian forces have suffered a check or two during the past winter, but probably nothing serious. When the weather reopens and navigation on the rivers becomes practicable it should prove possible to sufficiently reinforce the Allied troops and sweep away the Bolshevik forces in this region. We require to secure the River Dvina up to Kotlas and the tributaries beyond, and to hold the railway from Kotlas to Viatka and the northern halves at least of the Archangel-Petrograd and the Murmansk-Petrograd Railways. These are the chief arteries of this great, sparsely populated, densely forested region. The Northern Government would then be in command of the area, and, moreover, would be in a position to establish communication with the Russian forces in the Urals.

Having obtained control of this region, the Northern Government, with the assistance of the Allied Powers, could commence to provide work for the population within its charge by taking steps to exploit the immense virgin forests in this region. The population is scanty, but labour would soon flow in once it was understood that food and a livelihood were procurable in the north. This northern region would quickly settle down, for it should not prove difficult to hold the main lines of communication, and it may be surmised that the example so set would not be without its effect on the population to the south, and would ultimately immensely facilitate the re-establishment of order in the country and the return of the workers to sanity.

It appears to me, with the knowledge I possess of this northern region, that this suggestion might prove to be a first step in the direction in the re-establishment of what all must ardently desire to see—the reinstatement of Russia in her place amongst the nations.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the discussion, said it was a cause for deep regret that the Chairman of the Council of the Society, Lord Carnock, was not able, owing to ill-health, to be present that evening,

Digitized by Google

because he had at one time held the distinguished and most responsible post of British Ambassador at St. Petersburg. If his lordship had been able to be present he would doubtless have given them some very valuable enlightenment upon the present position in Russia. Of course, as members of the Central Asian Society, they were chiefly concerned with the position of Russia in so far as it related to our interests in India; and in this connection he regarded the point brought out by the lecturer in his observations as a very important one, that the Germans had been more wary and alive to the great economic potentialities of India than perhaps we ourselves had been. Anyone who had lived in India for the past twenty or thirty years was fully conscious of the way in which the Germans had increased and strengthened their commercial position in India. Up to the outbreak of the war their traders had invaded the country in ever-increasing numbers and had established very big business houses. They had indeed been keenly alive to the great economic potentialities of our great Indian Empire. His own idea was that the ultimate aim of the Germans in starting the war was the conquest of India. They all knew of or had heard about the Berlin-Baghdad Railway and what it was intended by the Germans to accomplish. He did not think it was intended to go to Mesopotamia alone. Mesopotamia was a very valuable country. There was no doubt about that, but in planning and constructing that railway the Germans had the conquest of India as their ultimate aim and object. They regarded the country as having a future of the very highest potentialities. Balked by our expedition to Mesopotamia of their route to India by the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, he thought the Germans then devoted more of their attention to the way to India through Russia and Persia, as the lecturer had pointed out. Personally he regarded it as one of the most disquieting pieces of information which the lecturer had given them that Russia is more accessible to German penetration now, after the armistice, than she was before. That was a valuable point to which, he thought, we should pay the greatest attention, because if it means that Germany is to gradually penetrate and absorb Russia, and work her way down to India in the way suggested, then we should have to be more on the lookout for danger to India from that direction than ever we had been during the last century. As to the means which the lecturer suggested for counteracting that danger, the Chairman thought that that gentleman would find himself supported by our last Ambassador in Russia (Sir George Buchanan). Indeed, as they would have observed from the report of an address which he delivered at Edinburgh about a week previous, Sir George had given expression to the very thing which the lecturer had uttered that evening, that it is essential that our Allies should support the friendly and well-disposed portion of the

Digitized by Google

Russian population and first occupy Petrograd and Moscow.* So far as he could recollect, Sir George Buchanan expressed the conviction that if Petrograd and Moscow could be occupied Bolshevism would break up, because, as the lecturer had said, the Bolshevik leaders were not really the elected representatives of the Russian people. As they had been reminded, these leaders shouted down the Constituent Assembly elected by the Russian people. These were the only observations he himself had to make, but he desired to direct particular attention to the lecturer's points in view of the fact that fortunately they had present with them Sir George Macartney, who, for many years, had occupied the position of Consul-General in Turkistan and Russia, and who had returned, within the last few months, from a visit to Tashkent, where, they might feel sure, he must have heard something of the movements of the Bolsheviks in Central Asia.

Sir GEORGE MACARTNEY said he had listened with extreme interest to Mr. Stebbing's discourse, and desired to thank him for having focussed upon their attention some of the elements in a problem which at this time must be engrossing the attention not only of England, but of the world at large. He was afraid he was no authority on Russian affairs. He had lived for a long time, not in Russia, but in China, and the only opportunity he had of seeing Russia was during short journeys made backwards and forwards between London and his own station at Kashgar, so all he had seen of Russia was from the interior of railway-stations. But even a cursory glance at a country made one think about it. He had often wondered how it was, in times past, say twenty or thirty years ago, when the rivalry between England and Russia was acute, that Russia loomed so large on our horizon; what the secret of her power was, or the secret of her apparent power. He had come across many Russians of the middle classes, well-educated people; and the impression they gave—he was referring to those who were Russians by race, not to those who were cosmopolitans—was that they were amiable in disposition, perhaps somewhat emotional—in fact, that they were a people to whom an appeal could be made more through the heart than the head. They never appeared to him to be a people made of the stuff that went to the making of an aggressive race. How was it, then, that Russia appeared to us so formidable? He had often thought, though he might be mistaken, that even twenty or thirty

* Sir George Buchanan and Mr. E. D. Stebbing arrived at this conclusion, identical as it is, independently. In fact, Mr. Stebbing's lecture was written before Sir George spoke. That they should both hold this view adds to its value. Indeed, if we now (August, 1919) study the news from the Baltic region, we see that this very view and plan are now being steadily worked out.—A. C. Y., August, 21, 1919.

Digitized by Google

years ago the Russian was not master in his own house. Germany was on the border of Russia, and long before this war, for the last half-century at least, there had been a constant stream of emigration from Germany into Russia. Some of the Germans who went to Russia settled there, keeping themselves aloof from the native population, retaining their own *Kultur*, their own traditions, their own language. But others penetrated into the country in a more insidious way. They allied themselves with the Russians and after a while became, as it were, "Russified." But in the process they also "Germanized" a small section of the Russian people. It was a question worth asking: To what extent, in the past, the members of the Russian Diplomatic Body and to what extent the officers of the Russian Army had been drawn from this Germanized section of the Russian people; and to what extent our difficulties with Russia, in former years, had been created by Russified Germans. Bolshevism might last for a time—it would run its course. But in time Russia would come into her own as an orderly State. Those German elements which had already been infused into the Russian race would always remain there. In order to counteract their baneful influence it behoved us all the more to gain the goodwill of that large section of the population which is not cosmopolitan, but Russian by race.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that Mr. Moon, who had been in Russia for some years, might perhaps very kindly offer a few observations.

Mr. MOON stated that he had been in Russia but never for a long time continuously. The observations made by Sir George Macartney led him to point out that perhaps a great many English people were not aware how little the Russian people were polyglottic. Though the noble frequently had an English trainer, a French tutor, a German nurse, and various other alien members in his household in order that his family might learn all kinds of languages, he had found, in the course of his expeditions through Russia, that German was the language which was most useful in hotels out of Moscow and Petrograd, and also for business purposes. As a matter of fact it was very well known in this country, as well as in other parts of the world, that German influence had, from time to time, been very predominant in Russia, even in the last century. One remembered a speech delivered by Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace at a gathering of the Society held in that very room some months ago. In his book on Russia he related an incident which very aptly illustrated the extent to which this influence prevailed. It was the story of a Russian General who, when asked by his sovereign what he could do to help him, replied, "Please make me a German." Dealing with the points mentioned by Mr. Stebbing at the conclusion of his paper, Mr. Moon said he regarded that gentleman's suggestion about developing and making use of the timber in Northern Russia as a

Digitized by Google

particularly useful one. He presumed that though perhaps in theory the peasants might like to appropriate the interminable taigas (forest) through which one passed day after day in travelling on the Siberian Railway, they would not object to the timber being utilized so long as they were allowed to retain their agricultural holdings. At least it was his impression that so long as they were left in the undisputed and undisturbed possession of the agricultural holdings which they had unjustly appropriated, they would not offer any objection to the development and merchanting of the timber of the enormous forests in the North. He could not quite recollect for how many months in the year Petrograd was an open port, but he supposed it was so for at least six months. Seeing that Petrograd and the most northerly of the Russian ports could be kept open for the purpose of export for that period, he regarded the idea of starting Russia in the path of economic progress at this time by the development of her timber resources as a very valuable one. Of course he understood that buffer-States between Germany and Russia were going to be created. If the Peace Conference carried out its intentions in this direction Germany would be divided from Russia and the Polish States in the North as well as in the South. As Mr. Stebbing had remarked, Bolshevism was so kaleidoscopic in its character and changed so much in its aspects from day to day that he would be a very wise man who could forecast what developments might arise in connection with it even in a month's time.

Dr. POLLEN expressed the opinion that the reason why we had not got on with the Russians lay in our complete ignorance of their language. Indeed, it seemed as if we would not take the trouble to learn the language so that we could place and keep ourselves in touch with the Russian people and that they should know us better. At the Foreign Office on the previous day he met a gentleman who, turning round and addressing everybody in particular and nobody in general, said, "How is it possible for any good to result from sending to Russia officers who are entirely ignorant of the country, its people, and its language, and from turning away men who are anxious to go who know the country, its people, and its language—men who are capable of rendering the best possible service to this country by telling the Russians the plain facts regarding our attitude towards them?" These were the actual words which the gentleman uttered in a loud voice on the steps of the Foreign Office. Mr. Fisher, our great educational authority, declared the other day that if two hundred Englishmen could have been selected who were capable of conveying to the Russians in their own language, and in a way which they could understand, the real aims and objects of the great English people, we should not be in the terrible position in which we find ourselves to-day with regard to Russia. With a better knowledge of

Digitized by Google

the Russian language on the part of those who are representing us in the country, it would have been perfectly possible to have communicated direct to the people of Russia the feelings we entertain with regard to them. And until we learn the Russian language and adopt some means for understanding the Russian people he did not think there was much chance of our ever being able to destroy the baneful German influence in Russia. Anybody who knew or read anything regarding Russia must be aware how the country had been, and is even now, contaminated by the Germans. He had pointed out the fact thirty years ago. Since the name of Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace had been mentioned, he might also add that forty years ago that gentleman told them the truth regarding German influence in Russia. But when did we ever listen to a truth when it interfered with our present comfort and enjoyment? What was most needed was a knowledge of the Russian language. With that we would be able to better understand the Russian people, and be able to teach them that we have nothing but the most friendly feelings towards them. As we got to know them and they got to know us better, German influence in Russia could easily be ousted. We could get to the hearts of the Russian people if we had the proper and more effective facilities for getting into closer touch with them through more intimate international communication.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that certainly in India Dr. Pollen's suggestion was being acted upon. He agreed with that gentleman that good would follow the adoption of the same idea in this country. The Indian Government encouraged the study of the Russian language, and Dr. Pollen himself was a shining example of the results of this policy. The Chairman then suggested that they should return to Mr. Stebbing a most cordial vote of thanks for his very valuable paper, which, they would all agree, would be of the greatest use to the Society.

Mr. STEBBING, in thanking the meeting for the cordial way in which the proposal of thanks to himself had been received, and for the careful attention which had been given to his paper, remarked that there were two points which arose in the discussion which struck him as meriting special comment. The first one, raised by the Chairman, had reference to German penetration in India and German influence in exploiting India's economic resources. An incident which illustrated this in a very marked degree was brought to his attention quite recently. The Germans discovered that in the Native State of Travancore there was a yellow sand, known as monazite sand, which possessed certain valuable properties of which we had previously known nothing. A little British company was started to develop the potentialities of this discovery, but later on it was bought out by the Germans, with the result that practically the entire output of the

Digitized by Google

monazite sand of India was shipped to Germany. The war had brought to light the fact that from the sand certain substances could be extracted, such as thoria, ceria, didymium, and other rare earths used in the manufacture of incandescent mantles, carbons for search-lights (required for our battleships, etc.), and a variety of other materials of first-class importance to the industries of a nation in war and peace. It was the Germans who first discovered the value of and ultilized this valuable sand. That was one point illustrative of Germany's exploitation of the resources of India. The other matter on which he desired to make a brief observation was the exploitation of the timber resources of the northern forests of Russia. His idea was that now the Northern Government of Russia was recognized by the Peace Conference the Bolsheviks would ultimately be swept out of that area. Eighty-five per cent. of the country consisted of forests, the agricultural parts, to which the population was principally limited, being confined to narrow ribbons about five miles or so broad fringing the rivers. In the forests themselves the population was very sparse. In the winter-time the scanty agricultural portion of the population, supplanted by outside labour, worked at felling the trees and hauling the logs to the river-banks, where they were formed into great rafts and towed down the river by tugs to the ports. In this connection the timber-exporting ports of the future would probably be the northern ones of Archangel and Kola, the Obi and Yenesei, although, of course, Petrograd would also be of value as a centre of export. The Provisional Government, the last responsible Government of Russia, in 1917 devoted some attention to working out the forestry problems, and their idea was that the Baltic would cease to be a great exporting centre so far as Russia was concerned, because, they said, " We want the remaining forests left for our own people for reconstruction." Sixteen million, probably twenty million, acres of forest in the Western Provinces had been wiped out. They might therefore take it as a certainty that when again there is a responsible Government in Russia, those great northern forests would receive special attention in connection with reconstruction and with the development of the resources of the country. The timber would be exported from Archangel, as the headquarters of the trade, and from Murmansk; and also from the Obi and Yenesei in Siberia. The Northern Government in Russia wished to get rid of the Bolsheviks in that area as soon as possible, and with that main obstacle overcome they would be able to start work on an enterprise which was unlimited in its possibilities. When it was properly organized, labour would be attracted from the South, for by working in the forests the people would soon find that they could get food and a good livelihood.

The proceedings then concluded.

Digitized by Google

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Society was held on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 11, 1919, when there was a large attendance of members and friends. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, G.C.B., Chairman of Council, presided.

THE ANNUAL REPORT.

The CHAIRMAN having remarked that this was the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, called upon Colonel A. C. Yate to read the report for the past year.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-Colonel Yate) then read the Annual Report, which was in the following terms:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1918-19.

At the Anniversary Meeting held on June 26, 1918, Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich expressed from the Chair a sincere hope that Colonel Sir Henry Trotter would, at the commencement of the 1918-19 session, be able to resume his duties as Chairman of the Council. That hope, which all members of the Society shared, has not been realized. Sir Henry's influence upon the Society as member, lecturer, councillor, and finally Chairman of Council, extended over a period of twelve years, and his loss is most sincerely regretted. On receipt of his resignation of the Chairmanship of the Council, it was offered to, and accepted by, the Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E.

Shortly after the last Anniversary Meeting Sir Edward Penton, finding that his work for Government left him no leisure, resigned the Hon. Secretaryship. Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate was elected to succeed him.

During the session which is concluded to-day the following lectures have been delivered:

October 9, 1918.—"Life in Russian Turkestan, and Germany's Menace to India," by Miss Annette Meakin.

November 13, 1918.—"Siberia," by Colonel Harold Swayne.

November 23, 1918.—"Adventures with Armoured Cars in Russia and the East," by Commander O. Locker-Lampson, R.N.V.R., M.P., C.V.O.

December 10, 1918.—"China," by Mr. J. O. P. Bland.

Digitized by Google

January 29, 1919.—"The Past History of Anatolia: a Mirror of the Future," by Professor Sir W. M. Ramsay.

February 12, 1919.—"The Nushki Railway and Some of the Problems on which it Bears," by Colonel F. Webb Ware, C.I.E., F.R.G.S.

March 12, 1919.—"An Old Route to India," by Mr. F. D. Harford, C.V.O.

April 2, 1919.—"The Bolshevik and German Danger in Russia: its Threat to the British Empire," by Mr. E. P. Stebbing.

May 7, 1919.—"The Caucasus Front and Western Persia," by Lieut.-Colonel G. F. S. Napier.

June 11, 1919.—"Bolshevism as I saw it at Tashkent in 1918," by Sir George Macartney.

One is perhaps apt to listen to lectures of this calibre, illustrated by excellent lantern slides, covering a wide field of travel, experience, research, and knowledge, and not infrequently involving exposure to hardship and danger to life, without sufficiently realizing how representative these lectures are of that spirit of adventure which has gone, and still goes, far to mould the destinies of the British Empire. We do not yet, I think, know all that Commander Locker-Lampson's armoured-car work in Russia meant, and we may remember that he kindly hinted that we might hear more, if we chose. Mr. Bland's lecture led to General Sir Edmund Barrow's strong pronouncement on the Peking astronomical instruments, and to their subsequent return by Potsdam to Peking. Sir W. M. Ramsay gave us a most scholarly dissertation on the Trans-Continental routes that linked Greece and Italy with Central Asia and the Far East, and incidentally touched upon the grain of salt with which Greek statistics of Greek population should be taken. At the moment when Siberia was pressing forward to crush Bolshevism, Colonel Swayne's description of Siberia was most opportune, and Miss Annette Meakin pictured Russian Turkestan at the time when the Bolshevism of which Sir George Macartney will speak to-day was unknown. The Nushki Railway, which Colonel Webb Ware made the theme of his address, has not only helped to stem the tide of Bolshevism at Tashkent, but, if the Amir Amam-ulla Khan persists in his presumptuous menace to India, enables us to retaliate even against the outlying western provinces of his kingdom. The caravan routes that linked East and West, the undeveloped forest resources of Northern Russia, and the development of Persia—the subjects respectively handled by Mr. Harford, Mr. Stebbing, and Colonel Napier—are themes which have opened our eyes to much of which we knew little or nothing before. The lectures were all well attended, and the discussions, notably on the lectures of Mr. Bland and Colonel Webb Ware, contained excellent matter supplementary to the lecture.

Digitized by Google

Some of the papers have already been published in our Journal, and others will appear in the next number.

The membership of the Society has appreciably increased, though not as much as is to be desired. My belief, based on experience, is that the existence of the Society is not known. It remains to make it known and, on principle, to recruit for it. The following thirty new members have been elected:

Mrs. M. M. Banks.
Sir Maurice de Bunsen.
Lord Carnock.
Mr. R. MacLeod Campbell.
Mrs. Collis.
Mr. R. W. Frazer.
Mrs. R. W. Frazer.
Mr. C. C. Garbett, I.C.S.
Miss Christie.
Mr. F. D. Harford, C.V.O.
Mr. H. Peters Bone.
Mrs. Gaulter.
Captain I. C. FitzHugh, D.S.O., M.V.O.
Lieut. J. P. B. Jeejeebhoy, F.R.G.S.
Major W. W. Vauckers.
Mrs. Hunter.
The Political Agent, Kuwait.
Mr. F. B. Patel.
Mr. Ikbal Ali Shah.
Mr. A. B. Bayley Worthington.
Mrs. Henry Young.
Mr. Oliver R. Coales.
Mrs. Gaulter.
Captain Teague Jones, R.E.
Mr. C. A. Silberrad, I.C.S.
Mr. H. S. I. B. Philby, I.C.S., F.R.G.S.
Mr. H. G. Bateman, F.R.G.S.
Mr. Bassett Digby, F.R.G.S.
Mr. Patrick Alexander, F.R.G.S.
Major H. Hay Thorburn, C.I.E., I.M.S.

The Council regret to report the loss by death of Mr. Wilson Crewdson, Colonel F. M. Fancourt, General Sir James Hill Johnes, Colonel R. H. Jennings, and Mr. W. J. C. Laurie. The Society has also lost by resignation the two following members: Sir Walter Lawrence and Captain Tryon.

Our expenditure this year, owing to the much increased cost of printing, exceeded our receipts by about £20. The statement of accounts is appended.

The recommendations of the Council to fill vacancies on the Council for 1919-20 are as follows: Under Rule 13, Lord Lamington and Sir Francis Younghusband retire; the Council recommend the election of Sir Evan James and Sir Frederic Fryer in their place. Under Rule 13*a*, the Hon. Treasurer retires, and the Council recommend the election of Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward. Under Rule 23, Colonel Kelly retires, and there being also two vacancies, the Council recommend the election of Sir Edward Penton, Colonel C. E. Yate, and Sir Francis Younghusband.

A. C. YATE, Lieut.-Colonel,
Hon. Sec., Central Asian Society.

June 11, 1919.

Digitized by Google

The CHAIRMAN said that, having heard the report read, he would invite any observations anyone would wish to make or any questions members might wish to put to the Council. As nobody seemed inclined to do so, he would say that, though the Society was no doubt in a very flourishing condition relatively, they would like to increase the number of members as far as was possible. The Council had taken certain measures, through the kindness of the Geographical Society and also the Royal Asiatic Society, to circulate leaflets explaining the aims and objects of the Society in the hope that people who read them would become members. At the same time, he did think it would assist very materially in that direction if each individual member would try, from amongst their own friends and acquaintances, to beat up as many recruits as they could. If they could by these and other means appreciably increase the number of members, they should certainly feel that the financial position of the Society was thoroughly sound and satisfactory. Certain leaflets could be obtained which he ventured to suggest members would kindly circulate amongst those with whom they came in personal contact.

The Annual Report was then adopted.

The CHAIRMAN said that the next item on the agenda for the General Meeting was the election of Members of the Council for the coming session. The retiring members were Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward, Sir Frederic W. R. Fryer, and Colonel J. G. Kelly, and it was proposed that Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis E. Younghusband, Sir Edward Penton, and Colonel C. E. Yate, M.P., should be ordinary Members of the Council.

The meeting agreed to the election of the gentlemen named to the vacancies on the Council.

The CHAIRMAN stated that it had been suggested that as Vice-Presidents Sir Evan James and Sir Frederic Fryer should take the places of Lord Lamington and Sir Francis Younghusband. Was the meeting agreeable to this?

The election of Sir Evan James and Sir Frederick Fryer as Vice-Presidents was then formally agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN explained that Sir Evan James had unfortunately had to resign the office of Hon. Treasurership, and it was suggested that Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward should take his place.

The election of Brigadier-General Bailward was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN said that, having disposed of the routine business, they now came to the more interesting part of the meeting—the paper which Sir George Macartney had kindly undertaken to read on "Bolshevism as I saw it at Tashkent in 1918." His Lordship did not think it was necessary for him to formally introduce Sir George Macartney to them, as his name and services must be well known to every member of the Central Asian Society, but he thought he

Digitized by Google

should not be exaggerating if he said that few could have a more intimate knowledge of Central Asian politics than that possessed by Sir George Macartney. Personally, he was glad that his lecture was to be on Bolshevism in Central Asia, because, though the public press gave them fairly full information as to Bolshevism activity in Russia, and, he dared say, those who had perused the papers issued by the Foreign Office or had had opportunities of conversing with people who had recently escaped from Russia might indeed form an accurate opinion of what was taking place, or had taken place, in that unfortunate country, their information in regard to the districts in which Sir George Macartney had served in an official capacity was scanty and very vague. They did not know anything as to the form Bolshevism had assumed, or the extent to which it had developed in these districts. They were, therefore, particularly fortunate in having an opportunity afforded them that afternoon of hearing first-hand evidence as to Bolshevist activity in Central Asia, and they would listen with special interest to the paper which he would now ask Sir George Macartney to read to them.

It has been deemed desirable, and this in compliance with Sir George Macartney's wish, not to publish at present his lecture entitled "Bolshevism as I saw it at Tashkent in 1918." It will be published, it is hoped, in the Journal for 1920.

Digitized by Google

Appendix I.: THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

By LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE
(Hon. Secretary, Central Asian Society).

Students of history are well aware of the obscurity which veils the origin of many institutions which have made their mark in the world. It occurs to me, therefore, to record here briefly the circumstances which gave birth to the Central Asian Society; and it is to Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband and Sir Edward Penton that I am indebted in the first instance for the information upon which this exordium is based. For, although I was an original member of the Society, it was not till 1905 that I left India for good. When we consider what the term "Central Asian Question" meant in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we may wonder that it was not until the twentieth century, when the "Middle East" was already dawning, that the Central Asian Society began its corporate existence. "The fact that there was no suitable association for the discussion of the political aspects of Central Asian problems" had for some years been fermenting in the mind of Major (as he then was) F. E. Younghusband. Towards the end of 1900 it came to his knowledge that Dr. Cotterell Tupp, late of the Indian Civil Service, likewise entertained the idea of founding a society for the study not only of geographical, economic, social, and scientific, but also of political questions affecting the territories situated between Eastern Europe and India. A meeting took place between Major Younghusband and Dr. Tupp—a meeting at which Colonels Sir T. H. Holdich and Algernon Durand were present. It was then decided to form a society and to approach the Royal Asiatic Society for the favour of the use of their rooms.

The first meeting took place in those rooms on December 13, 1901, when General Sir T. E. Gordon presided, and was elected President for the ensuing year, Major Younghusband being Hon. Secretary, and Dr. Tupp Hon. Treasurer. Among the Members of Council then appointed I find Major-General Sir Edwin Collen and Sir Evan James. It was decided to hold the meetings on the first Wednesday in each month of the lecture season (October to June) at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, and on January 15, 1902, the first lecture was given by Mr. H. F. B. Lynch on "The Persian Gulf." Major

Digitized by Google

Younghusband being then unexpectedly ordered back to India was succeeded as Hon. Secretary by Mr. Edward Penton, who continued to fill that office until the beginning of the late war. From 1914 to 1918 the Central Asian secretariat was in the able hands of Miss Hughes, the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. In a leaflet dated May 28, 1903, Mr. Penton placed on record the eleven lectures delivered before the Society in the first seventeen months of existence, among the lecturers being General Sir T. E. Gordon, Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, Mrs. Archibald Little, Lord Ronaldshay, Mr. T. Gibson Bowles, and Mr. (now Sir) George Macartney, on subjects ranging from Persia to the Pacific. My collected copy of the Society's publications starts with the papers read during the session of 1903-04. I find no record of the publication of the lectures of the period January, 1902, to May, 1903. Probably the Society's funds did not, so early in its career, admit of expenditure for printing. In November, 1901, the Society numbered thirteen members, in January, 1902, thirty, and in May, 1903, ninety-seven. The publication of the journal then commenced, and the expense was then more easily met with ninety-seven members than it is under post-war conditions with about 140.

From 1903 onward to the present time the Society, with a membership gradually on the increase, has steadily pursued the aims for which it was founded. The evidence of that is to be sought in the personality of the lecturers themselves, and in the public importance of the subject-matter of the papers read, and of the discussions that ensued. At this moment it will not be out of place to review those papers and discussions in their relation to the incidents of the late war and the situation of the present hour. When Sir Valentine Chirol in 1906 addressed the Society on "Pan-Islamism," Abdul Hamid was still seated on the Ottoman throne, and yet even then we find M. de Wesselitskŷ, while disclaiming for the Moslems of Russia any Pan-Islamic tendency, and not even hinting at "Pan-Turanianism," remarking that "there is a literary Pan-Turkism, an attempt to create a literary language for all the Musulmans of Russia of Turco-Tartar race common to them with the Turks of the Ottoman Empire," and "it seems to me that Pan-Islamism might become a very real danger if Musulmans felt themselves unfairly treated by Christians." In this war we have seen Islam go through this ordeal, and, as the outcome thereof, to use Lindsay Gordon's phrase, "two things stand like stone," one that Islam has rallied to the British Empire, and the other that, while Sunni Turkey fell foul of its professed best friend, Germany, over the Black Sea fleet and the Caucasus, Shi'a Persia, after coquetting and intriguing more or less all round, is now posing pretentiously before the Peace Conference in Paris. When in January, 1912, Professor

Digitized by Google

Margoliouth lectured on this self-same topic, viz., "Pan-Islamism," he showed clearly that the Young Turks entertained ideas of Pan-Islamic propaganda, and argued that it was under European protection that "the most favourable conditions possible existed for the propagation of Islam." At both these lectures the Central Asian Society had the good fortune to listen to the views on this subject of Mr. Ameer Ali, always an impressive and attractive speaker, views which have very recently led to friendly, but none the less definite differences of opinion between him and Sir V. Chirol. If Professor Margoliouth is right, then the Memorandum addressed by H.H. the Aga Khan, the Right Hon. Ameer Ali, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, and others, quoted in *The Times* of March 25, and sympathetically if critically commented on in *The Near East* of March 27, misses its mark.

Not unnaturally, Persia has figured largely in the lecture list of the Society. In the first twelve years of its existence "Persia" was the theme which inspired the pen of no less than fifteen lecturers, among whom may be mentioned Lords Lamington and Ronaldshay, Sir Percy and Miss Ella Sykes, Professor E. G. Browne, Mr. Lovat Fraser, General Sir T. E. Gordon, and Mr. H. F. B. Lynch. The importance of the subject seems also to justify a mention of the lecture given by me in February, 1911, on "The Proposed Trans-Persian Railway." When preparing that paper I had a conversation with M. Timiriazeff, President of the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce, and towards the close of 1911 I attended a very interesting gathering at Paris of Russian and French promoters of that railway. Subsequent writers on this and cognate topics, such as Mr. Evans Lewin and M. G. Demorgny, both of whose books appeared in 1916, refer to this lecture as still the recognized authority. Personally, when I reawaken my reminiscences of the whole affair, I am devoutly thankful that the Anglo-Franco-Russian scheme of 1912 for a Trans-Persian Railway came to nothing. When it is at some future time constructed it should be in a greater measure under British control. In May, 1902, Lord Ronaldshay had told the Society all about the Nushki-Seistan route; in 1916 Sir Hugh Barnes, writing in the *Indiaman*, urged the Government of India to build the Nushki-Seistan Railway, and in February, 1919, Colonel Webb Ware, in an admirable lecture, enhanced by a long and lucid speech from Sir Hugh Barnes, told a crowded audience how India had just connected itself by rail with Persia. Thanks to that connection, and to Brigadier-General Sir Percy M. Sykes and the troops under his command, Kirman was purged of Hun propagandists, and Bolshevism was checkmated on the Trans-Caspian Railway.

The recent tragic events in Afghanistan remind us of the close ties which unite that kingdom to India. It was in 1900 that Mr. John

Digitized by Google

Murray, subsequently a member of the Central Asian Society, brought out the Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan's autobiography, and in 1907 Sir Mortimer Durand selected that same potentate—a ruler whom Sir West Ridgeway once classed among the greatest men of his day—as the subject for his lecture. As one who had been in Kabul with Sir F. Roberts, and instrumental in placing Abdur Rahman Khan on the throne, and in 1893 the head of a mission sent to him by the Viceroy of India, no one was better qualified than Sir Mortimer to speak of an Ameer who inaugurated in 1880 a rule and policy at Kabul which has aided us in this momentous war. The death of the Ameer Habibullah is to be deplored, and might well have been made by the Central Asian Society an occasion for demonstrating and publicly recognizing the boon which forty years of stable government in Kabul has proved to be for the British Empire. If there is a Society that knows Afghanistan it is the Central Asian. All the Trans-Caspian territory and the Khanates are at this moment at a loose end, and a " mandate " is wanted to gather them into that fold which recognizes Great Britain as its shepherd. Men, however, throw away their chances. Afghanistan is no mean instrument, and her patience merits reward. Russia must be coerced, says Sir George Buchanan. The compress which tightens from Archangel, Omsk, the Volga, and the Don may tighten too from Kabul and Herat.

As may be supposed, the Baghdad Railway has been well discussed within the " Central Asian " walls, by none more effectively than by M. Chéradame in May, 1911; and, indeed, the fertile topic of railways converging on India has been dealt with there by Colonels Picot and Beresford, Mr. Lynch, Mr. C. D. Black, and others, while Mr. Percival Landon, Mr. F. D. Harford, Mr. A. Boddam Taylor, Mr. E. T. A. Wigram, Mr. Demetrius Boulger, and Sir Thomas Holdich, have made us familiar with Mesopotamia. Two bulwarks of the Indian Empire, Baluchistan on the west and Burma on the east, were respectively dealt with by men who had ruled them, viz., Colonel C. E. Yate and Sir Frederick Fryer, while India's power for offence and defence found able exponents in Sir Edwin Collen and Sir Thomas Holdich. Chinese Turkestan drew old memories from Sir Thomas Gordon and Sir Henry Trotter, while Sir George Macartney favoured us with his more recent experiences. On Asiatic Turkey and Asia Minor we heard the late Sir Mark Sykes, Mr. W. J. Childs, and Sir W. M. Ramsay, and with China, Mongolia, Japan, and Siberia we spent some pleasant and instructive afternoons. Commander O. Locker-Lampson and his armoured cars, ranging from Archangel to Erzeroum, held an audience spell-bound, and finally Mr. J. O. P. Bland, with General Sir Edmund Barrow, who was Sir Alfred Gaselee's Chief of the Staff at Peking in 1900, in the chair, paved the way for the restoration to China of the astro-

Digitized by Google

nomical instruments taken away from Peking by the Germans in 1900, and since then kept at Potsdam. It was my old friend, Colonel E. St. C. Pemberton, R.E., an ex-councillor of the Central Asian Society, who on December 11, 1900, in the discussion which followed Mr. Bland's address, brought forward the question of making Germany disgorge. He had seen the instruments at Potsdam about 1907, and again later seen the desolate sites on the walls of Peking. The subject was well ventilated at that meeting of the Central Asian Society, and not in vain. Suffice it to mention that *The Times* of December 12, 1918, took especial notice of what General Barrow and Colonel Pemberton had said on the 11th to the "Central Asian" meeting, and strongly endorsed their view that the instruments ought unquestionably to be restored. As I write, *The Times* of March 19 lies before me, and says: "The German Government has decided to return to China the astronomical instruments which were transported from Peking to Germany in 1900. Negotiations have been opened for the shipping of the instruments to China.—*Wireless Press* (through the wireless stations of the German Government)."

A very able journalist, who has attended all our lectures for years, wrote very recently to me: "In my opinion, the Society is more alive to-day than ever before," and this success for China bears this out. During the eighteen years of its life the Society owes its success to an able series of Chairmen of Council: Sir T. E. Gordon, Sir F. E. Younghusband, Sir V. Chirol, Lord Lamington, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir T. H. Holdich, Lord Ronaldshay, Sir Mortimer Durand, Sir Henry Trotter, and finally Lord Carnock. The Honorary President of the Society is the Earl Curzon of Kedleston. Illustration by lantern slides has accompanied most of the lectures, and in this connection the services of Mr. Simpson, of the Royal Geographical Society, have been most helpful.

The war just concluded has introduced thousands of male and female subjects of his Britannic Majesty to Asiatic countries which under ordinary conditions they never expected to visit. It is hoped that many of these will join the Central Asian Society on their return to England, and thus bring double grist to the Society's mill—the grist of brain for the lecture-field and the grist of funds for the production and maintenance of a "Central Asian Journal" such as the Society may regard with pride.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX II.: THE NUSHKI RAILWAY

To the Hon. Secretary, Central Asian Society.
THE KING'S HOUSE,
LYNDHURST,
June 24, 1919.

SIR,

I see that in the discussion on Colonel Webb Ware's paper on the Nushki Railway Sir H. Barnes remarked on the fact that nothing was apparently done about this line after Lord Curzon left India in 1905 until 1916. Perhaps I may mention that this was not due to any lack of interest in the matter on the part of the late Lord Minto, who personally visited Nushki and so improved the conditions of the Chagai Political Agency as to secure the long service there of Colonel Webb Ware, which has done so much for the development of the Nushki-Seistan trade route.

The real obstacle was the attitude of the military authorities in India, who opposed vigorously any improvements to this route. A motor-car was taken over into Seistan, and the experience so gained showed how easy it was to make the track suitable for motor traffic.

It was then proposed to remove some of the worst stones, and to ramp the sides of the dry nalas to facilitate motor carriage. To this the Army Department objected, as they did to the construction of wells. They also objected to the railhead being taken some sixteen miles to the west of the Nushki gorge to secure a healthier site with better water and grazing and some chance of cultivation. Their idea was that nothing should be done to improve communications there, lest the Russians might come to Seistan and take advantage of such improvements in an advance on India. If Seistan was to be supported, this should be done from Bandar Abbas. This attitude, which was apparently approved in Whitehall, made it very difficult for the Indian Government to do much, but quietly Colonel Webb Ware was helped to improve matters.

In fact, the route has always been advanced in the teeth of departmental difficulties. Two telegraph officers at different times reported that it would be impossible to construct a telegraph line over it, owing to physical and telegraphic conditions. In 1903 advantage was taken of the necessity for rapid communication with the MacMahon Mission to carry a field wire to Dalbandin, which, to the

Digitized by Google

surprise of the experts, was found to work splendidly. Wells were discovered on the route, and beyond Nasratabad Ispe, and eventually with the help of Sir A. Hardinge at Teheran the line was linked up with the Central Persian line long before this could be carried through to Karachi. It was the success of this venture in telegraph construction that paved the way for the railway, which most of us then desired, and which we are all now glad to see an accomplished fact. It may yet be the means of regenerating Persia and furthering through trade to India.

It is a curious thing that Lord Kitchener regarded it as impossible that Indian troops should ever be employed in Mesopotamia and Persia, and he was prepared to allow both Russia and Germany to come down to the head of the Gulf on Kruger's policy of letting the snake show its head so that we could hit it from the sea. The cost to India in naval arrangements to meet such a condition of affairs would have been ruinous. Happily it remained for Lord Kitchener before he died to add to his many splendid services to the Empire by abandoning this old policy of his, though his attitude while in India made it difficult to carry out the various political measures in the Gulf and Southern Persia which so materially assisted our action in those tracts during the war.

It is hardly necessary now to point out that the despatch of Indian troops to the Gulf and Mesopotamia helped the late Amir H.M. Habibullah Khan to fulfil his treaty obligations with us, and so in all probability prevented an invasion of India by Afghans, border Pathans, and the wilder tribes of Persia, led and stiffened by Germans and Turks, which in the conditions prevailing in 1915 must have had disastrous results. The Afghan incursion since the murder of our faithful ally clearly shows what would have happened then if he had failed to keep faith with us.

It is interesting that the map which the late Amir used during the negotiations in 1905 at Kabul showed the Afghan border close to the Helmand as originally drawn, and not as demarcated by Sir Henry MacMahon.

Yours faithfully,
LOUIS DANE.

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1918

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions—						
109 at £1	109	0	0			
4 at £1 in advance for 1919	4	0	0			
6 at £1 in arrears for 1916-17 ...	6	0	0			
8 at 16s.	6	8	0			
8 at 16s. in arrears for 1916-17 ...	6	8	0			
				131	16	0
2 Journal subscriptions at 16s. ...				1	12	0
Sale of Journal				12	17	10
Miscellaneous receipts				0	12	1
				146	17	11
Balance at bank, January 1, 1918 ...	108	17	4			
Petty cash	1	12	7			
				110	9	11
				£257	7	10

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By rent				22	0	0
,, salary				25	0	0
,, returned income-tax (Mrs. Frazer) ...				1	17	6
Journal—						
By printing four parts (1 double number)	64	1	10			
,, reporting	19	8	9			
,, lantern operator	7	16	1			
				91	6	8
By stationery				8	9	0
,, petty cash, stamps, teas, etc.				15	14	8
,, bank charges...				0	1	10
				164	9	8
,, balance at bank, December 31, 1918 ...	90	0	3			
,, ,, petty cash ,, ,, ...	2	17	11			
				92	18	2
				£257	7	10

Audited and found correct, *May* 6, 1919.

CARNOCK.
A. C. BAILWARD.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

PRICE 1S. EACH.

OUR COMMERCIAL POLICY IN THE EAST. By General E. F. Chapman. 1904.
A JOURNEY ACROSS ASIA. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. 1904.
CHINESE EXPANSION HISTORICALLY REVIEWED. By Baron Suyematsu. 1905.
OUR RECENT PROGRESS IN SOUTHERN PERSIA. By H. R. Sykes. 1905.
ENGLAND'S STRENGTH IN ASIA. By Colonel Sir Thos. Holdich. 1905.
RUSSIAN RAILWAYS TOWARDS INDIA. By Colonel de la Poer Beresford. 1906.
BALUCHISTAN. By Colonel C. E. Yate. 1906.
FRENCH INDO-CHINA. By A. Cotterell Tupp. 1906.
THE COLONIAL POLICY OF JAPAN IN KOREA. By F. A. McKenzie. 1906.
THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN PERSIA. By General Sir Thos. Gordon. 1907.
IMPRESSIONS OF THE DUAB, RUSSIAN TURKESTAN. By W. R. Rickmers. 1907.
BRITISH INTERESTS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. By A. J. Dunn. 1907.
TRIBES ON THE FRONTIER OF BURMA. By Sir Frederic Fryer. 1907.
CHINESE TURKESTAN. By Major C. D. Bruce. 1907.
THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA. By D. Fraser. 1907.
THE AMIR ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN. By Sir Mortimer Durand. 1907.
PROBLEMS OF WESTERN CHINA. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. 1908.
THE FUTURE OF BRITISH RELATIONS WITH PERSIA. By H. F. B. Lynch. 1908.
THE PERSIAN CONSTITUTIONALISTS. By E. G. Browne. 1908.
ASIATIC TURKEY AND THE NEW RÉGIME. By Mark Sykes. 1908.
EASTERN TURKESTAN. By G. Macartney. 1909.
INDIA IN IMPERIAL DEFENCE. By Captain D. I. Macaulay. 1909.
THE NEW RÉGIME IN TURKEY. By Sir Hamilton Lang. 1910.
SOME ASPECTS OF ASIATIC HISTORY. By Sir Alfred Lyall. 1910.
DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS IN CHINA. By A. J. Barry. 1910.
THE PLACE OF PERSIA IN WORLD POLITICS. By B. Temple. 1910.
OUR POSITION IN TIBET. By Sir F. Younghusband. 1910.
THE PROPOSED TRANS-PERSIAN RAILWAY. By Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate. 1911.
A VISIT TO AFGHANISTAN. By Dr. W. Saise. 1911.
GUN-RUNNING IN THE PERSIAN GULF. By Lovat Fraser. 1911.
BAGDAD RAILWAY. By M. Cheradame. 1911.
CHINA AND EDUCATION. By W. E. Soothill. 1911.
PAN-ISLAMISM. By D. S. Margoliouth. 1912.
THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. By A. E. Hippisley. 1912.
THE EDUCATIONAL POSITION IN PERSIA. By B. W. Stainton. 1912.
EUROPE AND ASIA. By Sir Francis Younghusband. 1913.
A RECENT JOURNEY THROUGH PERSIA. By Lord Lamington. 1913.

Digitized by Google

CHINESE AFFAIRS. By Eugene Ch'en. 1913.
AFGHANISTAN. By W. R. H. Merk. 1913.
AN ARTIST'S IMPRESSION OF WESTERN TIBET AND THE TURKESTANS. By Miss E. G. Kemp. 1913.

JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

VOL. I. PART I., 1914.

A VISIT TO MONGOLIA. By E. Manico Gull, etc.

VOL. I. PART II.

PERSIAN FAMILY LIFE. By Ella Sykes.
SIX MONTHS IN THE TIAN SHAN MOUNTAINS. By C. Howard Bury.
GENERAL SIR THOMAS EDWARD GORDON. By H. M. Durand.
THE CHUYAN ALPS. By H. G. C. Perry-Ayscough, etc.

VOL. I. PART III.

MONGOLIA: ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ASPECT. By Captain R. B. Otter-Barry.
SIR ALFRED LYALL AND THE UNDERSTANDING WITH RUSSIA. By the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G.
THE OPENING OF THE PANAMA CANAL. By General Sir E. Chapman.
A TYPICAL DAY'S MARCH IN EASTERN BOKHARA. By Mrs. Rickmers.
PERSIA: BETWEEN THE UPPER AND NETHER MILLSTONE. By Colonel A. C. Yate.
THE TIBET CONFERENCE. By Colonel Sir F. Younghusband.

VOL. II. PART I., 1915.

THE GREAT WAR AND THE MIDDLE EAST. By Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate.
TAMERLANE. By Lieut.-Colonel P. M. Sykes.
BRIEF REVIEW OF PRESENT CONDITIONS IN CHINA. By W. Woodville Rockhill, etc.

VOL. II. PART II.

THE SITUATION IN CHINA. By D. H. Mackintosh.
THE NEAR EAST AND THE WAR. By H. Charles Woods.
AN OVERLAND JOURNEY FROM INDIA TO ENGLAND. By W. J. C. Laurie.

VOL. II. PART III.

TURKEY, THE WAR, AND CLIMATIC INFLUENCES IN ASIA MINOR. By Sir Edwin Pears.
IMPRESSIONS OF SEVEN RIVERS LAND AND RUSSIAN CENTRAL ASIA. By Stephen Graham.
SIR AUREL STEIN'S PRESENT EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL ASIA. By F. M. G. Lorimer.

VOL. III. PART I., 1916.

CENTRAL MESOPOTAMIA. By Perceval Landon.
SEVEN MONTHS IN HIGH ASIA. By Miss Ella Sykes, F.R.G.S.

Digitized by Google

Vol. III. Parts II. and III.

The Red Karens. By Sir George Scott, K.C.I.E.
The Ashiret Highlands of Hakkiari (Mesopotamia). By Edgar T. A. Wigan.
Asia Minor and the War. By W. J. Childs.
Manchuria, 1905-1915. By Rev. A. R. Mackenzie.

Vol. IV. Part I., 1917.

Albania, Past and Present. By Miss M. Edith Durham.
Japan's Part in the War. By Mr. N. Kato.

Vol. IV. Part II.

The Bombay Provinces of Western China. By E. C. Wilton, C.M.G.
Bagdad. By Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.I.E., K.C.M.G.

Vol. IV. Part III.

Mesopotamia and Syria after the War. By Demetrius Boulger.
The River Tigris from the Sea to Bagdad. By A. Boddam Taylor.

Vol. IV. Part IV.

The Amir Yakoub Khan and Eastern Turkestan in Mid-Nineteenth Century. By Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., C.B.

Vol. V. Part I., 1918.

Britain's Buffer States in the East. By Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate.

Vol. V. Part II.

Palestine, its Past, Present, and Future. By Miss Estelle Blyth.
The Evolution of the Cossack Communities. By M. A. Czaplicka.

Vol. V. Parts III. and IV.

The Moslem Problem in China. By Reginald Farrar.
Islam in Russia since the Revolution. By Arnold J. Toynbee.
Persia and Her Neighbours. By the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali.

The six following are out of print:

Railways in Western Asia. By Lieut.-Colonel H. Picot. 1906.
Pan-Islamism. By Valentine Chirol. 1906.
The Defence of India. By Lieut.-General Sir Edwin Collen. 1906.
Some Problems of the Persian Gulf. By Lovat Fraser. 1907.
A Railway from the Mediterranean to India. By C. D. Black. 1909.
Railway in the Middle East. By H. F. B. Lynch. 1911.

These Publications may be obtained from Messrs. QUARITCH, Grafton Street, W., and at 22, Albemarle Street, W.

BILLING AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS, GUILDFORD, ENGLAND

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. VII.—PART IV.

1920

CONTENTS.

THE NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.
"THE HIGHWAYS OF CENTRAL ARABIA," BY H. ST. J. B. PHILBY, C.I.E., I.C.S., F.R.G.S.
OBITUARY: MR. T. HART-DAVIES; THE EARL OF DARTREY.
OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1920-1921.
LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED SINCE MARCH 4, 1920.

PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

THE anniversary meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W., on Wednesday, June 23, 1920, when there was a large attendance of members and friends. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, G.C.B., etc., Chairman of Council, presided.

The CHAIRMAN said that this being the annual meeting, in which the Council had to present the report and accounts for the past year, he would open the proceedings by asking the Hon. Secretary to read the report.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate) then read the Report of the Council for 1920.

Since the Annual General Meeting of June, 1919, our Society has had to change its premises. The helping hand which the Royal Asiatic Society has held out to us ever since our inauguration in 1901 has been again extended to us, and it must not be forgotten that both the Royal Society and the Royal Astronomical Society placed their lecture halls at our disposal in December, January, and February last. During all this difficult time Miss Phillips, our Assistant Secretary, kept everything going; and when it is borne in mind that during the last eight months the membership of this Society has been increased by about 70 per cent., which means a great deal of additional work, perhaps the Society will be able in a measure to realize the gratitude that is due to Miss Phillips.

Most people know that the cost of paper and printing and publishing has trebled, if not quadrupled, during the past twelve months. This fact being borne in mind, this Society has every reason to be proud of the way in which it has continued to maintain its *Journal*. The activity of the propaganda set on foot by the Council since January, 1919, accounts for this. In this both the R.G.S. and the R.A.S. have helped us, and among our new members we count alike men whose fame is made and men whose fame is yet to make. The old school of "Central Asians" know quite well that a new era has commenced, and welcome to their ranks the younger generation, who have problems to face which differ essentially from those which were the framework of what was known for a good half century as the "Central Asian Question." It has been the custom hitherto to read out the list of those who year by year have joined the Society, but on

Digitized by Google

the present occasion I will merely mention that among the ninety odd new members of 1919-20 are Lady Trotter, Lady Macgregor, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Sir Richard Dane, General Sir Reginald Wingate, Major Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, the Civil Commissioner of Mesopotamia, Colonel Sir A. T. Wilson, Lieut.-General Sir Alexander Cobbe, V.C., Brig.-General E. W. Costello, V.C., General Sir Leslie Rundle, Colonel Sir Richard Temple, Sir Charles Marling, the Rev. W. A. Wigram, D.D., Brig.-General R. E. H. Dyer, and Major-General L. C. Dunsterville of "Dunsterforce" fame. We have in this large and influential accession of new members the material wherewith to carry on the work which the old Central Asian school initiated twenty years ago. Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt, the Soudan, Palestine, Asia Minor, Turkestan, the Caucasus, the Levant, and the Balkans have all sent us their quota; and there is no better gauge of the renewed vitality of our Society than the fact that in the year before the Armistice four new members only joined against eight lost by death and resignation, whereas since the Armistice our numbers have been increased by 130.

The list of lectures for the session which ends to-day is as follows:

1. Ikbal Ali Shah, "Afghanistan," October 22, 1919.
2. Sir M. de Bunsen, Bart, P.C., G.C.M.G., etc., "New Levant Co," November 19, 1919.
3. Mr. Funduklian, "Armenia," December 17, 1919.
4. Mr. R. Michell, C.M.G., "Cyprus," January 21, 1920.
5. Captain E. H. Keeling, M.C., "Through Asia Minor in 1917," February 6, 1920.
6. Captain Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., "The Proposed New Department for dealing with British Interests and Responsibilities in the Middle and Near East," February 18, 1920.
7. Colonel the Hon. Dudley Carleton, "From the Adriatic to the Oxus," March 17, 1920.

7*a*. Sir W. M. Ramsay, *vice* Miss Louise Peralta, April 21, 1920.

8. Mr. E. H. Freshfield, "Old Fortifications of Constantinople," May 19, 1920.
9. Mr. H. St. J. Philby, C.I.E., "The Highways of Central Arabia," June 23, 1920.

The appreciation of these lectures must mainly rest with those who were able to come and listen to them, although most of them have also been read in the *Journal* by those who could not attend the lectures. Mr. Ikbal Ali Shah is, not improbably, the first Afghan who has ever lectured in London, and the interest of the audience was still further aroused when it became known that two Scotchmen, Sir Alexander McRobert and Sir Logie Watson, who had been in Kabul and had had interviews with the late Amir Habibullah Khan but a few months before his most regrettable assassination, were also present. Sir Maurice

Digitized by Google

de Bunsen fascinated us with his scholarly sketch of the old and new Levant Companies, and two ex-High Commissioners of Cyprus endorsed to the full Mr. Roland Michell's plea that Britain should not part with Cyprus. The conditions which attend its ultimate transfer to Greece are, as worded in the Peace Treaty with Turkey, such as may justify us in mentally postponing that transfer almost to the Greek Kalends. Captain Keeling's romantic story is still fresh in all our minds, and Captain Ormsby-Gore's advocacy of a New Middle Eastern Department of the Foreign Office has, as we learnt from *The Times* of June 7, not been long in bearing fruit. We may very well associate what we heard from Colonel Dudley Carleton and from Colonel Tod with the marvellous story of Lieut.-Colonel F. M. Bailey's adventures in Russian Turkestan between the autumn of 1918 and the spring of 1920. Just fifteen days ago I heard from Colonel Grey, the Consul-General at Mashhad, who was amongst us last January, that some three months ago his and Colonel Bailey's "motor-cars crossed a few miles south of Birjand. They stopped and had half an hour's conversation." Colonel Bailey's mother very kindly sent me early intelligence of her son's safe arrival in Persian territory, and also some details of the devices by which he concealed his identity and finally accomplished his escape from Bolshevist territory. That information, however, I was enjoined not to publish.

Influenza deprived us of Miss Peralta's lecture (Sir W. M. Ramsay most kindly stepping into the breach), and Mr. Freshfield kept me on tenterhooks by camouflaging all his movements and finally landing in London on his return from the Near East a bare eighteen hours before he was due to lecture. However, he was up to time, and personally conducted us on a tour round the ancient walls of Constantinople, to recall which will always be a pleasure.

Mr. Philby addresses us this afternoon. One upon whom the Royal Geographical Society has conferred its Gold Medal needs no further tribute.

The Society's policy during the past twelve months has, in addition to gathering many good men from the Middle East into its fold, been to establish relations, firstly with the Universities of the British Isles, and secondly with the provinces of the Middle East. Cambridge, Oxford, and Edinburgh have formed small Societies for the discussion of Asiatic problems, and some members of each of these Universities have joined our Society. I have communicated also with Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Sheffield, but not to my knowledge so far achieved anything. Mesopotamia has responded most promptly and effectively to our appeal, and Palestine and Egypt, will I trust, follow suit. This Society owes much to Lord Ronaldshay, and once again he, as Governor of Bengal, is spreading our propaganda in the province which he governs.

Digitized by Google

The affairs of the Society at this moment are fairly prospering. All we want is propaganda. We are not sufficiently known, and many even who know us do not seem to think of becoming members until they are invited to do so. I wish specially to mention Captain G. C. Stephenson for the success which has attended his invitations. Since I became Honorary Secretary I have pursued one uniform policy. When I am brought into touch with a person who obviously takes an intelligent interest in Asia and Asiatic affairs, I say to him, by letter or by word of mouth, "Will you join the Central Asian Society?" and about 80 per cent. of the people to whom I have said that, many of them being perfect strangers whose names I have just come across in the Press, have joined. Therefore to all my fellow-members I tender this gentle hint: "Go, and do thou likewise!" We shall then become a great Society and capable of doing efficiently the work which we regard as our privilege and duty.

The Council regrets to report the loss by death of Professor J. W. Neill, Mr. T. Hart-Davies, the Earl of Dartrey, and Captain H. F. D. Stirling. Lieut.-Colonel S. H. Godfrey resigned his membership, and the names of two other members have been struck off the list. This leaves a net gain for the year of eighty-eight members—a record.

The Society will, the Council feel sure, be pleased to learn that Lord Carnock has accepted the invitation to retain his Chairmanship for the year 1920-21. The following changes in the Council are recommended: Under Rule 13, Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich and Sir Valentine Chirol retire; the Council recommend the election of Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband and General Sir Edmund Barrow in their places. Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward, who intends to pass the coming winter out of England, has resigned the post of Honorary Treasurer. The Council recommend the election of Sir Edward Penton. They also recommend the re-election of Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate as Honorary Secretary for 1920-21. Under Rule 23 three Members of Council, Mr. Moon, Mr. Tucker, and Mr. Bennett retire. The Council recommend the re-election of Mr. Moon and Mr. Tucker, and the election of Mr. H. St. J. B. Philby in place of Mr. Bennett. To replace Sir F. Younghusband and Sir Edward Penton, the Council recommend Sir M. de Bunsen and General Sir Reginald Wingate.

The time seems to be approaching when we may look to forming a Library and also a collection of photographs and lantern slides. For the present we trust to the generosity of the members of the Society. At the end of this year our office-room will have to be furnished, and, in view of limited funds and high prices, that is a serious matter. Therefore, though the session of 1919-20 has seen progress, its close leaves us face to face with some anxieties, and at the root of them all lies "£. s. d."

Digitized by Google

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think we have listened to an interesting and on the whole most encouraging report from Colonel Yate, and that we have every reason to hope that in time this Society will become a really thoroughly going concern. I am sure I am expressing the views of my colleagues on the Council, and also of the meeting here, when I say that we fully endorse the reference which Colonel Yate has made to the invaluable services of Miss Phillips. What Colonel Yate, however, naturally omitted was that the record increase of our members is almost—I might very nearly say entirely—due to his own indefatigable efforts. He has been unwearied in his search for new members, and his quest, as you will see from the data he has given you, has been most successful. Moreover, I should like to call the attention of the meeting to the fact that it is owing to his unbounded energy that we have been able to give so many interesting lectures, and are now fully engaged in arranging a programme for the next session. I think the Society really owes a great debt of gratitude to Colonel Yate, and I am very pleased to think that he has consented to continue as our Honorary Secretary for another year—of course subject to your approval. I think that the relations which he has established with the Universities in the United Kingdom and in what we term the Mid-Eastern Provinces are likely to bear fruit. We have already, as he mentioned, a very considerable number applying for membership from Baghdad and Mesopotamia; I hope the Universities will also respond when this society becomes better known amongst them. I have now been asked by the Treasurer to refer to our accounts, as we are bound to submit them. You will find them in the JOURNAL, which was published the other day. I am not going into the accounts in detail; but I would point out that the balance at the bank at the beginning of last year was £90, and the balance at the end of the year was £52—which shows a reduction of about £40. That is not quite so satisfactory as we should wish. I really wish to impress very strongly upon members kindly to do their very utmost amongst the circle of their friends and acquaintances to enlist as many members as they can. I should point out that the existence of this society depends very largely upon the JOURNALS and the lectures which it publishes. Of course non-resident members form a very large number of our members, and it is the only means they have of gaining any benefit from the Society. It is by the dissemination of our lectures that we have been able to secure a considerable number of recruits outside the United Kingdom. The cost of printing and of paper has become very largely increased, and, feeling as we do that it is essential to maintain the publication of the JOURNAL, the Council really had in contemplation at one moment whether it would not be necessary to ask the members to increase their subscriptions, so as to enable it to meet these heavy charges. We hope to be able to avoid that, and the

Digitized by Google

best means to avoid it is certainly to increase the number of our members and, if possible, establish for the coming year a record over the very satisfactory results of the last. I will now formally put to you the recommendations as to the Vice-Presidents. It is a little embarrassing for me to suggest anything concerning myself, but the Council has done me the honour of proposing me as your Chairman. I feel myself a very inadequate one, but, with your suffrages, I shall be encouraged with your permission to continue the office for one other year. Then I should like to propose that General Sir Edmund Barrow and Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband be elected Vice-Presidents and that Sir Edward Penton should replace General Bailward as Honorary Treasurer. Colonel Yate we have remaining on for another year as Honorary Secretary; and there are new Members of Council—subject to your consent—Mr. Philby, Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Mr. E. R. P. Moon, Mr. A. L. P. Tucker, and General Sir Reginald Wingate. I have heard from Sir Maurice de Bunsen that he would feel very pleased to join us—naturally subject to your approval—and I am still awaiting a reply from Sir Reginald Wingate. I hope you will agree to all these new nominations and elections. I do not know if anybody present would like to make any new nominations or ask any questions; I am sure we shall be very happy to do our best to answer them if any be put.

There were no other nominations or questions.

The CHAIRMAN: As nobody seems to have any other suggestion I will now call upon Mr. Philby to read the paper which he has promised. I do not think it is necessary for me to introduce Mr. Philby, as Colonel Yate has already informed you that he is one of our most distinguished travellers and was honoured by receiving the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society.

Mr. H. St. J. B. PHILBY followed with a paper on "The Highways of Central Arabia."

I must start by disabusing you of the idea that the title of my address this afternoon has any very definite bearing on the subject I propose to discuss. Some months ago, when I was asked to select a title for my paper, my idea was to discuss some aspects of the economic and social conditions of Central Arabia, and to make the great highways of commerce and pilgrimage which traverse the desert in various directions as it were the framework of my picture. That picture, however, would inevitably in the circumstances have been more in the nature of a negative than a positive, for, when all is said and done, Arabian commerce is a negligible quantity.

After further consideration, therefore, it seemed to me that there was also a positive aspect of Arabia, which, difficult as the subject is to treat adequately in a short space of time, it seemed worth while to attempt to sketch, however roughly, more particularly in view of the

Digitized by Google

fact that Arabian affairs, or rather the affairs of the whole Middle East, are just now beginning to loom rather large in the public eye, and it seems to me exceedingly important that we should endeavour to view the Middle East as a whole, and to make clear in our own minds the links which connect the various parts of the huge area which makes up the Arab world.

Central Arabia must necessarily be my theme, but I wish you to regard it simply as a single unit of the much larger area of the Middle East, for whose wellbeing we are generally responsible, and for whose rescue from Turkish misgovernment and tyranny we may fairly claim the credit. Those of you who read the papers in these days must know that there is a widespread feeling that this country has not made, and is not making, the best of its great opportunities. That, of course, is a question on which, as a Government servant, I am not at liberty to express my personal opinion, but in any case my personal opinion is of no moment; what does matter is the collective opinion of a Society like this, whose rôle, as I conceive it, is not only to discuss questions of Asiatic politics, but to endeavour to formulate views on such questions with a view to influencing the policy of this country in relation to them. And, if I am not mistaken, this Society left little doubt as to what its opinion on the general question of the responsibilities of this country in the Middle East was when, four months ago, it acclaimed a very striking address on the subject by Captain Ormsby Gore. Much as I am in sympathy with the general tenor of that address, there are some points in it on which I join issue with its author, and those points appropriately enough concern one section of the Middle East of which he admitted having no personal knowledge—namely, Mesopotamia. I am very sorry that Captain Ormsby Gore is not present to-day, but he is doubtless engaged in another place in trying to influence the policy of this country in relation to the Middle East and Mesopotamia.

Now in talking of desert Arabia he could not have put the position more lucidly or more accurately than he did. "All the Bedouins want—the real Bedouins," he said, "is, of course, absolute independence. The proper policy is to allow them complete freedom." That seems to me a very sound view of the position.

In dealing with Syria he was equally happy. "The desire of most Arabs," he said, "is to be left alone to live their own lives in their own way as they have lived it for two thousand years. But among the settled and semi-settled tribes and townsmen of Eastern Syria . . . there is a real, new, national consciousness, and undoubtedly Damascus is the centre of this feeling. But now they fear that having fought against the Turk for their independence they will be subjected to European rule. That is a very genuine feeling, and though, for the moment, it is apparent that anti-French sentiment is the predominant feeling . . . there can be little doubt that if the British were in the

Digitized by Google

same position as the French, they would be equally strongly anti-British. They want independence—nothing more and nothing less." That view also seems to me very sound.

But when Captain Ormsby-Gore came to deal with Mesopotamia, it it seemed to me that he allowed strategic and economic considerations to stifle his judgment. "In Mesopotamia," he said, "the Arab inhabitants are at present prepared to exchange masters; at present they have no desire for complete independence." With all due deference to Captain Ormsby-Gore, I submit that the people of Mesopotamia, the great bulk of them, have no desire to exchange masters. We must face the facts, and I would almost go to the length of saying that if they were given a free choice without prejudice, there would be a very substantial majority in favour of Turkish domination rather than British. But that is beside the point. What they want, like the people of Arabia and Syria, and want because they are Arabs, is complete independence, nothing more and nothing less, and that is exactly what the British Government promised them in the most unequivocal terms by joining with the French in the momentous proclamation of November, 1918. The terms of that proclamation have been somewhat overlooked by the public in the rush for oil which has been so prominent a feature of the last twelve months; but none the less that proclamation is the charter of Arab liberty in Mesopotamia as elsewhere. I was at Baghdad when it was published and had opportunities of ascertaining the very favourable impression it created. I was personally very glad of it, and from that moment I have looked forward with hope to the fulfilment of our promise. Surely we must now be almost on the threshold of its realization.

All this is by way of preamble to my theme, to which I will come without further delay. I merely wished to impress on you that, great as is the diversity of sentiment in various sections of the Arab world in regard to many matters—religion, politics, and the like—there is the completest unanimity in regard to one point, the passionate love of liberty, which is characteristic of the Bedouin stock to which not only the people of Syria, but the bulk of those of Mesopotamia, belong by origin. I have laid especial stress on Mesopotamia, because its rich alluvial plains, lying at the north-east extremity of the Arabian peninsula, constitute the terminus of the most important of the highways of Arabia—the great highway, not of commerce or pilgrimage, but of human migration, whose starting-point lies in the Yaman highlands at the south-west corner of the peninsula, and along which through all the ages has poured a stream of human traffic which is not yet spent. An Arab proverb says: "Yaman is the cradle and Iraq the grave of the Arab race." That saying will be seen to be as true in the future as it has been in the past, and in this connection I must refer once again to Captain Ormsby-Gore's address. In considering the strategic aspect of

Digitized by Google

Mesopotamia he had much to say about the Persian mountain barrier and its possibilities as a route of invasion, but he left out of account the long desert frontier towards Arabia, which after all has left a more permanent mark on the history of the country, in that over it have come those successive waves of Arab invaders—the last being in the early days of Islam, whose descendants now form the bulk of the population. Again, in considering the labour problem he failed to realize that when labour—agricultural labour—is wanted it must largely come whence it came before, across Arabia. It may be thought that I am unduly optimistic in expecting a sufficient access of labour to Mesopotamia from the depleted population of Arabia, but it must be remembered that that population has been depleted by two causes—war and infant mortality. The former it should be our rôle to check by a judicious use of our influence, and it should be borne in mind that now that modern weapons are in every man's hands war is not so popular as it used to be even in Arabia, while the possibility of checking it to a very great extent has been admirably demonstrated in the last twenty years by Ibn Saud, the present ruler of Central Arabia. To this I can testify from my own experience, for I have travelled over 3,000 miles in his territories, not without occasional alarms but without serious danger, and over many of these routes one could not have marched with any assurance twenty or even ten years ago. As regards infant mortality I made a rough calculation when I was in Arabia, that no fewer than 75 per cent. of the children born in the country die in the first few years of life. That, at any rate, would not be difficult to stop, though I greatly shocked the venerable Amir of Anaiza by making such a suggestion. Nevertheless, he agreed to my applying for a supply of vaccine for the use of his town, and I have no doubt that that supply has already saved some lives. Smallpox is the curse of desert Arabia, and carries off its children in thousands. Now if that percentage of infant deaths could be reduced to, say, 10 per cent. and the survivors cured of their desire to kill each other, the population of Arabia would in a very short time outgrow the capacity of the country to maintain it, and the surplus would be available to colonize Mesopotamia as rapidly as its development expands. That was what happened nearly two thousand years ago, when the bursting of the great dam at Marib in the Yaman threw the populous colonies of that province on to the desert with the alternatives of dying there or finding their way to Mesopotamia.

The path which they followed is the most romantic highway in the country, and is still the route by which the famous Yaman coffee percolates towards the centre of Arabia, where no self-respecting person will drink Indian or other imitations of that product if he can get the genuine article. We know it as Mocha coffee because it is shipped at Mocha, but the Arabs call it Barriyya, or that which comes across the desert.

Digitized by Google

Its starting-point in the Yaman may be taken to be the flourishing oasis of Najran, between which and the oasis of Wadi Dawasir, a caravan journey of six days, it has never been traversed by a European though we know that it lies for the most part over a desert with water at rare intervals. From the latter point I have followed it northward to the two great towns of the Qasim, Anaiza and Buraida, a distance of some 500 miles, whence it radiates in many directions to the great commercial centres of the Middle East—to Basra and Lower Mesopotamia, to Baghdad and Babylonia, to Damascus and Syria, and to Egypt. These radiations, with the tracks leading from the Qasim to Kuwait on the one side and to Mecca and Madina on the other, constitute also the modern commercial highways of Arabia, whose commercial centre is without doubt the great towns of the Qasim. In every one of the towns and countries I have named—to say nothing of Bombay and Karachi—you will find agents or partners of the great trading houses of Anaiza and Buraida, but in those two towns you will not find a single foreigner. The trade of Central Arabia is a trade of a very special nature, and the Arabs themselves have an uncontested monopoly of it.

But for the moment I am concerned rather with the historical than the economic aspect of this great highway, whose stages I now propose to discuss briefly, showing you, as occasion offers, photographs of some of the places I have to mention.

In former times—two thousand years ago or more—Arabia was not as barren and desolate as it is now, and its most fertile and prosperous portion was the south-western corner, which comprises the uplands of Yaman and Hadhramaut, the once famous Spicelands of Arabia. Much of that area now lies under the southern and western extremities of that vast waterless sand desert known to us as the Empty Quarter; and when I was in Southern Najd I was informed that in that desolate wilderness there may still be seen the ruinous remnants of two settlements which were once great cities—Jafura and Wabar. We may conjecture that those cities lay on the caravan route leading from the Spicelands to the ancient port of Gerra, which ceased to exist when the Empty Quarter became empty, and has since been replaced in the greatly reduced trade between Central Arabia and Bahrain by the pretty seaport of Uqair, a short distance farther north, whose name alone recalls the flourishing earlier settlement, whose trade routes reached not only to the Spicelands but to Egypt itself, via the city of Petra. The present desolation of Arabia covers the record of a prosperous past, and though doubtless the greater part of that prosperity is gone for ever, there is every reason to suppose that a considerable part of it could be restored under existing conditions by European science.

From Yaman, on the one hand, to Mesopotamia and Syria, on the other, we may at the present day read in the oasis settlements of

Digitized by Google

desert Arabia the record of the migrations which resulted from the declining prosperity of the Spicelands. Stratum by stratum the history of those migrations is exposed to our view almost with the precision of a geological record, and as an example of this I may quote the greatest and noblest of all the Arab tribes, the tribe of Anaza, whose tribal home at the present time is the Syrian Hamad, the hard desert of Northern Arabia, extending from Mesopotamia to Palestine and Northern Hijaz, but whose remnants, deposited in the backwaters of the human stream in the course of their northward progress, can be traced on the ground as far south as the province of Aflaj and in legend farther still to the Yamen itself. The tribe of Anaza is the leaven which has leavened the whole lump of Arabian society, and its importance in the Arabian scheme may be best realized by the reflection that of the five great independent rulers whose sway covers by far the greatest part of the Arabian peninsula no fewer than four are of Anaza extraction. The greatest of these is the Saud dynasty of Riyadh, the others are the dynasties which rule Jauf in the far north, and Kuwait and Bahrain on the extreme east. The fifth, of course, is the Rashid dynasty of Hail, which is of different stock, but until comparatively recently owed allegiance to Ibn Saud. As you know, the last reigning Ibn Rashid was murdered only a short time ago, and there seems to be some doubt whether he has been succeeded by one of his own house or not. If not Hail may well return before long to its old allegiance.

Just as the Anaza are one of the oldest and most widespread tribal elements in Arabia, so one of the youngest is the tribe of Dawasir, who are shown in Ptolemy's map of Arabia as still occupying at that time the country round Najran, which we may take to have been their starting-point when they found it necessary to migrate. The Anaza must have had a long start of them, for they had already been driven out of the Wadi to the northward by a tribal group which is difficult to identify with any of the modern tribes and may have been aboriginal, very much as the Bani Tamim and Bani Hanifa seem to have been in the northern provinces. This group, known in tradition by the name Abat Dawasir, or ancestors of the Dawasir, still survives in a few colonies in the Wadi, though they have lost their once dominant position to the Dawasir, whom in a moment of evil inspiration they welcomed as homeless wanderers and allowed to settle as their guests. The simplest stratum of the Arab tribal system is therefore to be found in the province of Wadi Dawasir, where remnants of a possibly aboriginal stock survive side by side with the latest invaders, the Dawasir. There is also a third element in this tract, perhaps one of the most interesting elements in Arabian society; it percolates without a break right through the peninsula up to Hail and Jauf, and wherever it is found it occupies and is quite satisfied with a subordinate

Digitized by Google

position in the social scale. Its density decreases in proportion as we proceed northwards, and it is found in its greatest numbers in Wadi Dawasir and Aflaj. That element is a negroid element emanating from Africa; they crossed the Red Sea, not as slaves, but as conquerors, at the time of the Abyssinian invasion which preceded the birth of Islam; and they have been impelled across the peninsula very much like their Arab predecessors. Though not organized as a tribe they are known as Bani Khadhir to distinguish them from the pure Arabs, on the one hand, and the negro slaves, on the other. Their strong point is agriculture, and the Bedouin Arab, regarding camel breeding alone as fit occupation for a real gentleman, and sheep breeding as suitable for those who do not quite aspire to be in the first flight, is very glad to leave agricultural pursuits, which he regards as seriously derogatory to his dignity, to the negroid element, which is therefore generally to be found in the position of occupancy tenants of lands of which the Badawin are the acknowledged proprietors. I exclude various negroid settlements, such as Khaibar, along the eastern fringe of the Hijaz, from the scope of this survey, as they possibly do not emanate from the Yaman stream, but in all probability are direct immigrants from the African coast opposite Mecca and Madina.

While on this subject I would like to say a few words about slavery and the slaves. The League of Nations Covenant, as you know, contains a clause binding the signatory nations to do all in their power to put a stop to slavery. It would be interesting to know what the effect of this clause has been or will be—interesting because one of the signatories is Great Britain, which effectively commands the routes by which slaves come from their distant homes in Central Africa across the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the ports—Port Sudan and Suakin—whence they are shipped to the Arabian coast, while another of the signatories is the King of the Hijaz, whose capital is Mecca, perhaps the biggest slave market in the world. The Arabs, of course, have no such rooted prejudice against slavery as we profess to have, and for a very good reason. They treat their slaves at least as well as their camels, and that is saying a very great deal, while in the days when European planters had gangs of slaves to work for them I believe the treatment they gave them was shocking. As for the moral aspect of slavery, there are two points of view from which it must be regarded. In Arabia itself, as I have said, slaves form a recognized element in the population and are exceedingly well treated. I had many slaves in attendance on me during my stay in that country, and their testimony was unanimously enthusiastic. In Riyadh, there are about sixty or seventy of them, mostly in the palace service; they have plenty of food, adequate accommodation, good clothes and plenty of money; in all these things they contrast strangely with the majority of Arabs, who, noble and free as they are, are always hungry and needy. Moreover they are provided with

Digitized by Google

wives when female slaves are available; in a word they are exceedingly happy, and would certainly not elect to go home if they could.

The other side of the shield is dark enough—the African side, where young children, boys and girls, left by careless parents to watch their flocks in the pastures, are filched away by the slave-merchants and hurried across the African continent, journeying for months until they come to the Sudan and are shipped across the Red Sea. Of that side of the shield I know but little, but the worst part of the business is the mortality it involves, for of the children thus stolen only a small percentage reaches the coast of Arabia to enjoy the happiness I have described. That part is very bad, and it seems to me very surprising that it is allowed to go on in a country like the Sudan. It will be interesting to see whether the King of the Hijaz and Great Britain will now, in consequence of the Peace Treaty, take serious steps to put down slavery altogether.

Now I must return to the highway. The next stage northward of the Wadi Dawasir oases is the Aflaj province, perhaps the most remarkable province of Central Arabia, a province which contains more water than the whole of the rest of Arabia together, and in which we may still study those early struggles of humanity to terminate their wanderings in the desert. The lowest stratum of which we have the record here is one that has vanished altogether, leaving only material remains by which posterity may judge of the standard of civilization attained by it. The intricate and elaborate irrigation system built up on the basis of the great natural reservoirs of this district, the so-called bottomless pools, one of which is a small lake and probably the most extensive sheet of water in Arabia, and the ruins of their cemeteries, point to the conclusion that this early stratum of the population was not of Arab origin at all. A chain of evidence, by no means as complete as we could wish, but suggestive enough, connects it with the shores of the Persian Gulf, and we may for the time being assume that these first inhabitants of the Aflaj came from Persia or some country near it. When or how they disappeared we have no means of judging, but the next human stratum above them is the Anaza, of whom scattered remnants still hold out in some of the oases side by side with the element which overwhelmed them, the Dawasir, who occupy by far the greater part of the province.

But those who know anything about the tribal system of Arabia may object that I have so far conveyed the impression that the only tribes who count in Arabia are the Dawasir and the Anaza and the negroids. A study of Wadi Dawasir and Sulaiyil might very well leave one with that impression, but it is in the Aflaj that we begin to find a more correct idea of things, for, apart from the old Persian element which has vanished, the Anaza, who turned them out, and the Dawasir, who eventually dominated and still dominate the whole province, we

Digitized by Google

find traces of several of the other great tribes. On either side of the channel which is dotted with the Dawasir settlements we find parallel streams, starting from the highlands of the Yaman and trending north-eastward. One of those streams had its source in the Yam tribes who still occupy Najran, while the other is represented by the Qahtan, whose base is still in the upland valleys of Tathlith and Bisha. Yet another stream is that of the twin tribes of Subai and Suhul, starting from Ranya, north of Bisha, and, yet another, the Ataiba, starting from a point still farther north in the mountains of Taif and Mecca. An interesting point about all these tribes is that all of them, unlike the Anaza and Dawasir, are still to be found in part in their original homelands, and that none of them has made as much progress towards their ultimate goal, the cultivated lands of Syria and Mesopotamia, as the Anaza and Dawasir. The natural inference is either that they started later or that they proved to be weaker than their rivals for the possession of the land.

I will first try to dispose of the Yam tribes, because the path of their migration lies wholly south of the Dawasir route. Though they are at the present day in undisputed possession of the great and fertile oasis of Najran, their original homeland, they never seem to have been strong enough to establish themselves in the oases of the interior on any considerable scale in face of the rivals with whom they came in contact. They must have gained a temporary footing on the great lake of the Aflaj province, for tradition credits the Murra tribe, a branch of the Yam, with the construction of an aqueduct, whose remnants are still to be seen, for the purpose of providing water for their main body, which was encamped during the struggle at a distance of several days' journey in the great desert. But that is about as much as they achieved here, and it is not till we get to the next province northward, the Kharj, that we find scattered settlements of this tribe, which succeeded in obtaining a permanent footing side by side with the Dawasir and other elements. For the most part the Yam tribes were continually edged out into the desert by the more powerful Dawasir. No Arab tribe envies the Murra their long undisturbed title of lords of the Empty Quarter, where they eke out a picturesque but precarious existence, retaining to this day something of the practices of their ancient pagan ancestors. Their marriage ceremony is a case in point, for, according to one of them who accompanied me on my excursion to these southern provinces, the prospective bridegroom and bride have only to walk several times round a stick set in the ground, each holding it with one hand and repeating a simple formula as they go round, to become husband and wife. They are the great camel breeders of Arabia; milk and the products of the chase are their sole sustenance. Some of you may have seen a specimen of the animals they hunt which has recently been deposited in the Zoo—an oryx, which is an interesting

Digitized by Google

acquisition in that it is certainly the first living creature which has ever been brought to Europe from the Empty Quarter.

Akin to the Murra are the Ajman, another branch, perhaps the premier branch, of the Yam tribes; it must have been the first to migrate from its home, for they have not only left traces of themselves in the settlements of the Hasa district, but, wandering farther north in their Badawin capacity, have reached as far as the marches of Kuwait and even Basra. This tribe has an intimate and somewhat sinister connection with the history of the Saud dynasty. The great Faisal Ibn Saud, who ruled Najd in the 'fifties and 'sixties of last century, took one of their girls to wife, and by her left a younger son, who not only challenged his elder brother's right to the throne and wrecked the throne itself in the process, but left numerous offspring to be a perpetual thorn in the side of the ruling branch. Every subsequent pretender to the throne of Najd has had the Ajman tribe solid at his back, and has had the mortification of realizing that, if the original pretender had not quarrelled with his elder brother, the latter's death without offspring would have left his line natural heirs to the throne. The present ruler belongs to a yet younger branch, but occupies the throne in virtue of having recovered it from a foreign usurper, Ibn Rashid, whose temporary usurpation was the direct result of the actions of the first pretender. The Ajman tribe is not yet reconciled to its position, and there is still blood between it and Ibn Saud, who has not yet avenged the death of his favourite brother at its hands in 1916, but Ibn Saud is clearly in a winning position.

The main point to note about these sections of the Yam tribes is that, though their advance guard has reached almost to the gates of Mesopotamia, their ultimate goal, theirs has been a desert journey all the way, their line of march lying southward of the direct line in a wide curve. It is far from unlikely that if Mesopotamia requires an immediate accession of cultivators these Ajman nomads, rebellious towards their ruler and weary of their desert life, will be the first candidates in the field, and they are of a good stout fighting stock.

It is not only, however, on the south of their route that the Dawasir have had to contend with rivals, for relics of the Qahtan tribe in the Aflaj province show that they had to eject an older group of settlers on that side, but the mention of the Qahtan here anticipates the course of history, and I must take you to the more northerly province of Kharj, where the ethnological record is easier to read; but I must also take you westward to the Najd highland country and nearly to the frontier of the Hijaz. In Kharj, by the side of a group of bottomless reservoirs like those of the Aflaj, we again find the remnants of an old and foreign type of civilization, which we may take to be of Persian origin. No human relic of that period survives, but we now come into contact for the first time with what looks like an aboriginal tribe of

Digitized by Google

Central Arabia, the Bani Tamim and Bani Hanifa, who have lived, at any rate as far back as we can go in the history of the country, in the many flourishing oasis settlements of the great gorges of the Tuwaiq plateau and in the valley of Wadi Hanifa. One or other of those settlements was at various times, in medieval days, the capital of the great Central Arabian kingdom of Yamama, the bulk of whose inhabitants were of the Bani Tamim and Bani Hanifa. There is sufficient evidence, I think, to warrant the conclusion that these tribes had lost, if they ever had, their nomadic character, and were already settled down to agriculture and commerce long before the birth of Islam. They were then, as they are now, sturdy yeoman farmers, who, in the seclusion of their upland settlements, developed on different lines to the nomad tribes, whose rules of honour and hospitality they do not recognize. They have always provided the best fighting material in Arabia, largely, no doubt, owing to the fact that they have everything to lose by running away, while the true Badawin run away as a matter of course when the odds are against them, partly because they have nothing to lose by doing so and partly owing to their uncontrollable desire to live to fight another day. The difference, in a nutshell, between the settled and nomad elements of Arabia is that the latter love fighting and fight but poorly, while the former fight only when they must and fight to the death. The strongholds of these settled elements were formerly the neighbourhood of Ghat Ghat, west of the Tuwaiq barrier, the oasis of Hariq on the uplands of Tuwaiq and the Wadi Hanifa valley, but a study of the present composition of the population of these tracts shows that at one time or another the Bani Tamim have been subjected to powerful attacks from various quarters, and that, though they still exist as a powerful unit, they have lost much ground of which they were formerly undisputed masters. I have already mentioned the intrusion of Murra elements into the settlements of Kharj from the south. I now turn to the west, whence came the hardest blows against the existence of these old-settled folk.

The desert westward of Tuwaiq, extending for nearly 300 miles to the Hijaz border was first occupied by the once powerful but now much reduced tribal confederacy of the Subai and Suhul, who were based on Ranya and Khurma in the west and still hold out in those tracts. Their desert settlements may still be traced by human relics in the Najd highlands, while a very considerable proportion of these tribes is now to be found eastward of Tuwaiq in Wadi Hanifa, and in the eastern desert almost to the borders of the Hasa. Their present distribution is the result of attacks made on them in their homelands by the Qahtan and Ataiba tribes, migrating eastward in proportion as their numbers outgrew the natural resources of the Asir and Hijaz mountains.

It seems probable that these migrations began some time after the

Digitized by Google

Anaza migration was in full swing. A fearful state of anarchy must have reigned in desert Arabia when that race for cultivable lands was being run. The Qahtan and Ataiba pushed eastwards side by side and were continually engaged in fighting each other for the possession of the settlements of the Subai and Suhul, whom they displaced. The Subai and Suhul managed to ward off these attacks in Ranya and Khurma, where their strength was greatest, but further east in the Najd highlands yielded step by step to the invaders, and eventually found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. Fighting rear-guard actions against the Qahtan and Ataiba they found the Bani Tamim and Anaza in front of them, contesting their advance. In the meantime the Anaza, pushed on by the Dawasir from behind, had attacked the Bani Tamim in Hariq, and the latter had moved down the valley to found their impregnable city of Hanta, where they have remained ever since. The Subai and Suhul then gained a footing side by side with the Anaza at Hariq, and standing at bay at the edge of the eastern desert, managed to arrive at a *modus vivendi* with the populations already in possession in Wadi Hanifa and the Kharj. The oasis of Hair in the former is the centre of their eastern section and quite recently they have planted another colony in Kharj at Dhabaa. The Qahtan, pursuing hotfoot upon their traces, were brought almost to a standstill in the Kharj and Wadi Hanifa, with the result that they had to be content with consolidating their gains in the west, and with such vacant spaces as they could find in the more easterly tracts, while the Ataiba, warded off by them to the northward and pursuing another branch of the Subai, found their progress eastward checked by the barrier of Tuwaiq and its sturdy warriors and eased off northwards towards the Qasim, where they came in contact with the Anaza, who had by then reached and founded the oasis of Anaiza.

In Kharj and the surrounding districts we find, therefore, the early traces of practically all the important tribes of modern Arabia—except the northern tribes of Harb, Mutair, and Shammar, whose course towards Mesopotamia was from westward and of whom I need not now speak—and we find them here in contact with what appears to be a settled and more or less settled aboriginal population of Bani Tamim.

Up to this point I have attempted to distinguish the various strands of migration from their sources in the western and south-western mountains of Hijaz, Asir, and Yaman. The province of Kharj represents, as it were, the point of their confluence just as it is from the geographical point of view the nodal point of the great drainage arteries of Central Arabia. Just as those arteries collect at the extreme point of this district to flow out eastward by the single channel of Sahaba towards the Persian Gulf, so do the human streams merge here in a common channel on their way through the northern provinces to their eventual goal in the fertile lands of Syria and Mesopotamia.

Digitized by Google

In all the oases northward of this point, that is to say from Riyadh to the Qasim inclusive, it is indeed possible to diagnose the constitution of their populations, tribe by tribe, but for all practical purposes they have sunk their differences in the realization of a communal existence, and henceforward the communities of Central Arabia, hitherto tribes struggling with each for the right to live, must be regarded not as a congeries of tribes, but, as it were, as a tribal conglomerate moving no longer in parallel or converging streams, but in a broad, steady, flowing channel to its predestined goal, and we turn with relief from the study of perpetual petty warfare to that of the development of the communal idea by way of preparation for the new existence which awaits the Arab race when it at last reaches the Mesopotamian flats.

Hauta, the Bani Tamim city, Hariq, its Anaza counterpart, and Dilam, the most northerly purely Dawasir settlement, lie nearly in a straight line marking the northerly limit of homogeneous tribal townships. Northward of that line Riyadh, Daraiyya, and Ghat Ghat, form the southern boundary of heterogeneous communities, and represent the most primitive stage of real communal life in Arabia. The transition from tribal to communal settlements is abrupt and well marked, and from this line northwards the communities we find show a steady development in the direction best suited to fit the Arab race for the agricultural and commercial pursuits which await them at the end of their journey.

Time does not permit of a detailed description of the stages of that development, and I must pass over them without comment, as I have not been able to have slides prepared from my photographs taken during my journey in August, 1918, through the provinces of Mahmal, Washm, Sirr, Mudhnib, and Qasim, with Ibn Saud and his Wahhabi army destined for an attack on Hail.

Riyadh is, as I have said, a primitive type of communal settlement. Prince and priest here perform the functions relegated by custom to the patriarchal heads of tribes; the community has little or no voice in the administration. Badawin ideas of hospitality still prevail and, not unnaturally in a city where free meals are provided for all visitors from the palace kitchen, commerce is stagnant.

The next important town northward is Shaqra, the capital of Washm, whose development is intermediate between that of Riyadh and of the Qasim towns. Commerce is fairly brisk and the local administration is in the hands partly of merchant princes and partly of representatives of the central government. Life is less severe than in puritan Riyadh; prayers are not quite so regular.

And finally we come to the Qasim, where the two great towns of Anaiza and Buraida represent the climax of communal development on purely Arab lines—that is to say, of Arab development untainted by the foreign influences which have been brought to bear on Arab

Digitized by Google

immigrants into Syria and Mesopotamia. This was the end towards which the old tribes of the Yaman set out perhaps 2,000 years ago. The tribal jealousies have merged completely in a universal recognition of the superiority of the common weal; prosperity has taken the place of the eternal poverty of the Badawin; and the fanaticism, which alone served to weld the many strands of nomad humanity into some sort of unity at Riyadh, has disappeared from the scene and has been replaced by ideals of comfort and tolerance. Commerce is the mainstay of these towns and is well developed. No one who has been much in Arabia can fail to realize at first sight the fundamental difference between the Qasim towns and the tribes and settlements of Najd. I have endeavoured to-day to show that the results achieved in the Qasim are but the natural outcome of those wanderings in the desert on which the once settled Arabs of the Yaman embarked long ago. Through a terrible ordeal of fire they have fought to a very creditable achievement, and that achievement is and can only be due to that principle of progress which underlies all nature—the principle of evolution—which impels all living creatures to perfect themselves by way of preparation for another sphere of action. Yaman is the cradle and Mesopotamia is the grave of the Arabs. That is indeed a true proverb, but the Qasim should not be forgotten, for the Qasim represents the prime of the Arab race; from it they go down to their racial grave to be corrupted by the worms of foreign influence but that is after all a natural end, and towards it they will ever be impelled to fulfil their rôle in this world.

For us it is exceedingly important to realize that the Arab population of Mesopotamia and Syria is the direct outcome of the converging and subsequent remoulding in the deserts of Arabia of the various strands of Arab migrations which I have attempted to sketch, and that, that being so, we can only expect to find in Syria and Mesopotamia a continuation of the main characteristics of the Arab tribes which form their population. One characteristic, as I have already indicated, is common to all the tribes—the love of liberty—and that is a factor which we must take into account in any attempt to solve the problem of the Near East, including Mesopotamia.

The CHAIRMAN: I think at this late hour all that will be necessary is for me to convey the best thanks of this meeting to Mr. Philby for his interesting lecture.

This terminated the proceedings.

Digitized by Google

OBITUARY.

MR. T. HART-DAVIES.

It was my good fortune during my twenty-six years' service in India to be constantly brought into touch with Mr. T. Hart-Davies in Sind, in which province our lines were laid. I cannot do better than quote here the tribute paid to him in *The Times* of January 9, 1920. This, as far as it goes, is quite true to life. It runs thus:

"MR. T. HART-DAVIES.

"Mr. Thomas Hart-Davies, formerly Liberal M.P. for North Hackney, died at Jersey on January 3, aged 73.

"A son of the late Archdeacon Hart-Davies, he was educated at Marlborough and Pembroke College, Oxford, where he was an exhibitioner. Passing the I.C.S. examination of 1867, he served for 28 years in the Bombay Presidency, chiefly in Sind, where he was successively education inspector, manager of encumbered estates, district magistrate, Judge of the Karachi District, and Acting Judicial Commissioner. He unsuccessfully contested Rotherhithe in 1900, but in 1906, at North Hackney, was one of half-a-dozen retired Indian civil servants to enter Parliament on the flowing tide of the Liberal revival.

"Mr. Hart-Davies was progressive in his views of Indian administration. He joined the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, and supported the Morley-Minto reforms. A poor speaker, diffident in manner, he made no marked impression in the House of Commons, and few of his colleagues came to know how many-sided were his gifts. He lost his seat at the General Election of January, 1910.

"Long furloughs from India and bachelor freedom had enabled him to travel widely. He had been round the world at least eight times, and knew well remote countries, such as Siberia, Persia, and the least accessible South American republics. A good linguist, he had translated works from Russian; the possessor of a dry humour, he had written readable short stories for magazines. He was fond of music, conjuring, fishing, and golf.

"In 1913 he married a daughter of Mr. George Boothby, R.N., and widow of Colonel G. B. Wauhope, of the Lancashire Fusiliers."

Strange to say, it omits all reference to "India in 1983," which Mr. Hart-Davies brought out in 1883—the cleverest thing he ever wrote,

Digitized by Google

and in its cleverness a mark of his genius. When he gave me a copy he told me that he had refused to let a second edition appear because the publishers had absorbed all the profits of the first. "Profiteering" is a windfall of the pagoda tree. When I saw that the author of "India in 1983" had joined the Indian National Congress and entered Parliament as a follower of Campbell-Bannerman and a sympathizer with the Morley-Minto Reforms, I confess that I was surprised. Mr. Hart-Davies translated Catullus—whether with success or not I cannot say. Of his translation of Relaief's Voinarovski he gave me a copy. Voinarovski was a nephew of Mazeppa, and his aspirations to the dignity of "Hetman" ended in Siberia. Of Mr. Hart-Davies as a conjuror I have vivid recollections. If he was no orator in the House of Commons, his "patter" in his own drawing-room, when he was juggling with a pack of cards, was quite delightful. His talents were not those which conduct to high official employment.

A. C. YATE.

THE EARL OF DARTREY

THE death of the Earl of Dartrey took place on June 14 at Dartrey, Monaghan, at the age of seventy-eight. He succeeded his father, the first Earl, in 1897. As Lord Cremorne he represented Monaghan in the House of Commons from 1865 to 1868. He served in the Coldstream Guards, retiring as Lieutenant-Colonel in 1876.

Digitized by Google

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1920-21

Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, P.C., K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., ETC.

Chairman of Council:

1920. THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents:

1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.I.E.
1917. THE RT. HON. SIR MORTIMER DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1919. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
1919. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
1920. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1920. GENERAL SIR EDMUND BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Hon. Treasurer:

1920. SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.

Hon. Secretary:

1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

Members of the Council:

1918. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR A. H. MCMAHON, G.C.V.O., G.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., F.S.A.
1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. P. PICOT.
1919. COLONEL C. E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., D.L.
1920. CAPTAIN THE HON. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P., D.L.
1920. H. ST. J. B. PHILBY, ESQ., C.I.E., I.C.S.
1920. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1920. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.
1920. THE RT. HON. SIR MAURICE W. E. DE BUNSEN, BART., P.C., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B.
1920. GENERAL SIR REGINALD WINGATE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., D.C.L.

Assistant Secretary:

1917. MISS L. B. PHILLIPS.

OFFICES: 74, GROSVENOR ST., W. 1.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED SINCE MARCH 4, 1920

1920. Allchin, Geoffrey C., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
,, Allen, William E. D., Common Wood, near Chipperfield, Herts.
,, Ashton, Captain F. T., Glendower, Pinner, Middlesex.
,, Ballard, Mrs. C. R., Hadham Mill, Much Hadham, Herts.
,, Barstow, Captain Arthur E., M.C., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
,, Beale, Charles Thomas, East India United Service Club, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
,, Bros, Major Henry A. (R. of O.), Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
,, Buxton, Leland W. W., 45, Kensington Park Gardens, Ladbroke Grove, W.
,, Carey, Lieut.-Colonel A. B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., 52, The Close, Norwich.
,, Carleton, Colonel the Hon. Dudley, 21, Upper Berkeley Street, W. 1.
,, Cameron, Major G. S., M.C., Deputy-Director of Agriculture, Lower Bagdad, Mesopotamia.
,, Childs, W. J., The Quadrangle, Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
,, Chitty, Christopher, 2, East Heath Road, N.W. 3.
,, Christie, Miss Ella R., F.R.G.S., Cowden Castle, Dollar, N.B.
,, Cobbe, Lieut.-General Sir Alexander S., V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., 29, Kensington Square, W. 8.
,, Costello, Brigadier-General E. W., V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O., 12, Cardinal Mansions, S.W. 1.
,, Costello, Mrs. E. W., 12, Cardinal Mansions, S.W. 1.
,, Chesney, G. M., 69, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. 5.
,, Dunsterville, Colonel K. S., C.B., 12, Oakwood Court, Kensington, W. 14.
,, Dunsterville, Major-General L. C., C.B., etc., Barham Lodge, Buckingham.
,, Dyer, Brigadier-General R E. H., 33, Clarges Street, W. 1.
,, Empson, C., 1, Driffield Terrace, The Mount, York.
,, Fardell, Mrs. H. A., 16, Brechin Place, S.W. 7.
,, Fitz Gibbon, Captain H. C. D., M.C., 13th Hussars, White's, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
,, Footman, David J., Lambourn, Berks.
,, Forbes, Mrs. Muriel, Naval and Military Hotel, Harrington Road, S.W. 1.
,, Fowle, Captain T. C. W., I.A., Junior Army and Navy Club, Horse Guards Avenue, S.W. 1.

Digitized by Google

1920. Fuller, Flight-Lieut. N. B., R.A.F., c/o Civil Commissioner, Bagdad.
" Garbett, Captain R. B. L., 40th Pathans, Civil Commission, Bagdad, Mesopotamia, c/o Eastern Bank, Crosby Square, E.C. 3.
" Gaster, Dr. M., 193, Maida Vale, W. 9.
" Griffin, Captain A. C., O.B.E., R.E., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
" Gorbold, Captain R., R.A.O.C., 17, Kingsthorpe Grove, Northampton.
" Gregson, Lieut.-Colonel E. G., C.M.G., C.I.E., Buncrana, Rake, Liss, Hants.
1919. Grey, Lieut.-Colonel W. G., Consul-General at Meshed, Persia.
1920. Grieve, Capt. A. McLeod, 3rd Black Watch, c/o Civil Commissioner, Bagdad, 21, Queen's Crescent, Edinburgh.
" Harley, Lieut. J. R. H., Highland Light Infantry, Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire.
" Kay, Professor D. M., Marine Hotel, St. Andrews, Fife, N.B.
" Kennedy-Craufurd-Stuart, Major Charles, D.S.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
" Longrigg, Major S. H., Political Officer, Kirkuk, Mesopotamia.
" Lowis, Lieut. H. R., I.A., c/o Civil Commissioner, Bagdad, Mesopotamia.
" Marling, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., British Legation, Copenhagen.
" Macgregor, Lady, Hampton Court Palace, Hampton Court.
" Marrs, Major R., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.
" Matthews, Captain L. S., 2nd Euphrates Levy, c/o Eastern Bank, Ltd., Bagdad.
" Mann, Captain J. S., A.P.O., Eastern Shamiyah, Umm al Ba'rur, Iraq, Mesopotamia.
" Monteath, David T., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
" More, Major J. C., D.S.O., 51st Sikhs (F.F.), c/o Civil Commissioner, Bagdad.
" Murray, Major S. G. C., I.A., c/o Civil Commissioner, Bagdad.
" Napier, Major Alexander H., I.M.S., c/o Marshall, Jerne, N. Queensferry, N.B.
" Noone, H. V. V., c/o Messrs. R. G. Shaw and Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E. C. 3.
" O'Connor, Captain K. K. O., M.C., 14th Sikhs, attached Political Dept., Mesopotamia.
" Parr, Robert, Black Birches, Hadnall, Shrewsbury.
" Perowne, Colonel J. T. Woolrych, 32, Lowndes Square, S.W. 1.
" Pickthall, Captain C. M., East India United Service Club, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
" Rundle, General Sir H. M. Leslie, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., The Old Mill House, Hunton Bridge, Herts.

Digitized by Google

1920. Rynd, Major F. F., D.S.O., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
" Simpson, John Alexander, India Office, Whitehall.
" Skrine, Francis H., I.C.S. (retired), 147, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
" Slater, Captain A., I.A.R.O., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Indian Dept., Charing Cross.
" Smith, A. A. F., Education Dept., Bagdad, Mesopotamia.
" Stephenson, Captain G. C., 99, Inverness Terrace, W. 2.
" Sykes, Lady, Sledmere, Malton.
" Temple, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard, C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., The Nash, Worcester.
" Thomson, J. S., I.C.S., c/o The Commercial Bank of Scotland, 62, Lombard Street, E.C.
" Tudor-Pole, Major W., 61, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
" Waller, Major A. G., I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Indian Dept., Charing Cross.
" Watson, Sir Logie P., c/o Cooper, Allen and Co., Cawnpore, India.
" Webb-Ware, Lieut.-Colonel, C.I.E., F.R.G.S., Fort Anne Hotel, Douglas, Isle of Man.
" Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold, K.C.I.E., I.A., Acting Civil Commissioner, Bagdad.
" Wilson, Major W. C. F., I.A., Mesopotamia Civil Service, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
" Wingate, General Sir Reginald, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Knockenhair, Dunbar, N.B.
" Wigram, Rev. Dr. W. A., Watling House, St. Albans.

To be elected at next Council:

1920. Buchanan, Sir George C., 16, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
" Douglas, Major-General J. A., C.M.G., C.I.E., 5, Hyde Park Chambers, Knightsbridge.
" Forbes, Mrs. Rosita, 69, Curzon Street, W. 1.
" Hendley, Major-General, M.B., c/o Mrs. Hendley, 5, St. Andrew's Mansions, Dorset Street, Baker Street.
" Morison, Sir Theodore, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Overdale, Lindisfarne Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
" Swettenham, Sir Frank A., G.C.M.G., C.H., 43, Seymour Street, W. 1.
" Also eleven others proposed by H.E. the Earl of Ronaldshay, Governor of Bengal, and
" Hunter-Weston, Lieut.-General Sir Aylmer, K.C.B., D.S.O., D.L., M.P., Hunterston, West Kilbride, Ayrshire.
" Shakespear, Lieut.-Colonel John, C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., 15, Alexandra Court, Maida Vale, W. 9.
" Stewart, G., M.P., House of Commons, S.W. 1.

BILLING AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS, GUILDFORD, ENGLAND.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. VIII.—PART I.

1921

CONTENTS.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY NOTICE.
THE ANNUAL DINNER.
SOME MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE MESOPOTAMIA PROBLEM, BY CAPT. E. W. SHEPPARD, O.B.E., M.C.
THE FEDERATION OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN STATES UNDER THE KABUL GOVERNMENT, BY SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH.
IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN UNDER THE BOLSHEVIKS, BY MAJOR F. M. BAILEY, C.I.E.
MEMOIR: LIEUT.-COL. G. E. LEACHMAN, C.I.E., D.S.O.

PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

NOTICE

In the leaflet explaining the constitution and aims of the Central Asian Society which was issued under the authority of the Council on July 1, 1920, it was suggested that the time had come "to lay the foundations of a library and a photographic collection." Since then gifts of books and one or two other objects of value and interest have been received. The Council now desire to invite members of the Society to contribute, as far as it lies in their power to do so, to the formation of a library and a collection of photographs and lantern slides. As is no doubt understood, the sphere of the Society is—except, possibly, in some special cases—limited to the Continent of Asia. The central subject of the Society's study is *the Middle East*, and it is essential to the Society's success that the literature of the Middle East should first and foremost be represented on its bookshelves. The Near and the Far Easts are the complements of the Middle. Contributions to all three sections will be cordially welcomed.

A. C. YATE, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Hon. Sec. Central Asian Society.

74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1,
November 24, 1920.

Digitized by Google

THE ANNUAL DINNER.

THE Annual Dinner of the Central Asian Society, interrupted by the war, was resumed on October 12, 1920, at the Imperial Restaurant, Regent Street, under the chairmanship of the President, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Lord Meston, as the guest of the Society, was on his right, and Lord Carnock, the Chairman of the Council, on his left.

The toast of the King having been honoured,

Sir ARTHUR HARDINGE proposed the toast of prosperity to the Central Asian Society, coupled with the name of the President. He said he was the latest recruit to the membership, his qualifications for which were not really considerable. Although he had spent a good deal of time in the Middle East in an official capacity, he could not claim a reputation as an explorer, geographer, or great writer upon this subject. But he realized how enormously important was the study of Central Asian and Middle Eastern problems—intervening as the countries concerned did between two other very distinct regions, the Nearer and the Farther East—from the standpoint of all Englishmen who had the interests of their country and the Empire at heart. The most interesting transitional region was that where the Buddhist and Mahomedan worlds met and intermingled, for our relations with it affected our policy in so many other parts of the globe. He was sure that the concentration of attention to those regions by so many persons who had experience and knowledge of them was of great value, and he attached particular importance to the fact that the Society had secured for its presidency the distinguished, celebrated, and justly admired administrator and statesman who was presiding that evening. (Cheers.) He supposed there was no one who occupied the first rank to-day in our public life with a name appealing more strongly to all concerned with the Middle East than that of Lord Curzon. It had been his good fortune to be associated with their President in some of his earlier explorations. When he (the speaker) was in St. Petersburg and their President a rising Member of Parliament, they travelled together in Central Asia to Samarkand and Bokhara and back. Subsequently they were associated together in more important and responsible, and also official, journeying. Their President had in the interval come to write not only the results of his observations in Central Asia, but also a great work on Persia which was accepted as the most exhaustive account of the past history, the geography,

Digitized by Google

and the existing political and economic conditions of that country. Many years later, when he himself was representing Great Britain in Persia, their distinguished President was Viceroy of India and had some authority over him, for the Legation at Teheran was then under what in more recent Indian phraseology was called a diarchy—a double government. It was under two heads—the Foreign Office in Whitehall and the Government of India at Simla or Calcutta. It was well, in these circumstances, that they had a Viceroy thoroughly familiar with Eastern problems. Russia was then very strong in Persia, and consequently held the Government of the Shah very much under its control. The British authorities were able to make advances through that excellent institution the Imperial Bank of Persia without running counter to the letter of the Russo-Persian Treaty, and thus our influence was maintained. It was his privilege to accompany Lord Curzon when as Viceroy he toured in the Persian Gulf and visited not only many places in South Persia, but also those little Eastern States, Muscat, Koweit, and Bahrein. The visit was of great advantage in cementing good relations with Persia. Through the war Great Britain had obtained an ascendency in the historic region of Mesopotamia. That great region had become a field of considerable political and commercial British activity. He little realized when assisting in negotiating at Teheran a concession for the Persian oilfields how vast a commercial and industrial prospect that apparently insignificant arrangement was likely to open up. In linking the toast with the name of Lord Curzon, he could only say that his association with the Society was a pledge of the period of usefulness and prosperity which stretched before it in these days.

THE PRESIDENT, who was received with warm applause, said that Sir Arthur Hardinge was well qualified to propose the toast. As he had said, they were associated in the old days as travellers in Central Asia; they had been associated through their lives by close and intimate personal friendship, which the divergence of their public lives had not in the slightest degree shaken. Circumstances had brought them together on more than one occasion in connection with the affairs of the Middle East. As young men they had threaded together the bazaars of Bokhara and Samarkand, and visited those wonderful regions in Central Asia which had then been opened up for the first time by the Russian railways. At a later date he (the speaker) had the privilege of visiting in an official capacity the Persian Gulf in Sir Arthur's company. Having been connected with Persian affairs for the best part of thirty years, he could say that Great Britain never had a more vigorous or capable representative there than Sir Arthur Hardinge.

I regard this Society (continued Lord Curzon) with great interest

Digitized by Google

and peculiar affection. I do so because during the greater part of my life Central Asia has been my study: I might almost say, my hobby. Perhaps I am peculiarly fortunate in having had a great deal to do in an official capacity with countries which I studied long since as a traveller, little thinking, perhaps, that I should one day be called upon to bear any part in determining their future destinies. I think I was one of the earliest members of this Society. I recall an occasion when I had the honour of dining here as your guest in the early days of the Society, with a very distinguished and thoughtful man in the chair—the late Sir Edwin Collen. I remember sketching out some of the problems of Central Asia then awaiting development. I have forgotten what I then said, excepting that Central Asia was certain to be connected to an increasing degree in interests affecting the fate of the British Empire. History has shown that the anticipation was well founded. That will be clear to anyone who follows the published proceedings of this Society—a course I would advise to all who wish to seriously study Central Asia. I gladly accepted the great honour of your invitation to be your honorary President, not because I thought that in my very busy life I could render any great service, but because I regarded the invitation as a culminating point in my study of Central Asia. The Society, though it may not be very widely known, is carried on by men of distinction and ability; it discusses problems submitted by experts; and it fulfils a great public service in familiarizing that portion of the public which is interested in Asia with the history, traditions, and problems of its central areas. I hope this Society may long flourish, that its membership will increase, and that all its members will be duly impressed with the knowledge that its work is connected closely with problems vital to the future interest and development of the British Empire, and to the peace of the world.

In my early days Central Asia was a land of interest and romance. To it rare travellers penetrated, crossing mighty mountain ranges, meeting strange peoples, and encountering adventures. Such was its romantic and imaginative vesture. Its political significance at that time was small, except in so far as it provided a field for the forward energies of Russia. Thirty years ago it meant little except as a theatre of the rivalries of this country and Russia. If you look back to the writings of many of us twenty-five, thirty, and forty years ago, you will find that they were mainly directed to the problem of how we in India were to meet the advance of Russian authority in Asia.

All this is changed: the veils have been torn aside, the vast area affected has been exposed to the gaze of mankind; there are few geographical problems left to be solved, and few places left to be visited by the explorer. On the other hand, we have seen this great

Digitized by Google

block of territory drawn into the vortex of European politics, and some parts of it applying the most desperate experiments in the politics of modern democracy. Look at Central Asia as it is at the present moment. The Russian Empire, which most of us regarded twenty-five or thirty years ago with apprehension, has for the moment been obliterated from the scene. Tibet, which was then a *terra incognita* scarcely known to any European, has been penetrated not merely by our arms—which was a passing phase—but by our influence, which is likely to endure. Bokhara and Samarkand, two centres of mediæval romance, have been laid bare, and are at the present moment in the hands of the Bolshevik Government. China —a part of which at any rate is in Central Asia—has become a republic and is in the throes of a military crisis the upshot of which no man can foresee. To Persia and Mesopotamia I will allude presently. Afghanistan at the time to which I refer was more or less under the protection of Great Britain, but has now acquired something like independence, although I hope that it will not deviate, at any rate irremediably, from the alliance which has been of so much advantage to it in the past.

From this brief survey it is obvious that Central Asia has ceased to be a land of mystery and has become a land of acute political problems. All these areas are seething with agitation and burning to establish some new form of government, to break away from their old traditions, thus providing an entirely new set of problems to be solved by the statesmen of the future. The question which any British statesman has to put to himself is this: From what angle of vision ought these problems in their younger development to be viewed? I venture to think that the point of view is the same although the problems are different. In my studies of Central Asian politics I have always viewed them not so much from the standpoint of the traveller, the discoverer, the explorer, the lover of ancient history and remains, but from the point of view, on the one hand, of the security of India, and, on the other hand, of the gradual and peaceful development of the countries of the East. I suggest to you, in the changed circumstances with which we are confronted, that we cannot adopt a better guide than these old principles, and to bear in mind that the solution of these problems depends first and foremost, so far as we round these tables are concerned, on the security to the British Crown of that price of Empire, that secret of dominion, that core called India; and, secondly, how we can expedite the peaceful evolution of the countries of Central Asia to a happier state.

One principle I think we must admit without any difficulty or reluctance. Empire has had different connotations at different times in the world's history. Most of us here are Imperialists, but none

Digitized by Google

of us here is in favour of expansion for expansion's sake. Let us face the fact that the era of expansion of the British Empire in Central Asia is at an end, and that it is rightly at an end, and that our function in the future is not to absorb the inhabitants. It is true that our responsibilities have been added to as a result of the war, but this has not been by the expansion of territories under the Crown, but to give security to those we possess, and to arrange that the evolution of those countries to a higher state of things shall be easy, pacific, and honourable.

That is the conception of Central Asian policy I have in view. Starting from my pivotal principles, I hold that what we have to do is to try to make islets in the ocean, peaceful spaces in the chaos, landing-places in the storm; to elaborate palisades of stable and peaceful States round the fringes of India. It is for that object that I am working. Let us take a glance at the condition of this fringe.

I am glad to see Sir Francis Younghusband at this table. When he took his expedition to Lhasa we were freely denounced as buccaneers and dangerous Imperialists, forcing ourselves upon the modest and retiring Tibetan people. It was quite untrue, and I think one of the most remarkable things in Central Asian history in the last fifteen years has been this: that whereas we were supposed to enter Tibet as aggressors and enemies, there is no European people more warmly welcomed there than ourselves. The amicable relations maintained in the last fifteen years are entirely voluntary, and are largely the result of the spirit inculcated by Sir Francis Younghusband when he was in charge of the expedition to Lhasa.

Take Persia. Sir Arthur Hardinge has alluded to the circumstances which have drawn me into close association with the fortunes of Persia for the last thirty years; and for that country I can truly say I entertain the most profound interest and the most sincere respect. I think I have been—at least I have always tried to be—a good friend to Persia during all those years. It has not always been easy. These efforts culminated in the conclusion, rather more than a year ago, of what was called the Anglo-Persian Agreement, by which I hoped to regulate the future connection of Persia with ourselves, and to assure the integrity and independence of that important country in the Middle East. I have no greater desire than that the Agreement should be ratified by the Persian people and the Persian Parliament. For months I have been pressing that the Agreement should be submitted to them. If they choose to accept it (and I am bound to say that in their own interests they should do so), the best efforts of the British Government will be used to secure for Persia that chance of regeneration which the history of her people and the spirit of the country appear to justify.

Digitized by Google

If they reject our would-be support and advice, the responsibility will be upon them; but my conception of the Persia of the future is that of a sovereign and independent State, capable of retaining her independent existence in the world and sustaining the majestic traditions of her past, but at the same time relying for support on the only European Power which by virtue of her traditions and authority is in a position to afford it.

Take Mesopotamia. Does any man here, or any writer in the Press, really imagine that this Government or any British Government would have any particular interest in spending scores of millions of money in Mesopotamia or in keeping a large garrison in that country? What we did in Mesopotamia was to destroy the form of government that existed before the war. We left an aching void, a gap that had to be filled for the time being by ourselves, because there was no one else to fill it. No one has been a more consistent or sincere advocate throughout of setting up an Arab form of administration than I have been. A friend for whom I have the most intense regard and esteem, Sir Percy Cox, has now gone out to assist us in carrying out that purpose. It is not a question of painting the map of Mesopotamia red, but of obtaining a stable spot in the Middle East, and of redeeming the country from misrule and anarchy in the future. I hope we may succeed and have one more spot of tranquillity in this seething world of Central Asia.

Next take Arabia. Arabian ambitions and hopes have been largely aroused by the recent war. Arabian ambitions as against Turkish rule have been justly fomented. Great difficulties have occurred owing to the ambitions of other countries, and owing to apparently insoluble features of the problem. But I should bitterly regret if out of this welter there did not arise some form of Arabian unity worthy of the traditions of the past.

In Afghanistan, as I have said, there is serious trouble and commotion. We know very well from the evidence at our disposal that to no country in Central Asia have the Bolshevists directed their gaze with greater hope and expectation of causing injury to us than upon Afghanistan. Some of these plots I have had occasion to expose to the public and the Press. My own feeling is that even in the changed circumstances the interests of that country and our own still remain identical. It would be a great misfortune for Afghanistan if she severed her historic connection with Great Britain, and we also shall suffer unless we maintain our traditional friendship with her. We want everywhere in Central Asia, so far as it rests with the Government here, to promote the peaceful development of the countries I have spoken of, and to encourage their gradual passage to more modern conceptions of life, together with freedom from the contagion of Bolshevist misgovernment and anarchy, which

Digitized by Google

will not only be injurious to the British Empire, but which will mean their ruin.

Do not let anyone suppose that our work, the work of Englishmen in these countries, is over. I do not mean the mere work of the exploring traveller in climbing mountains and tracing rivers to their source, though that is a very honourable accomplishment. Our task is bigger and higher than that. The era of commotion and unrest in Central Asia has not subsided: it is only beginning. In Europe we have great difficulty in composing affairs: it may take years before the commotion subsides; but in Central Asia it will take at least a generation. I want the members of this Society, and especially the young and active members, to recognize that they have still a great part to play in the future of these countries. I hope the Society will regard itself as existing not only to read papers, examine problems, and display knowledge, but also as a Society which trains men and inspires men with the ardour and ambition to support the interests of our Empire in Central Asia, and to help its countries to a peaceful solution of the very intricate problems with which they are confronted. It has been a great pleasure to me to see some of the younger members of the Society justifying its existence by work of this kind. Lord Ronaldshay in Bengal, Sir George Lloyd in Bombay: these are men who have been brought up in the spirit and under the inspiration of this Society, and their careers provide an example and incentive to others. Long may this Society flourish to carry on the great work which assuredly lies before it.

The toast I have to propose is associated with the name of Lord Meston. His career in India, as is known to all present, has been one of singular distinction. There is hardly any position of great importance in the Indian Service that he has not filled. When we had the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference two years ago he was one of the representatives of India sent to London to support the interests of that great Dependency. Since then (I hope he will regard it as a compliment) he has been elevated, or at any rate removed, to the House to which we both belong, and already in that Assembly when he has spoken he has made a great impression by his sincerity and his power. The duty laid upon England in India is going to be more onerous than in the past, but I hope that no more in the future than in the past will its agents there fail in the devotion to duty and interest in the welfare of the people so consistently shown by the Indian Civil Service. (Cheers.)

Lord MESTON, replying to the toast, said that the kind references made to him by their President had covered him with confusion as so wholly undeserved. He was merely a very lucky, otherwise a very ordinary, member of a great public Service, a Service which was carrying, and had carried, the British flag in India through

Digitized by Google

good report and ill report, and had carried it high. He fully realized that it was in his capacity as a former member of that Service more than on account of any personal merits or good-fortune that they had done him this honour, but it enormously added to the gratitude it was his duty to express to them. The Indian Civil Service had been going through the crisis of its fate. It had enjoyed, and still enjoyed, the friendship and confidence of all that was best in India—of such men, for example, as their guest the Maharaj-Rana of Jhalawar; but on the other hand, from many to whom it might naturally have looked for encouragement and support it had met with much obloquy and misrepresentation. During the war it had passed through a period of isolation and stress, and it was now undergoing the deepest anxiety as regards its own future. In these circumstances the Indian Civil Service would be enormously appreciative of the message of sympathy and kindness sent it by proxy that night, and on behalf of his comrades in the Service he thanked them most earnestly and sincerely.

He would condense what he had to say of India into the two words "courage and confidence." Although it was confronting in the near future a strenuous and difficult time, a time equally difficult for Indian gentlemen themselves and for British officials in India, India could look with confidence to a greater and finer future. That in working toward that future the best type of Englishmen should have an influential share was the desire of all of them who had served, or were still serving, in India.

He wished to express on behalf of his fellow-guests the gratitude they felt for the splendid hospitality shown them, and still more for the pleasure and privilege given them of sitting under the banner of that eminent and learned Society. He could not help feeling how much Central Asia meant to the members and how little it meant to the average stay-at-home Englishman. He supposed it was a Palmerstonian tradition that so long and exclusively confined the interests of the ordinary intellectual Englishman to European politics; but even after that, when men began to talk about the Far East, the Near East, and the Middle East, how little they knew about that vast intermediate area—neither far, near, nor middle—which was the particular interest of the Society. The men of an earlier generation had heard of Marco Polo (though few of them had probably read him), of Chengis Khan, of Tamerlane, and of Firdusi and his great epic, but how little they knew of the ethnology, geography, or tortuous politics of countries like Mongolia. They knew something of India and Persia, but Samarkand and Bokhara were mere names to them. He did not pretend to any great antiquity, but he thought he remembered the discovery of Central Asia on the part of the British public. It dated from the publication of Frederic

Digitized by Google

Burnaby's " Ride to Khiva." Since then there had been a stream of exploration and of diligent research which their Society was doing so much to encourage and record. In this work many of their hosts that night had had an honourable share, as the names of Holdich, Younghusband, and later those of their distinguished President, of Littledale, Skrine, and others, reminded them. They had a writer the other day saying that the trouble with Persia was that she had a Constitution and did not know what to do with it. It seemed as if other countries of Central Asia had ancient Constitutions and did not know what to do with them; but one thing was probable: there could be little doubt that out of the present welter and chaos there would emerge the aggressive, incalculable spirit of Nationalism which had done so much in Asia to change their history and outlook. Thereby an immense burden would be thrown upon those who were responsible for the welfare and security of our great Indian Empire. There was a most vital connection between India and Central Asia. He did not suppose that in this country there was any historical figure whose name was such a household word as the name of Nadir Shah was on the lips of Indian peasants. Indeed, it was sometimes overdone. He had heard the illustrious President called by that name in Indian newspaper comment years ago on some question of policy, and in his own small way as a provincial ruler at a later date he also had been called a Nadir Shah. That conqueror was only one of many adventurers who descended from Central Asia in a long succession of invaders of the plains of India, and who were only stayed from continuing their depredations by the British becoming the trustees of the Indian Empire. It was in truth Central Asia which thrust India into the British Empire, and consequently the interests of India in Central Asia and its affairs were close and intimate. (Cheers.)

Digitized by Google

SOME MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE MESOPOTAMIA PROBLEM.

LECTURE BY CAPT. E. W. SHEPPARD, O.B.E., M.C.

THE 1920-1 Session of the Central Asian Society was inaugurated on the afternoon of Thursday, October 21, 1920, at the Rooms, 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W.1, by a lecture on "Some Military Aspects of the Mesopotamia Problem," by Captain E. W. Sheppard, O.B.E., M.C. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B., Chairman of the Society, presided.

The CHAIRMAN, at the outset of the proceedings, remarked that that afternoon the Society was opening its Lecture Season for 1920-1, and he did not think they could inaugurate it more auspiciously than by the paper which Captain Sheppard had kindly consented to read to them on "Some Military Aspects of the Mesopotamia Problem," as Mesopotamia was at that moment occupying a good deal of attention and engaging a certain amount of public criticism. He was sure they would listen with great interest to the observations which Captain Sheppard would make.

INTRODUCTION.

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The problem of Mesopotamia, which has recently come so much into the foreground of our Middle Eastern politics, is one that may be approached from many standpoints, of which I can this afternoon deal with but one—the military one. I do not wish to be understood as saying that this standpoint is the most important, though it is certainly at the moment the most prominent. Nor do I propose to go into details as to the best military methods of dealing with the internal problems of the country; data for such an enquiry are deficient, and must be so for some time to come. All I intend to do is to consider the military value, if any, of Mesopotamia to us from the point of view of Imperial defence; and if, in so touching, I tell you some things you already know, I must hope that I can, at any rate, throw a little more light on the whole question as a military matter.

I propose first to give a brief and general description of the country, and an account of how and why we first came to occupy it, and follow that up by a discussion of its present importance to us, and some considerations as to the means of maintaining our military foothold in it, presuming that it is desirable to maintain it.

Digitized by Google

What Mesopotamia is.

The territory usually known as Mesopotamia is in its general form a wide but shallow depression running south-south-east from the Anatolian plateau to the head of the Persian Gulf. This depression is traversed by two great rivers—the Tigris and the Euphrates, respectively some 800 and 1,200 miles in length from source to mouth; to the west and south-west it is bounded by a broad belt of desert, separating it from Syria and Arabia; to the east and north-east by a stretch of hilly country rising rapidly to the mountainous edge of the plateau, in the neighbourhood of which runs the frontier between Persia and Mesopotamia.

This shallow and wide depression may be regarded from the point of view of commercial and political geography as the shortest overland route from Central and Southern Europe to Southern Asia. It forms a great corridor, shut in by mountains on the one side and desert on the other, from the Eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia to the Persian Gulf. But in itself also Mesopotamia is commercially of great value and importance, although, owing to the lack of suitable means of exploitation, its mineral wealth is largely untapped. The chief product—oil—is found in large quantities in the foothills bordering the whole of the Tigris Valley, in that valley itself, and in the area north and north-east of Baghdad, and in the Middle Euphrates Valley; while in the north there are deposits of iron, copper, lead, and coal.

The population consists mainly of Arabs inhabiting the southern and central parts of the country, with a solid block of Kurds in the north-east corner spreading westwards and southwards roughly as far as a line drawn from Mosul to Mendali. The Arab population is nomadic, except in the river and watercourse basins and in the towns; it still remains largely under the sway of its tribal Sheikhs, who have always exercised a far more real control in the country than that of the nominally supreme Turkish officials. The Arab is, generally speaking, intelligent, generous, and humane, but he has a bent for intrigue, is a time-server, untrustworthy, and often unscrupulous; he is a formidable fighting man for the purposes of guerilla warfare, but lacks determination and never shrinks from deserting a cause he believes to be lost. The Kurd is a wilder and more lawless person and a more formidable foe; brave and resolute, and possessed of great physical and mental stamina, but unintelligent and simple, he is a member of a good military stock, of which the Turkish Government made great, and not always scrupulous, use in the past for the purpose of keeping under the various discontented elements within its dominions. The population of all Mesopotamia was estimated to be about 1,500,000 before the war;

Digitized by Google

both Arabs and Kurds are, of course, Moslems, but the former tend rather to the Shiah persuasion, while the latter are Sunnis.

Generally speaking, before the war the Turkish administration of Mesopotamia was more theoretical than real. It was effective in certain limited areas—*e.g.*, in the towns; but the real authority lay with the tribal heads, ruling in accordance with tribal or local custom. Taxes were paid partially and infrequently, and often were not paid at all. It has been estimated that in the Basra Vilayet seven-tenths of the people escaped scot-free of taxation and paid to the Turkish officials nothing whatever except bribes. The dealings of the Turkish Government with the Arab and Kurdish tribes were a mixture of diplomacy and spasmodic displays of force which generally had little or no permanent results.

Such, then, was the picture of Mesopotamia before the war. It appears therein as a land of immense promise, as yet unfulfilled, thanks to the backwardness of its inhabitants and the lack of enterprise and capacity of its rulers. Small wonder that other nations, seeking an outlet for their energies, had cast a covetous eye over this territory, so rich in possibilities, so important a link in the highway between two civilizations. I need not tell you how Germany's "Drang Nach Osten" found its expression in the Berlin-Baghdad project, nor how nearly that project came to being an actuality. The World War brought the solution of this as of other vital disputes; and it was to us and not to our enemies that there fell the privilege of bringing the benefits of civilization to Mesopotamia and its people. How this came about we must now describe.

How we came to be in Mesopotamia.

As is well known, the opening of the war against Germany in August, 1914, was followed on November 5 by the declaration of hostilities between Great Britain and Turkey. For the time being our policy in the Middle East was one of defence, and it was for the purpose of securing our large oil interests at the head of the Persian Gulf, and forestalling a German-Turkish advance down the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys which might debouch on the flank of our sea route between Egypt and India, that a Division was sent to Basra. It was none too soon, for early in 1915 Basra was menaced with attack by superior Turkish forces, and reinforcements had to be sent. It was decided with these fresh troops to occupy all the Basra Vilayet; and by the end of July we had advanced some hundred miles upstream from Basra town in both the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys. The offensive was continued in the autumn up the Tigris as far as Kut-el-Amara, whence it was resolved to make a push for Baghdad, despite the difficulties of keeping open a long

Digitized by Google

line of communications and coping with defective transport facilities. Everyone is familiar with the glorious tragedy of General Townshend's army; its gallant dash to Ctesiphon; its resistance against the overwhelming force of its assailants till a third of its own numbers had fallen; its withdrawal to Kut-el-Amara; the ,44 days' siege, and its final capitulation after two attempts to relieve it had failed and all hope of rescue was at an end.

It became clear that an offensive against Baghdad, to be successful, must be less in the nature of a *coup de main* than of a regular and methodical advance, carefully prepared and scientifically executed. Accordingly, no immediate effort was made to retrieve the severe moral and material disaster suffered at Kut; and the summer of 1916 was given up to the task of consolidating our position in Arabistan, and to making all possible preparations for a renewed offensive in the cooler season. Meanwhile the attention of our enemies was being ever more and more diverted by the brilliant Russian advance in the Caucasus. By December all the measures for the prosecution of our advance were fully taken; and General Maude—the most honoured name in all the most recent history of Mesopotamia—initiated that series of brilliantly successful operations which culminated on March 11, 1917, in the occupation of Baghdad, and which an untimely death was to forbid him to pursue to their triumphant conclusion—the complete liberation of all the country from the rule of the Turks.

By the end of the campaigning season of 1916-17 we were in possession of the Tigris as far up as Tekrit, of the Euphrates to Ramadie, while we had also cleared the mountain area on our right as far north as the Kifri district.

During 1918 the British forces, now under General Marshall, inflicted a series of defeats on the Turks, culminating in the capture of all the Turkish army on the Tigris and the occupation of Mosul by the date of the Armistice. At the same time our advanced posts on the Euphrates were pushed upstream to Albu Kemal. To the north of Mesopotamia the situation in Persia, which was threatened by the advance of Turkish forces from Eastern Anatolia, compelled General Marshall to detach forces up the Kermanshah-Enzeli road in May, 1918. Resht and Enzeli were occupied about the middle of June. An attempt to maintain a detachment at Baku had to be given up; but no serious attack materialized against the thin and precarious line held by us along the Kermanshah-Enzeli road. After the Armistice Baku and the railway thence to Batum were occupied by us, as also Krasnovodsk, on the eastern shore of the Caspian.

At the conclusion of hostilities, therefore, we held practically all the country usually known by the name of " Mesopotamia "—that is, the whole of the Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra Vilayets—an area

Digitized by Google

of some 180,000 square miles. Our relations with the Arabs were friendly, our prestige in the country stood high. It was clearly our policy to hold this land which we had gained during the war, pending its eventual disposal by the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, and to administer it to the best of our ability until such time as it should be in a position to administer itself.

Moreover, we had expended on Mesopotamia an immensity of material effort which few even to-day realize. So far it had all been devoted to the development of the country for war purposes, and had yielded little or no return. It was only by the continuation of this effort in time of peace, and by its direction towards the arts of peace, that we could hope to gain some return for our expenditure in the months of war, and to carry on that civilizing task, to which we had already laid our hands, for the benefit of the inhabitants of the land and of the world at large.

Unfortunately, many factors combined to cause us by slow degrees to lose the high esteem in which we were held at the end of the war, and to render our rule more and more irksome and unpopular. It is not my intention to deal with these causes at length. Anti-British propaganda by Turkish Nationalists, and Pan-Arab and religious fanatics, has played its part. Discontent among those who desired to be a law to themselves at the very efficiency and vigilance of the new administrative machine set up by us, the appearance of the usual effects of war on prices and food-supplies, and the sudden rise of a class of new rich, combined with increasing strain and poverty among the less fortunate sections of the community (these things unfortunately are not confined to England or even to Europe!), also fanned the smouldering flames. More than this, British prestige began to decline as the Arabs believed that our military forces in the country were being gradually weakened (they were reduced from over 220,000 to less than 90,000 between November, 1918, and June, 1920) because the occupation of Mesopotamia was proving a great financial strain on our resources, and as local risings and disturbances were treated somewhat mildly for political reasons.

Moreover, the defiance of the British régime by the unruly Arab Governor of Deir-ez-Zor, on the Euphrates, and the gradual withdrawal of our forces from this part of the country, following on our evacuation of Trans-Caspia and the Caucasus, was put down to the fact that we were militarily unable to stand up against attack; and this view was confirmed by the set-back suffered at Enzeli and Resht in the early summer of this year.

The Arab therefore imagined himself subjected to, and oppressed by, an alien and unsympathetic set of rulers whose only support lay in an obviously insufficient armed force. He believed that he could rise and shake off the yoke, and only awaited an opportunity

Digitized by Google

to do so. In July an outbreak of disorder occurred at Rumeitha, an unimportant township on the Lower Euphrates. It was not suppressed. The fiery torch was carried throughout the length and breadth of the country, and by the end of the month it was all aflame.

The Military Value of Mesopotamia.

First of all, it must be made clear that our occupation of Mesopotamia is a matter of Government policy, and is based on many other considerations besides those of a military order. I can, of course, make no attempt here to deal with any but matters of the latter category, and to try and explain to you how our occupation of Mesopotamia is of value from the military point of view, and also the military disadvantages occasioned by its occupation.

As you all know, we are essentially an Eastern Empire—the greatest and most powerful of all Eastern Empires. For generations now we have ruled over many millions of Eastern subjects, and none have, or could have, proved themselves more loyal or more devoted. The corner-stone of that Empire is, of course, India, and to the defence and safeguarding of India all our policy in the East has for many decades been directed. It will be realized from a glance at the map that India may be menaced with an attack by land from two directions—and two only. Her land frontiers are exposed to China on the north-east and east, to Russia on the north and north-west. China is, for the present, and will probably be for some generations yet, a negligible enemy. Russia has been in the past, and now is again, the most formidable foe the British Empire has to face. Possessed as she is of a new and subversive social theory, she finds herself a Cain among nations. Animated as she is with a spirt like that of the followers of Mohammed in the days of Islam's first crusading ardour, the *leitmotif* of her policy is the fomenting of revolution in every land. And for revolutionary Russia, Britain, the embodiment of sanity and order, the fine flower of Western democracy, is the arch-enemy. I need not labour the point; the public utterances of the leaders of Soviet Russia are evidence enough of its truth. What more certain than that these leaders, seeking the Achilles heel of our Empire, should find it where the Czars found it—in India—and so finding should strive there to deal the fatal blow? It is a peril to which we should be foolish to blind ourselves, and to which, in fact, we have not been blind.

There are two possible routes by which Soviet Russia may advance on India. The first is the traditional route by Tashkent and Merv, which is now provided with a railway—though a bad one—and is the most direct way to Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier. But at its southern end this route is blocked by the huge

Digitized by Google

bulk of the Hindu Kush—a most formidable obstacle only to be passed by threading a way through long and narrow passes, easily defensible by a handful against a host. This obstacle can, however, be turned at its western end by the Merv-Kandahar route, where a broad gap of fairly practicable country intervenes between the Hindu Kush Mountains on the east and the desert of Central Persia on the west. Here, then, is one danger point.

The second line of advance may be described as the Caspian-Persian route. It is longer than the other, but easier and safer for any Russian invading army. It would be possible for such a force to advance rapidly from a base somewhere on the Caspian direct on Teheran and Astarabad, and to overrun all Northern Persia in a very short space of time. This would only be the first stage in the operations, and no doubt a long pause for consolidation and further preparations would have to ensue before the offensive could be resumed against Afghanistan and India. We may be sure that, if once Bolshevik Russia establishes its armies in Northern Persia, they will not only have obtained a rich prize, but also have taken a long step on the road to India.

Such an army would be a grave peril to the safety and stability of our Indian Empire, though not mainly from a military point of view. The loss of prestige which would be caused us would be aggravated by the increased facilities for Bolshevik propaganda aimed at the foundation of our power in the Middle East. I need not go further into this point; the formidable nature of Bolshevik propaganda and its power for destruction is fully realized by most thinking people. The occupation of Northern Persia by a Red army would increase both the possibilities of spreading this pernicious poison and the potency of its effects amid the already highly inflammable material which is even now smouldering discontentedly throughout all our Eastern Empire.

While we can do so, without weakening our forces elsewhere, it is to our interest to maintain a small force in Persia for the present, which shall afford the necessary backing for the native Persian troops, still little more than a negligible factor. We must remember that Bolshevik Russia is a more formidable enemy than Czarist Russia ever was; that the latter could be bound by agreements, whereas the former has frankly admitted that she will hold to no agreement with " capitalist " countries one moment longer than it suits her; and that the whole *leitmotif* of Red Russia's policy is war to the knife against " capitalism " and against us, whom she regards as " capitalism's " protagonists. Moreover, Bolshevik Russia has an immensely powerful weapon in her excellent propaganda service, which she knows well how to use. With the situation as it is in the Middle East at present, we can afford to take

Digitized by Google

no risks, and probably would be wise to try and hold off any Russian army as far as possible from the North-West Frontier.

Now, there are only two possible zones of military action, owing to the topography of the country and in particular the great Persian desert which occupies all its central area. The one is in the north-eastern corner of the country around Meshed. A force there is dependent, however, on the long and exposed line of communications from Quetta by Neh and Duzdap (the railhead); this railhead is 500 miles from Meshed, and the whole line from Quetta to Meshed measures 900 miles. Every yard of it is exposed to attack by a hostile Afghanistan, and Meshed itself is a dangerous position for a garrison, which would be liable to an enveloping attack by superior Russian forces, capable of being secretly and swiftly concentrated on the frontier along a wide arc from Kushk to Ashkabad. Moreover, no force at Meshed could defend the vital area of North Persia around Teheran, which is some 500 miles away to the west and separated from Meshed by the Elburz Range.

The other possible line of action for a force opposing a Russian invasion of Persia is to the west of Teheran towards Resht, and a force on this line must draw its supplies from a base at Baghdad by the Kermanshah-Hamadan road. The events of the last three years have proved that our force acting on this line, small as it has been, has been to some extent effective against both Russian and Turkish attempts to force their way into North Persia. This it has been able to do not only by its own strength, but by the moral effect of its presence on the Persian Government and people.

Mesopotamia thus forms the base for any force in North Persia. From it our troops there must draw their supplies, reinforcements, and ammunition. If Mesopotamia is lost to us, they will be cut off from all assistance, and left isolated and exposed to attack.

But there is not only this, but the fact that it must form the base for any offensive operations that might be undertaken in Persia against the Bolsheviks that makes it of importance from a military point of view to retain it in our hands. Any counter-offensive against the Reds in Persia must be undertaken from Mesopotamia if it is to have a chance of success. Any defensive battle against them can best be waged by a force based on Mesopotamia, and holding the difficult defiles in the hill country of South-Western Persia and the Kurdish border against an attack that must arrive in small columns and incur danger of defeat in detail.

From the purely military point of view I should wish to insist first and foremost on this point—that Mesopotamia forms the base for a forward defence line in front of India, if it is thought wise to hold any such line. We must hold it, or withdraw that forward line. We could, of course, do so without entirely compromising our

Digitized by Google

prospects of successfully defending India, but we could not do so without bringing the chief peril to India much nearer her borders and rendering our task of defence more difficult in many ways.

I have said that we went into Mesopotamia to avert the peril of a German-Turkish advance by the Balkans and Baghdad to the head-waters of the Persian Gulf—a menace to our sea route to India. We are remaining there because it is at present our policy to support the present Persian Government, and such support must be based on Mesopotamia; and also because we are bound to keep order and retain control pending the setting up of an Arab Government and the raising of an armed force to support it. That we are bound to do by the terms of our mandate for Mesopotamia, which we have accepted and must fulfil. There could be no question of retiring from Mesopotamia at the moment, and by so doing leaving the land to fall back into a state of complete disorder and anarchy, and exposing helpless Persia to be overrun by Bolshevik armies without hope of resistance or rescue.

At present, then, our policy involves the maintenance of our forces in Mesopotamia, and that in fairly large numbers.

On the other hand, there is, of course, the other side of the question to be considered. There is no doubt that our occupation of Mesopotamia absorbs a large number of troops, and will do so for some time to come. This in itself is a real drawback from the military point of view, for the demands on the armed forces of the Empire are great and various enough, and no addition to them should be undertaken without serious and good reasons; in fact, with our present military resources there could be no possibility of our keeping a large garrison permanently in Mesopotamia.

How we can remain in Mesopotamia.

There is, then, no doubt that the size of Mesopotamia, the lack of communications, the hostility of the Arab population, all combine to cast a great strain on our military resources; cannot we find some half-way course between holding the land from end to end and evacuating it entirely, to the detriment of our position in the Middle East?

Various suggestions to this end have been put forward, such as that we should limit ourselves to the holding of the Basra Vilayet; that we should go no farther north than Baghdad, and so forth. It is always a sound maxim to cut one's coat according to one's cloth, but there are real and grave military considerations which militate against any such " half-way houses " as those suggested above.

A glance at an ethnographic map of the Middle East will show that to the north-east of the Arab *bloc* in the Tigris and Euphrates

Digitized by Google

Valleys lies a solid mass of Kurds. The Kurd is a turbulent and warlike hillman with predatory instincts, who has a great contempt for military weakness, but a great respect for military strength. So far we have managed to instil into him a wholesome regard for our power which has served to prevent any outbreak against us; and this end has been achieved by the presence of our troops in the midst of his territory. It is to be feared that a retirement into the plains would undo all this, and expose us to a whole series of raids and incursions with which we should be in no favourable position to deal. It must be realized that this Kurdish *bloc* extends right to the edge of the plains to within 100 miles of Baghdad and the Tigris Valley, and that it lies absolutely astride the south-western end of the Persian road and railway. The first effect, then, of any rising among the Kurds would be the severance of the line of communications of the force in North Persia, which it is our main military interest to preserve. In a word, our occupation of Kurdistan covers the Persian road; our withdrawal from Kurdistan would expose that road. That statement would, of course, apply still more to any withdrawal to the south of Baghdad, and that is the military reason against such a withdrawal.

The situation is closely analogous to that in the North-West of India. Here it has, up till quite recently, been our policy to hold only the eastern edges of the frontier territories, such as those inhabited by the turbulent Wazirs and Mahsuds, with the result that these lands have been a perpetual breeding-ground of raids and disorders. We are now maintaining a foothold within the Mahsud territory as the surest means of being able to stifle any outbreak before it can come to a head. Just so in Kurdistan we stand the best chance of ensuring peace if we firmly establish our military forces in the heart of the country itself rather than from motives of economy withdrawing to the plains and allowing storms to brew up for us in the hills without being able to lift a finger until they have burst upon us.

The occupation of a vast area such as Mesopotamia is, of course, a difficult military problem, and there is now an evident tendency among the Press and the public to consider that we have failed to solve it, and that it is therefore insoluble. But it is not—under certain given conditions. We are now establishing all over the occupied area a network of blockhouses and fortified posts, which will secure our garrisons against being rushed by surprise attacks or against having the communications cut between themselves and their base. We are sending to Mesopotamia a number of aeroplanes and armoured cars which will be able to take some of the work off our infantry, and will form a mobile reserve capable of dealing swiftly with any outbreak of disorder and preventing its spread over

Digitized by Google

wide areas of country. These measures, together with the increased experience which time will bring to our troops, should be effective in preventing any recurrence of the outbreak we have seen in the last few months.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that our army in Mesopotamia has come quite well out of its ordeal. Only one real check (the incident of the Manchesters near Hillah) has been suffered by British troops at the hands of the Arabs, who have, on the other hand, been severely handled whenever they have put up a fight against us. The garrisons they have besieged have all been relieved in due course; the outrages they have committed have all been visited with speedy punishment; the communications they have cut have all been quickly restored. The situation has—from a military point of view—never got really out of hand, and when once quiet is restored again, we may hope for a considerable respite from strife and disorder. The history of India after the Mutiny tells us that never can one more confidently count on a prolonged period of peace and progress than in the period immediately following an unsuccessful rising.

To recapitulate, then: we went to Mesopotamia in the first place to secure ourselves against a German advance by way of the Persian Gulf against our communications with India; we are remaining there in accordance with our mandate pending the setting up of an Arab Government and the raising of an Arab army, and also in order to give all possible aid to our friend and ally Persia. The military advantages of the policy are somewhat counterbalanced by the fact that we cannot hold part of Mesopotamia without holding it all, and that the occupation of so extensive a country involves a serious expenditure of military effort.

But, of course, no one hopes or desires to hold down Mesopotamia by force of arms alone.

I have this evening tried to keep away from questions of high policy, of which all the necessary data cannot be known to me. Nevertheless, it is clear that we must in the future adopt in Mesopotamia a policy of conciliation and magnanimity, once we have shown that we are capable of holding our own in fair fight. In the East, as is well known, generosity and moderation are regarded as weakness if they are adopted under the pressure of defeat, but are appreciated and regarded when they are freely accorded by the victor to the vanquished. If we are to remain in Mesopotamia at all we must not dream of giving up an inch of ground in the present struggle; but if we are not to be bled white in the future by the drain of keeping up an enormous and costly garrison there, we must temper our victory with moderation, and show the Arab and the Kurd that we are ready freely to give what we will not permit to be

Digitized by Google

extorted from us. Let us, then, set to work to heal the wounds of war; let good sense and good-will labour to turn our late enemies into friends; let us try to ensue the old Roman maxim *parcere subjectis* after we have carried out the *debellare superbos*. If once we can impress on the people of that land the idea that we seek first and foremost their well-being and happiness, and desire nothing more than to help them to reap the benefits of civilization and progress, then we can feel that our Empire there, as in many another foreign land, does not rest on " military considerations " at all, but is firmly and surely based in the hearts of a grateful and happy people—of every human society the only enduring foundation.

DISCUSSION

The CHAIRMAN said they had listened with the greatest interest to the very instructive lecture which Captain Sheppard had been good enough to give them. That gentleman had contributed a very clear and correct summary of the events that had occurred in Mesopotamia and its neighbourhood during the war, and had also touched, he thought with a very great sound sense, on possible future developments there. He must say that he rather agreed with Captain Sheppard, who he understood to be of his own opinion, that there is more to be feared from Bolshevik propaganda than from Bolshevik armed forces. As far as one's information went, that propaganda was exceedingly active, and indeed successful, throughout the whole of Central Asia. He thought they should be justified in believing, especially after the speech which they heard from Lord Curzon, at the Annual Dinner of the Society a night or two previously, that His Majesty's Government were really at pains to establish some system of administration which would, they hoped, by degrees, bring peace and contentment to those regions. Of course, they should all take into account that they could not expect that Arabs or Kurds, with their nomadic habits, should immediately welcome or receive this with any kind of enthusiasm. Indeed they would probably resent the sudden introduction of a civilization so perfectly alien to their customs and traditions. He dared say that if we were in their position we should also experience that hesitation. But still, he thought that, with time and patience—and in this connection he had very great hopes of the Mission of that very eminent official, Sir Percy Cox, who had gone out to Baghdad—that we should succeed in removing any misunderstanding and misapprehension, and be able to show the natives of those regions that our real and our sole aim is to give them, as far as we can, self-government, together with the benefits of our civilization, and also develop the resources of that country. He should be very happy if any gentleman present would make observations or

Digitized by Google

ask any question in regard to the paper they had just listened to. He did not know if Lord Rawlinson, who was going to take up a very high office in India, was disposed to say anything, but he was sure it would be very great encouragement to Captain Sheppard that he was able to give them his company that afternoon.

The Rev. Dr. W. A. WIGRAM said he should like to make use of some local knowledge of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in order to direct the attention of the meeting to certain factors which, he thought, were important, and certainly picturesque, in the military situation which Captain Sheppard had outlined. He referred particularly to the Assyrians or Nestorians, those Christain Highlanders who threw in their lot with us during the war, and who are, in consequence, at present refugees in British territory. A contingent was raised from among them, and, serving under British officers, in 1919, did good service in the Kurdish troubles of that year. Now, the quality of those Christian Highlanders as fighting men might be judged by the fact that they were brigaded along with a regiment of Gurkhas who, when asked what they thought of their comrades, gave this as their verdict: "Why did you not give us the same mountain sandal that those fellows made for themselves? Then we should have done as well as they did." He thought members of the Society would agree that when Gurkhas apologized for not doing as well as irregulars there was not much doubt about the fighting quality of the latter. He must admit, according to the verdict of the Political Officer employed with them, that they, having a blood feud against all Kurds, were described as a "trifle indiscriminate." Irregular they certainly were. In fact the General in command of the force once expressed himself thus to the Commander of this Assyrian contingent: "I don't care how many Kurds your scallywags scupper, but do please take care they do not wipe out Kurds who have influential friends in Constantinople." He regretted to say that a certain party of the Highlanders deserted during the war, finding the movements of an ordered campaign too slow for their liking. But they sent in a unique apology in a delightful letter of excuse, addressed: "To our Beloved and Reverend Commander. Peace and love be multiplied unto you. Be it known to you, our dear Father, that we did not run away because we did not wish to kill Kurds, but because we wished to do so, and by the blessing of God we have been doing that for the last eight days." Then, with a drop into English, they said: "Regret to report following casualty: Soldier, Private So-and-so; but we have killed a lot more Kurds! And now if you will promise to punish us yourself and not send us to the dreadful Mosul gaol, be it known to you that we will return to duty." Their C.O. promised he would punish them all right when they came in, and he some way managed to square it with his

Digitized by Google

conscience by reporting the men as having been "absent without leave," which is not so serious a crime as desertion while on active service. During the recent rising those same fellows had done an extremely useful bit of service against the Arabs. He desired to emphasize what Captain Sheppard had indicated, that what we want is small military garrisons in Kurdistan and the hills, and here we had the material already made to our hands. Those Highlanders altogether presented themselves as an asset too valuable for us to throw away. They would form a military garrison of extremely high fighting value, which could do very good service just at those points over which we wished to exercise control. All they asked was rifles and ammunition, and they were quite prepared to do the rest. If armed and repatriated they would constitute just such an "oasis" in the country as our policy required for its effective control. Dr. Wigram endorsed what Captain Sheppard had said about the mineral wealth of the country. He had, he said, ridden along a continuous stretch of coal fields, extending to sixty miles, and it went again eighty miles north. There was a district in the mountains where the Highlanders had been in the habit of digging out lead which they used for making bullets. They used a thimble-like arrangement as a mould to make bullets for their Martini rifles, and regarded this source as having been provided for them by Providence. Captain Sheppard had spoken of our good fortune in that the unruly Kurds of Central Kurdistan had given no trouble of late, or taken any part in the recent trouble. Before sitting down, he desired to bear testimony to the services of one particular officer, the man in charge of Sulimanieh, the key and capital of the whole district of Kurdistan. Major Soane, as Political Officer there, being left practically alone, merely by means of his personal influence and his knowledge of the turbulent people whom he knew so well, had been able to keep control of the situation.

The Hon. Secretary (Colonel A. C. Yate), in the course of a few observations, said that no doubt it would be remembered by most that after Lord Curzon made his speech at their Annual Dinner, on the Tuesday of the previous week, he was immediately attacked in *The Times*. They had just heard from Captain Sheppard a very strong endorsement of the correctness of what Lord Curzon had said, and an adequate reply to the ill, or warped judgment of *The Times*. Recently Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, a well-known member of the Society and an Afghan of great ability, who was to lecture to them on November 10, had pointed out that there was interned, in Constantinople, a descendant of that particular family at Mecca which monopolized the Sharifate, named Ali Haidar Sharif. That political détenu Ikbal Ali Shah had singled out as *the* Arab best qualified to rule, under British guidance, over Mesopotamia. Professor Kay, of

Digitized by Google

St. Andrews, who is also a member of this Society and takes a great interest in it, very shortly afterwards endorsed what Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah had said. Coupling these facts with other opinions which he had heard from competent judges, the suggestions made by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah seemed worthy the attention of our Foreign Office.* From what Captain Sheppard had said we should distinctly realize the importance of maintaining ourselves in a strong position from a strategical point of view in Mesopotamia. In this connection we had a good right to look for support to the nation which we had so strongly befriended and endeavoured to satisfy in that quarter, viz., the French, who had got what they asked for in Syria and Cilicia. We had a right to look for their cordial help and support, and that the more so as 25 per cent. of the oil of Mesopotamia was to be theirs. The barrier between Bolshevism and the mandatory Powers in Mesopotamia and Cilicia is the Republics of Georgia and Armenia, and it is for Britain and France to support them against the Bolshevists and the Turkish Nationalists. Colonel Stokes, whose name had come to the front when America, about 1911, sent her Finance Minister, Mr. Morgan Schuster, to Persia, was now in Trans-Caucasia, and he wished him every success in his efforts to keep Georgia and Armenia straight. He hoped these countries would become a bulwark for Mesopotamia against any Russian Bolshevik projects. The Dardanelles, the Bosphorus and the Black Sea, and the ports of Trebizond and Batoum were now all thrown open to the world's trade, and it was the policy of the *Entente* to keep them so. They were, in fact, reopening one of the great trade routes of the Middle Ages, and that being so, he regarded the independence of Armenia and Georgia, and their freedom from Bolshevik intrigue and influence as of the very highest importance. He could only hope that by the influence of the *Entente* and of the League of Nations that independence would be fully maintained.

A MEMBER remarked that at the beginning of this paper Captain Sheppard had suggested that the bulk of the Arabs were Shiites. On the other hand, according to an official census which he (the speaker) saw compiled by the Chief Commissioner, something like one-third of them were now believed to be Sunnis. He regarded the question involved by the proportion of one faith to another as very important, because, if it be a fact that a large portion of the Arabs were Sunnis, the problem of establishing an Arab Government which would command the allegiance of the entire population was obviously very much more difficult. Could Captain Sheppard throw any light on the point?

* *The Times* of 26th and 30th November, 1920, has made it known that His Highness the Nakib of Baghdad has accepted the office of President of the Provisional Council of State in Mesopotamia. We have good reason to believe that this selection, made under the advice of the British High Commissioner, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Percy Cox, will prove to be a happy one for Mesopotamia.—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

Captain SHEPPARD replied that the information on the particular point raised he got from an Admiralty handbook which he thought was reliable. But he thought it professed only to take matters down in detail to the beginning of the war, so that he should imagine it quite possible that what the questioner said was correct. If so, he quite agreed that the difference in the religious belief of the Arabs would make it very difficult for an Arab Government to command the allegiance of the whole people. He had not himself seen the particular figures or census to which the questioner had referred, but he thought there was no doubt about it that, if these were accurate, the problem would add another thorn to the many with which its solution was surrounded.

The CHAIRMAN thought he was expressing the feeling of every one present in conveying a vote of thanks to Captain Sheppard for the most interesting paper he had given them. They might congratulate themselves on the short discussion which had ensued. The lecture had certainly been of great value and profit.

The proceedings then terminated.

Digitized by Google

THE FEDERATION OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN STATES UNDER THE KABUL GOVERNMENT.

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W.1, on Wednesday, November 10, 1920, when Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah delivered an address on the Federation of the Central Asian States. General Sir Edmund Barrow (in the absence of Lord Carnock) presided.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I regret to say that Lord Carnock is unable to attend this afternoon owing to indisposition; and I particularly regret it, because I shall have to take the chair in his place, and I am afraid I do not even know what the lecturer is going to talk about. I will now introduce to you Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, who will soon enlighten you on that point.

THE LECTURE.

THE question of a federation of Central Asian States of which I shall speak to-day is no novel one. Its origins are probably to be referred to an amalgamation of the Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turanian movements. Both of these movements are religious as well as racial in character, but when they effected a junction and developed into the ideal of a federation of the States of Central Asia, they took on a colour more purely political. So long ago as 1863, in the reign of Amir Dost Mohammed Khan, Syed Jamaluddin, "The Afghan," posed as the protagonist of a Pan-Islamic doctrine, and his most powerful argument on behalf of the cause he advocated was that the Moslem Powers should ally themselves for the consolidation of Islam, and should in future possess a common political aim.

However reasonable in itself was the ambition of Syed Jamaluddin, it soon became evident that he was merely the instrument of forces whose aims were by no means so idealistic as he would have had his hearers believe. It was observed that during his travels in Egypt, India, and Persia, his exhortations were marked by studious moderation, but that when he reached Turkey they became more militant in tone. It then became apparent that Sultan Abdul Hamid was using him as an agent for the promotion of his own private and less innocent Pan-Islamic doctrines throughout the

Digitized by Google

East. For example, in 1889, during the reign of Shah Nasiruddin of Persia, Jamaluddin was urging the Persians to acknowledge the Sultan's claim to suzerainty over their country, his chief argument being that it would be well that all the Islamic countries should place themselves under the direction of the Yildiz Kiosk if they desired freedom from European interference. Later it became abundantly clear that for Abdul Hamid the Pan-Islamic movement meant a movement for his own personal aggrandizement. It was proposed to hold a great Moslem conference at Mecca in 1902. But Abdul Hamid dreaded that such a conference might bring the claims of the Arab nation into prominence, a claim which the Arabs as the founders of Islam might be very likely to try to further, so he at once took steps to quash the conference at Mecca.

A year or two after this the Pan-Turanian movement was launched. It was, of course, calculated to bring about not only a cultural and religious, but also a political bond amongst the Tartar race. The party responsible for this movement at first proposed that the sermons (*khutba*) should be read in Turk language, that that language should be used throughout the Mohammedan world, and that all Arabic words should be eliminated from the Turkish literature and language.

At first sight that programme looked to be antagonistic to the views of the orthodox Moslem Church, as indeed it was. Its promoters modified their doctrines, so that the two movements were irreconcilable for a time, but for a time only.

These earlier and diverse forms of the Asian national idea, although crude and unworkable, had a lasting effect on the people of Central Asia, causing them to reflect on political affairs generally, arousing them to the danger of the Russian menace. As time went on, the notion of a confederacy of Central Asian States grew in popularity, and men looked backward with more kindly eyes to the Pan-Turanian and Pan-Islamic efforts, trying to discover in them a basis for the affiliation of the several States which owe allegiance to the rule of Islam, in the hope that a barrier might thus be erected against Russian aggression; for Russia was and is an avowed enemy of Islam.

The various forms which such an allegiance might take were keenly discussed, but without much definite result, until at last Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan suggested a definite alliance between his own country, Persia, and Bokhara. The chief intention behind this proposal was that it might act as a check to Russian aggression. This union, as then outlined, was purely a defensive one, and the parties to it retained their normal position as rulers of the several countries involved, no one being exalted above another. But simple as was the scheme, Abdur Rahman did his utmost to

Digitized by Google

render it of as much practical utility as possible. He had been a witness of the virtual ruin of Khiva and the fall of Bokhara; he had marked the course of the Russian overtures to Persia, and had seen the results of the Muscovite treachery at Panjdeh. The rulers of the new allies had no illusions as regards the intentions of Russia towards their several States. The Russian policy was one through which the Islamic kingdoms in Asia would assuredly suffer a slow but certain disintegration. This was to be effected in three different ways: first by force of arms; secondly by false alliance with the several Islamic States, by which the territorial expansion of Russia might be aided; thirdly by the creation of political difficulties between the Islamic countries of Asia and the British and French, with the intention of weakening the Asian countries so that they might more easily fall a prey. No stone, indeed, was left unturned to arouse anarchy and unrest. For example, it has now been proved to the hilt that Russia was primarily responsible for the origin and continuance of the Armenian massacres. These massacres were not due to religious movements, but political, and history bears witness that that political move was of Russia and Russia alone. That move was directed towards Turkey, so that Islam should have a bad name for those massacres. It is known, too, that the quarrel between Britain and Amir Sher Ali was brought about through Russian intrigue. If it be hoped that this malevolent policy has disappeared with the rise of Bolshevism, that hope must speedily be dispelled in view of the overwhelming evidence regarding the Bolshevist operations in Central Asia, which, if they were responsible for nothing else, were certainly the cause of the Anglo-Afghan War of last year. The character of a people does not alter with a change in the form of their government.

That Russia had always aimed at the destruction of Islam is demonstrated, amongst other things, by a letter which General Kaufman dispatched to his Government through Count Schouvaloff, the Russian Minister in London in 1875. It pretended to set forth that the mission of Russia in the East was a civilizing one, and that the true enemy of the Western nations was Islam. It suggested that Afghanistan and the Central Asian States generally should be divided into Russian and British spheres of influence. Kaufman was perfectly correct in his statement that Russia had a dangerous foe in Islam, and not without reason; for the entire Mohammedan world fiercely resented the constant aggression of the Muscovite upon its boundaries.

When the late Amir of Afghanistan, Habibullah Khan, came to the throne, he at once attempted to bring the scheme of his illustrious father into the sphere of practical politics. He recognized that, if the States of Central Asia were to save themselves from the hungry

Digitized by Google

northern bear, they must defend their freedom by the creation of a common federacy.

When the Bolshevists first came into contact with the peoples of Central Asia they posed as being the saviours of Islam. They at once gave their freedom to the Khanates, but that freedom was only a nominal one, as they made the condition that the dissemination of their pernicious doctrines should be carried on throughout Central Asia. So long as they desired to keep themselves safe from attack in these regions they kept peace with the Usbeks and ceded the region of Merv to the Afghans. They made Tashkend their headquarters for propagandist purposes, sedulously sowing their doctrines in Afghanistan. Amir Habibullah was unfavourable to the Red philosophy, however, and tried to bring about a Central Asian alliance against Russia. From that moment he was a marked man, and his tragic end was undoubtedly the result of Bolshevist agency.

The present Amir of Afghanistan showed almost at once that he was in favour of a Central Asian confederacy. He has by no means been convinced by the arguments of the Bolshevist envoys who thronged his court, being fully aware that it is not in the nature of things that Russia should wish well to Islam, her hereditary enemy. Nor had the Amir of Bokhara a dissimilar experience.

The Bolshevists have nothing to learn from their Czarist predecessors. In their true Russian fashion intrigues were set up in Persia and Bokhara alike. As was the case with Kochek Khan's party in Tabriz, so also in the Khanate a Bokharian revolutionary unit was organized, and these Bokhariots proclaimed a revolution on the morning of August 29; this event was organized to take place on Friday, August 27, after the Juma'h prayer.

Immediately masses of Bolshevik mounted troops pushed along the railway from the east and the west towards Bokhara. The Amir concentrated the majority of his available forces and such Afghan troops as were in Bokhara for the defence of the city, and the Red advance met with little opposition from small detachments along the railway, although the Bokharan and Turkoman irregulars caused casualties in their ranks at various points. At Bokhara itself the Bolshevik command found it had underestimated the strength of its opponents, and the spirit of resistance displayed by the Bokharan people came as a complete surprise.

The battle for the city swayed to and fro, both sides losing heavily. Positions were won and lost again and again. The Red command was forced to draw more and more on its reserves before the capture of the city was completed, and the Amir forced to fly towards the Afghan frontier with the remnants of his army. After capture Bokhara was given over to the troops to loot, and its wealth and the bazaars fell into the hands of the Red soldiery. This is an

Digitized by Google

irony of fate, that once Abdur Rahman was a refugee at Bokhara, and now the Amir of Bokhara is a refugee at Kabul.

As a measure of self-defence it is absolutely essential that Afghanistan should proceed with the task of founding a Central Asian alliance. This design is one which should be of the greatest importance to the British people, who by fostering such a scheme will help to erect a barrier between Bolshevism and their Indian Empire. It must not be forgotten that the British Empire is now more truly an Eastern Empire than at any time in its history; intrigues against its position in the East should be resisted with all the address at its command. The danger of Bolshevist aggression in the East is no mere bogey, no mere journalistic figment, but a very real menace indeed, the shadow of which is gradually creeping farther and farther south. It is therefore essential to take the most active steps for the protection of your interests in Asia, which are most assuredly in jeopardy from the Bolshevist operations in Turkestan and Persia. It seems to me that an alliance between the Central Asian States and Great Britain, as one of the paramount Powers in that region, is inevitable if the threat of Bolshevism is to be successfully combated.

However sound the idea of a Central Asian alliance, it is clear that if it is to be brought to a successful issue the means employed to achieve this end must differ materially from any so far put forward. It has already been recognized that the best way of dealing with the Asian peoples is to show sympathy with their aspirations and sentiments—not to ignore them or throw cold water upon them, but to attempt to enter into the new spirit which most certainly lies behind the Asian desire for advancement. If Great Britain desires to remain paramount in Asia, she must show its peoples that she sympathizes with their point of view, and that she is willing to foster and advance this rather than foist upon them only the kind of institutions she deems good for them. It would be ill that she should try to increase her prestige by belittling that of her Asian friends. Doubtless one day administrators will understand how easy it is to guide Asian peoples, to lead them, how very difficult to drive them. It is quite a mistake to suppose, as some officials still do, that the most dignified way of administering the British Raj is to do so with a high hand. And let it be said that this is precisely the spirit in which the Russians in Central Asia behaved when the country was subject to them—their present attitude, in fact. That may be partly true, but times have changed; the outlook is entirely different, and it is highly injudicious for any rulers, British or Asian, to speak to the people from a pedestal. By doing so you are throwing them into the arms of the Bolshevists. Treat them as reasonable men, and you will find them so. It seems

Digitized by Google

to me that the root of political difficulties all the world over is planted in official loftiness. Has this not been the case in Ireland, in Germany, in Russia—in fact, in those very spheres where revolution and disaffection now raise their heads?

It is difficult to express oneself regarding the harm, the great harm, that one knows is brought about in Central Asia by inconsidered speeches or even remarks of a public nature in this country. Your respected President, Lord Curzon, speaking at the annual dinner of this Society, gave it as his opinion that Afghanistan some years ago was more or less under the protection of Great Britain, "but had now acquired something like independence." With all due respect to your able and brilliant President, one of the wisest and most remarkable men of his time, I am very much afraid that the phrase in question will make rather bad hearing at Kabul. Afghanistan, as a matter of fact, has from the beginning of its existence exercised a complete independence. It owes suzerainty to no one; it is a free and a sovereign State—as free in every sense as Spain or Denmark or any other separate kingdom. Such a statement as Lord Curzon's is calculated to foment the deepest regret at Kabul. But I, for one, do not believe that it was more than a passing indiscretion, and I am sure that if Lord Curzon was definitely questioned on the point he would be the very first to admit the full independence of Afghanistan. At the same time this is the very kind of remark that alienates Asian sympathies and breeds a sense of insecurity and unfriendliness, which the British nation cannot afford, owing to its imperial interests in Asia.

I pass on to the question of the Khilafat. I am not sure that that question comes within the province of my lecture, yet I will just mention that, to my way of thinking, the question of the Khilafat is purely a religious one, and might well be left to the Moslems themselves. With it is bound up the subject of Hijrat or the migration of Moslems from India to Afghanistan. I am not going out of my way when I discuss this Moslem emigration, because the Central Asian alliance, the subject of this lecture, is intended first and foremost to safeguard Asia from Bolshevism, and the emigration of the Moslems is in a manner bound up with this, because anything which agitates popular sentiment in India is certain to have a bearing upon the subject of popular unrest in the East.

Mr. Montagu, the Secretary for India, has to my mind shown great insight in dealing with this matter, and has, indeed, more than once saved the situation. I may say that I speak with some personal knowledge of the facts. No restraints were placed upon the emigration of the Moslems into Afghanistan. This was not the gravamen of the complaint, but those who were responsible for the

Digitized by Google

emigration arrangements did not, unless I am badly informed, act wisely in the matter. Neither the Indian Government nor the authorities at Kabul saw any harm in the passage of the Mohajirin or emigrants from one sphere to the other. Molana Abdul Bari, the Sheik ul Islam, or High Priest of India, announced that Hijret, or emigration, might take place; in consequence thousands of people left their homes without adequate preparation, without arrangements for food-supplies or shelter. No special railway or other facilities were extended to them. Indeed, the migration was more of the nature of a folk-movement on a small scale, a sort of nomadic trek, than a well-conceived plan. Unused to the severity of the Afghan climate and exposed to the dangers and difficulties of the long and arduous journey, many of these poor emigrants laid down their lives. It is surely extraordinary that these people should have been permitted to leave their homes and to travel hundreds of miles to a strange country without adequate transport and other arrangements having been made. Surely, in the first place, a committee might have proceeded to Afghanistan to enquire regarding the territory available for the emigrants, the possibilities of labour in these districts, and so forth—in fact, to examine into the feasibility of the whole scheme. Relief committees ought also to have been established. The great majority of the emigrants were impecunious families of the lower classes, who, influenced by promises of material prosperity, believed themselves to be bound for a land of milk and honey. Many of them seemed to have the idea that the Afghans would provide them with food and clothing and, above all, with rich agricultural land. The Afghans are a hard-working race, intolerant of indolence, shrewd and careful, and they were not inclined to regard this invasion of penniless thousands with any degree of satisfaction if the emigrants came as permanent guests. Also, a suitable committee ought to have been appointed to examine the fitness of intending emigrants, and to ensure that every kind of nondescript who wished to go to Kabul was not allowed to do so.

The reasons for a failure in that direction have been, therefore, those of which I have spoken above, and the Hijret has in no sense received a set-back on the part of the Afghans themselves. I have discussed this for the reason that, if a large number of emigrants populated a province in Afghanistan, their attitude has to be taken into consideration in any undertaking to which Afghanistan may commit itself, such as a Central Asian alliance. It is a pity that Hijret has not been handled more efficiently.

To return, in conclusion, to the question of a Central Asian alliance, this is undoubtedly a matter which should at present be discussed fully at home as well as in India. A more fitting opportunity for the establishment of such an alliance could scarcely be

Digitized by Google

hoped for. Popular as well as educated opinion in the Central Asian States is most ripe to entertain it. Bolshevism, at first almost welcomed in Asia, has now been unmasked and is regarded with the greatest disquietude—at least, by the ruling and educated classes. A Central Asian alliance which had the countenance and assistance of Great Britain would render the intrigues of Moscow entirely nugatory in the Khanates and in Persia, would check the onward flow of the distorted philosophy of Lenin, and would, indeed, act as a barrier, both moral and physical, between Red Russia and susceptible India. The desire of the Central Asian peoples for such an alliance does not arise out of a wish for aggrandisement, and is not so much an expression of nationality as an aspiration after peace and territorial security. His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan, in a meeting of Council Chambers on September 20 last, convened at the *'Arq*,* has most pointedly favoured the question. The first step towards this is naturally the Afghan ratification of the Massuri Conference. That wise nobleman Sirdar Mahmud Beg Tarzai, and his compatriots General Abdul Qodoos Khan and the Prime Minister, have now been able to secure the help of General Nadir Khan also. That, to my mind, marks the dawn of a great age in the Middle East. Our common enemy is Bolshevism, and to defend ourselves we must have a Central Asian Alliance.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I invite discussion there are one or two remarks I might make in order to clear the ground. I noted that the lecturer said or thought that the British Mission had actually gone to Kabul. That is not the case; no such British Mission has gone.

The LECTURER: I said it might have gone.

The CHAIRMAN: It actually has not gone. Another remark that I noticed was that he said the terminus of the Nushki railway was at Neh. Well, that I am sorry to say is not the case. The terminus of the Nushki line is at least sixty or a hundred miles—I really do not recollect how many miles, but that at the very least—from Neh. In fact, I think it is well over a hundred miles from Neh, at a place called Duzdap, which he may possibly know. It is almost at the meeting-point of Persia, Afghanistan, and British Beluchistan. The lecturer also made certain remarks about the Khyber Pass. He expressed a hope that the Khyber Pass would soon be opened every day of the week, and said he could not understand why this was not done. The real reason is that we have only a certain number of men to guard the Khyber Pass, and if they were on duty every day of the week—a duty which goes on for about twelve consecutive

* Regarding the *'Arq* at Kabul, see Angus Hamilton's *Afghanistan*, pp. 348-9. The Dane Mission of 1904-5 was quartered in the *'Arq*.—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

hours through the day—they would soon be worn out. In fact, more than two days would be quite impossible under our present arrangements in the Khyber. I will now invite discussion on the lecturer's remarks.

Mr. W. E. D. ALLEN: I only speak with some diffidence, as I have never been in Central Asia, but I happen to have read one of Ikbal Ali Shah's articles. I referred it to a member of the South Russian Government, and asked his opinion on it. I think we are more or less under moral obligations to Russia, because of the service she rendered us at the beginning of the war. He expressed the personal opinion that the South Russian Government, as representing Russia, would certainly not favour any movement on the part of Britain to support a nationalist movement in Central Asia; and he seemed to be of the opinion that they would rather have Russia there in any form than that the Russians should be expelled. Personally, I do not see how we can possibly hope to defend Central Asia if Russia ever attempts to regain it, granting that it has attained its independence. Further, Central Asia is but an economic unit of Russia. We have the example of Azerbaijan, which attempted to be independent; the result was that they found they could not export their oil, and had to go Bolshevik in order to get rid of the surplus oil. I think it would be a mistake for us, when Russia, so to speak, is in the dust, to support promiscuous nationalist movements, such as Poland and Roumania in Europe or Bokhara in Central Asia. I think it is thoroughly disloyal, and about on a level with Russia turning against us on the ground that we had a revolution in this country.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P.: Ladies and gentlemen, I did not quite follow the last speaker, as I could hardly hear him; consequently I cannot make any remarks on what he said. One of the things the lecturer told us—which I have not heard before—was that the Afghan boundary was not at Kushk, but at Merv. This is news to me, and, I think, to most of us. We have heard that some Afghans were in Merv, but we must always remember that Merv is one of the stations on the Transcaspian railway, and I think it very doubtful, if there is any power in Russia at all, that they will allow their Transcaspian railway to be cut by Afghanistan. Whether the Afghans have succeeded in that I cannot say, but it seems to me rather a dangerous policy to pursue. I am one of those who look back to the arduous days in the eighties when we defined the Afghan boundary, and Panjdeh was given over to Russia. The Afghans may have returned there, but what authority the lecturer has for saying that Merv is now an Afghan possession I do not know.

The LECTURER: About this question of Merv, I may just recall to your mind that just before the close of the war, just a few months

Digitized by Google

before that, a certain detachment of the British forces was in the north-east of Persia; and they were pressing rather hard on the Bolshevists there. The Cossacks in Central Asia and Afghans were asked whether they could go up and create a sort of wedge there to stop the Bolsheviks coming to Hamadan and Meshed. The Afghans got up to that city, viz., Merv, and the recent information which I have received has given me reason to believe that the Afghans are to this day at Merv. They are in Merv, not as enemies of Bolshevism, because there is a great deal of predominance of Bolshevism in Central Asia; they, viz., the Bolshevists, can drive even a bigger power than the Afghans out; but there is just that question going on whether the Afghans are going Bolshevik or not. If the Afghans finally decide not to go Bolshevik, Afghanistan will probably be shoved back right to Herat; but up till now Merv is in Afghan hands, and they are discussing on what terms friendship can be retained with Russia. The Massuri Conference has put this finally before them, that they must be friends either of the Bolsheviks or of Great Britain. After a discussion it has been resolved that Afghanistan is to be a friend of Great Britain, and in that case I am afraid that the Afghans might have to retire; but they must endeavour to retain a territory up to Panjdeh—that was undisputedly Afghan territory.

The CHAIRMAN: Perhaps I can throw some light on the matter. I believe what the Sirdar has just told us is true—that Afghan troops, certain detachments of them, are in Merv; but at the same time a very much larger number of Bolsheviks are much farther south in Kushk.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P.: At any rate, the Afghan possession of Merv is apparently rather nebulous at the present time. We can hardly say, from what Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah has told us, that Merv is now in fact an Afghan possession. Whether the Afghans will eventually turn to the Bolsheviks or to the British we cannot say. At any rate, they do not seem to be in great force at Merv, and I do not think they can have control there at the present time from what has been said. Another curious point was raised. The lecturer told us that Enzeli, a port on the Caspian Sea, was to be the scene of the great battle of the future—battle of the future between what?

The LECTURER: That is what I cannot commit myself to.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P.: I am afraid none of us can commit ourselves to it. Enzeli, as we all know, at the present moment, is apparently in the possession of a small force of the Bolsheviks; and, so far as we can gather, the Persian troops, known as the Persian Cossacks, have been driven back, and have retreated through the British lines. I do not know whether they have disbanded themselves or what has happened; but apparently there is a British force

Digitized by Google

at Kasvin which is holding the road to Tehran. I think we can all agree—all who know Persia—that if there is anything we can reckon on from Persia or the Persian army, it is that very few Persian soldiers will give up their lives to save their country from invasion. That is my experience of the Persian sarbaz as a fighting man. Consequently, the safety of Tehran at the present moment rests very largely with that small British force which is now holding Kasvin. We have seen a considerable Persian force raised in Southern Persia, known as the Southern Persian Rifles, under British officers and non-commissioned officers. They are a disciplined force. What has become of the Persian Cossack force in the north we none of us can say, and whether they will be brought together again, or be able to make a stand against the Bolsheviks, we cannot say either. At present, I think, the defence of Persia against the Bolsheviks seems to rest in British hands. We have a great agitation going on in this country at the present moment to reduce our expenditure in Mesopotamia and evacuate that country. I trust everybody will try to maintain British honour (applause), and not permit this sudden collapse of British prestige in all those regions. We want to see order restored in Mesopotamia. We have heard it said that the Arabs of Mesopotamia are revolting against what, I think, the lecturer described as the high-handedness of British officials. Was not that the expression used?

The LECTURER: Yes.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P.: At any rate, the Afghan conception of high-handedness of British officials in Mesopotamia. The British officials in Mesopotamia have done their best to make that country flourish again. They have succeeded to an extraordinary extent, both economically and agriculturally, and the unrest has been caused by the agitators—Bolsheviks and Turks—coming down from the north and inciting the Shiah element among the marsh Arabs and along the Euphrates to come out for loot. That is all they are out for—loot; and, unfortunately, they have got it. But I think they are now being brought to order, and I trust there will be no question of withdrawing until we have restored order. When we have got order by all means let us set up an Arab Council and Arab Assembly, and let the people have as much Arab rule as they care to be blessed with. Mesopotamia, so far as I know, consists of many chiefs and many tribes, but I do not think any chief or any tribe will acknowledge the overlordship of any other chief or of any other tribe; and they are all, tribes and chiefs, equally determined not to have the overlordship of any outside chief, whether from the Hejaz or anywhere else. There is great diversity among the tribes, and it would be very difficult to find any chief acceptable to all. I do not think we could have a better prospect than the arrangement

Digitized by Google

made by Sir Percy Cox for an Arab Council under his supervision. I hope that will remain for some time, until we have things straight. The lecturer, again, has told us we ought to have a federation of Persia, Afghanistan, and Bokhara, and he has told us the Ameer of Bokhara is now a refugee at Kabul. I do not know even that he is in Afghanistan; I do not think anybody here knows where the Ameer of Bokhara is at the present time.

The LECTURER: My latest information is that he is in Kabul.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P.: The question was asked in the House of Commons two days ago, and the representative of the Foreign Office said he had no information as to where the Ameer of Bokhara was.

The LECTURER: I have no desire to go contrary to the Foreign Office of Great Britain, but I speak from the unofficial information I get.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P.: We could wish him safe in Afghanistan. Perhaps Sir Edmund Barrow can tell us?

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think the Government know anything about it at all; they do not know where he is.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P.: Nobody, apparently, knows where he is. We will trust he is alive and well, and safely out of the hands of the Bolsheviks; but where he is we cannot say. Well, as to whether an alliance can be formed between Afghanistan, Persia, and Bokhara is a difficult question. We must remember that there is no love lost between Afghans and Persians, and the Afghans undoubtedly could overrun Persia again to-morrow if they wished, if the Persians were to be left to themselves. The Usbeks are not particularly friendly to the Afghans either. Whether they will ever come to a federation such as the lecturer talks about I cannot say. I dare say, if they could, it would result in stability generally throughout Central Asia, but at the present moment I honestly say that my experience of these three races is that it is very difficult to make them combine at all. The lecturer finally spoke a good deal about the independence of Afghanistan. That was a point he raised very strongly. I think all must acknowledge that when the British Government put the Ameer Abdul Rahman on the throne, and agreed to look after his foreign relations and defend him, the British Government did a great deal for Afghanistan; and the independence of Afghanistan rests a great deal on what the British Government did at that time. Now the Afghans claim absolute independence, and, so far as foreign relations are concerned, the British Government has granted it; but that could not have been possible if the British Government had not first of all guaranteed the Ameer Abdul Rahman on his throne, and guaranteed him against foreign interference. I agree with the lecturer that we all wish to see a friendly

Digitized by Google

and independent Afghanistan; but, with regard to the Ameer, we all remember the uncalled-for and outrageous attack on India, where he was in alliance with the rebels in India in all the Punjab disturbances last year, and we have very serious doubts as to what the real feelings of the present Ameer are. Whether he is going to turn over a new leaf we cannot say. Our lecturer said he hoped to see the Khyber Pass opened and a railway constructed through it. Sir Edmund Barrow has told us how very difficult it is for us to picket the Khyber as it is, and that we cannot allow more caravans through than two days a week. I agree. Some of the Afridis are apparently always ready to snipe the Khyber Pass, according to the telegrams we get, and we have great difficulty in protecting the caravans. Had the General Officer in Command after the last war with the Afghans been instructed to dictate the terms of peace at Dacca in Afghan territory, instead of the Government of India granting an armistice and wasting two months in useless talking at Rawalpindi, and thus giving time to the Afghans to stir up the Border tribes into a rebellion that is not even yet disposed of, how different the case would have been. Had the General dictated the terms of peace, settled himself at Dacca, and held the whole of the Khyber, we might by now have had the prospect of a railway through the Khyber. If we held Dacca at the other end, it would be possible to make the railway right through, but as it is, without Dacca, there is no proper terminus. Under present circumstances I very much doubt if such a line is practicable, but whether that line will ever come about or not will all depend on the friendship now shown to us by the Afghans, and whether they turn to the Bolsheviks or whether they turn to the British. (Applause.)

Colonel A. C. YATE: I am not going to discuss the subject of the lecture, or enter into any political discussion whatever. I have one or two remarks that I should like to make with regard to the lecturer himself. I do not think that an Afghan, as far as I am aware, has ever before lectured to a London audience. (Applause.) It must be three years since I took up the *Edinburgh Review*, and, to my interest and astonishment, saw in it an article manifestly written by an Afghan, and signed "Ikbal Ali Shah." I wrote to Mr. Harold Cox and expressed my extreme interest, and, through Mr. Cox, Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah and I became acquainted. Our acquaintanceship has led, I am glad to say, to his becoming a member of the Central Asian Society, and to his twice coming here and lecturing to us. That is a career for an Afghan in this country which I think so far is unexampled. If there is a previous example, and anybody knows it, I shall be delighted to hear it. Ikbal Ali Shah is leaving this country for Kabul in two or three weeks' time, and I think it must be a matter of interest to us who have known him to consider

Digitized by Google

what his career there is likely to be. We have heard his political opinions, and I have said to him myself that I hoped he would keep up a correspondence with me. I must say for myself that I shall follow his career with the very greatest interest. We know he is a friend of Britain, and I trust he will produce that good feeling between Afghanistan and Britain which will result both in the development of Afghanistan and the stability of the British Empire in the Middle East.

Colonel PEMBERTON: I think the lecture must have been of great interest to many in this audience, especially to those among us who have had the advantage of visiting Central Asia, as it has been my good fortune to do on two occasions, though it is now twenty-eight years since my travels took me to Bokhara.

You will remember that Russian domination in that part of the world may in a manner be said to date from the capture of Tashkent by General Tchernaief in 1865, and at the date of my visit in 1892 it was still in process of consolidation.

I must pay the Russians the tribute of saying that their administration seemed good, and in a material sense to be benefiting the country; and it may certainly be claimed for them that they excelled in the rapidity with which they pushed forward railway construction, setting in this respect an example to many nations—the British in India among them.

True, this construction was undertaken chiefly on strategic grounds, but none the less the lines, forming great arteries of trade and traffic, were entirely beneficial in assisting very materially the development of the resources of the country, and its commercial relations with other Asiatic lands as well as with Europe.

Then, too, the Russian Government speedily turned their attention to cotton-growing, developing the industry in a very satisfactory manner; while in the Merv oasis, under the guidance of a foreign expert, our countryman Scott Moncrieff, whose services were lent by the British Government, they restored the elaborate systems of canals cut from the Murghab River, and which as a means of irrigation have from time immemorial maintained the well-known fertility of this island in the desert.

On the whole I think there was little to condemn in the Russian methods of civil administration in Central Asia, when you consider the mode of thought and training and arbitrary ways of the official classes in the days of the Autocracy. True, native prejudices were at times disregarded in a harsh manner, but this would appear to be not easily avoidable in dealing with backward races, and to be justified on occasion when not carried beyond a certain point—notably in such matters as sanitation, the prevention of disease, and avoidance of infection, which concern the health and well-being of the general population. Certain it is, however, that the general

Digitized by Google

impression in my mind of Russian rule in Asia was at that time a favourable one, and I had the advantage of knowing the language and of having had much intercourse with Russians of all classes in Siberia before entering Turkestan from the north.

I gathered from the remarks of one of the speakers that in his opinion a sense of moral obligation to our late Allies should preclude our dealing with the present political position in Central Asia too strictly on its merits. While sharing to some extent the generous sentiments which lead him to take this view, I do myself feel rather strongly that in the recent war we British loyally played our part, and that we cannot be said to owe Russia anything, and that, if the latter country has come to grief, the fault does not lie with us, nor is it advisable that we should consider our hands tied or our freedom of action fettered at a time like this, when new political forces are at work making for progress and reconstruction, and for a possible regrouping of the native States in those regions of Asia.

In the lecturer we have to-day a man who should certainly command our sympathies, for our relations with Afghanistan have not always been of a happy nature, or such as we can look back upon with satisfaction. Let us hope a happier era has begun; but, as Colonel Yate, than whom no one can speak with greater authority on Afghan matters, very justly observes, the nature of our future relations with that country will depend very largely on the attitude of its ruler and Government.

We must look to the Afghans to play their part, and I doubt whether latterly we have not rather looked in vain, or whether the conciliatory attitude of the Indian Government has been properly appreciated across the border.

Talk about the Khyber Pass being opened! Why, it would be opened at once could the Ameer see his way to co-operate with the Indian authorities in curbing the lawless violence of the local tribes. Railways could span Afghanistan to-morrow if the Afghan Government would give assistance and encouragement instead of placing a veto on their construction.

The Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah has laid great stress on the fact that Afghanistan is now a sovereign State. We in this country most truly wish God-speed to Afghanistan as such, but I would remind him that to maintain the status his native land will stand in need of the assistance, both moral and material, of its powerful neighbour in India, and not less of its goodwill. If the kingdoms and khanates of Central Asia are in the future to enjoy security and prosperity, their rulers must, above all, display the true qualities of statesmanship—moderation and political sobriety. Of course, no one who was in Tashkent, Bokhara, and Merv so long ago as 1892, and acquainted with the strength of the Tsarist Government in Central Asia at that time, can be otherwise than amazed at the general *bouleversement*

Digitized by Google

that has taken place as the result of the great Bolshevik wave which has swept over the land, submerging in its course rulers, Government, peoples, and institutions.

But we have seen so many extraordinary things happen in the world of late that we must now, in a political sense, never rule out anything. None the less, it is difficult to conceive that countries and peoples so different as are Afghanistan, Bokhara, and Persia, should be able to form a federation, however loose the political and military ties connecting them might be; for the racial and religious differences which separate them are both real and acute. In any case it behoves their leaders to remember that should the element of Chauvinism, in the form of Pan-Islamic propaganda, prove to be one of the political motives in the creation of the proposed federation of States, the union would at once forfeit the sympathy and goodwill of the Christian Powers.

It seems to me that the lecturer and the administrators of those countries have much to do before they can accomplish their purpose. Meanwhile, let us accept his assurance that their aspiration is one for safety, progress, and not aggression.

Mr. SKRINE: I should like to make one or two remarks. Like Colonel Pemberton, I am one of the few people in this country who have been in Bokhara, Tashkent, and those parts. I was very kindly received by the Ameer of Bokhara, and it was very grievous news to me to hear that he had been dethroned and exiled. I cannot believe the Afghans are in Merv. It is amazing news. It is a wonderful country; I assure you I have walked round Merv knee-deep in grapes. I could have bought a coolie-load, as much as a man could carry, for a halfpenny. I cannot believe the Afghans have got in there. If they have, all I can say is that the Afghans are Bolsheviks. (Laughter.) It is the devil or the deep sea, I do not know which. One or two little things happened to me in that tour of mine. I was very much interested hearing about Kushk. Looking at the lovely slides we had—they are extraordinarily good—those slides made me feel homesick, and carried me back more than twenty years to when I roamed over those countries. You could almost shut your eyes and fancy you were back there. A funny thing happened at Kushk. I had got some Cossacks who followed me about, but I had a Persian there who was more than a match for the Cossacks. We dodged the Cossacks, and I pitched my two tents on a range of hills south of Kushk, known as the Paropamisus. Those hills are supposed to be a terrible drawback to railway construction; they are really about twice as high as Primrose Hill. Well, I got my tent there, and on the other side of the Kushk River I saw a number of tents pitched. I called to my servant to know what it was. "Oh," he said, that is a regiment of Afghan cavalry." I said, "Will you kindly give my salaams to the colonel and major, and ask them to have a cup

Digitized by Google

of tea." They rode over in the afternoon on superb horses. These were cast horses from the Ameer's stable, the only horses in Kabul marked with a crescent. They were splendid horses, proud as Jupiter. When they came up to my tent I saw, to my astonishment, on the collar of the colonel "Ticket Collector," and on the other man's collar "Guard"—in English. After salaams we sat down and began to eat, and I said, "Do you know what those words are?" They replied, "Oh no; we do not know what they mean. They are English words; I believe one means 'General,' and the other something like that." I do not know whether I ought to tell you this, but the Ameer, although a very great man, had a frugal mind; and he was in the habit of buying at auction in Peshawar the old cast-off uniforms from the State railways—uniforms previously used by the railway officers. I wish our present Government would take a leaf out of his book without going quite so far as that. (Laughter.) The Turcoman carpets are really marvellous. I cannot for the life of me understand how they are made. They are of most extraordinary, beautiful, and complicated patterns; but the last time I was in Bokhara I found them being ruined by German aniline dyes. They used to use old vegetable dyes. What puzzled me was that they have absolutely no pattern. The pattern is given out in a humming tone by an old woman who learned it from her grandmother, and the weavers work according to her verbal instructions. That is how the thing is done—a most remarkable exhibition of the power of the human memory. I will not say any more beyond expressing the great pleasure I have had in the lecture. Also I have learned a great deal from Colonel Yate and Colonel Pemberton. I thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Colonel E. V. GABRIEL: I should like to express my entire concurrence in the view of Sir Mortimer Durand,* that we should not criticize but show sympathy with the proposal of the lecturer. Our main preoccupation at the present time is to protect India, not from Russia, but from Bolshevism. (Hear, hear.) Anything that tends towards that end should command our sympathy, and this proposed federation is not necessarily a permanent union of those three States —that might cause trouble in another way; it is merely a protective federation against what we regard as a pernicious political creed that is worming its way through to India. It would be a political federation much in the same way as the Holy Alliance of Metternich in 1814, and might dissolve in the same way. There is another point that I hope Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah will have no doubts about. He

* It is much to be regretted that no report of Sir Mortimer Durand's brief but, as coming from him, weighty pronouncement on the subject of a Central Asian Federation has reached me. The opinion which I heard him deliver was opposed to that of Mr. W. E. D. Allen and in agreement with that expressed by Colonels Pemberton and Gabriel. He saw no reason why Britain should be other than benevolently passive, if Afghanistan, Persia, and the Khanates formed a confederacy intended to keep Bolshevist Russia at bay.—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

talked about the high-handedness of the British. Well, from the point of view of the Asiatic, I can quite understand what he means. I consider that the action of the British officers in Mesopotamia, which was mentioned by Colonel Yate, was certainly very high-handed. I am recently from the Near East myself, and I have seen many examples of it. I have been secretary on the North-West Frontier, and have seen many examples of it there. I talk about high-handedness from the point of view of Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah; I do not mean that it is actual high-handedness. We have all of us done our best to avoid anything of the kind on the spot; but we have received orders from people sitting in easy-chairs in London sometimes, that have led us to do what we consider on the spot high-handed action. (Hear, hear.) It has gone very much against the grain, and we sympathize entirely with the Asiatic view on that particular point. But these are matters of high policy with which we cannot interfere, and I hope he will not think that British officers on the spot have taken that attitude generally. It is too late to discuss the main question.

The CHAIRMAN: The lecturer will now sum up.

The LECTURER: Sir, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I may be permitted to elucidate one or two points which have arisen. It was not my intention to bring the Persian and the Mesopotamia questions into our present discussion. I am not sure whether, in such a Central Asian Federation, one would propose to amalgamate Persian and Mesopotamian interests with those of Bokhara and Afghanistan. Personally I do not think so. Besides, I do not believe in discussing either of these countries till I have more data in hand than I possess to-day. A friend of ours who spoke before me said something about official thraldom and high-handedness. What I stated was that all officials, whether British or Asian, should not speak to the people from a pedestal. No doubt at times an official is bound down to the traditions of his service, but I know it for a fact that whenever he is made to do something not quite correct he resents it all the time he is doing it. Further, it is my belief—which I have formed through meeting various people in this country—that a British gentleman is very difficult to beat. Some people possess rare abilities, and to my mind they are not only the Empire-makers, but Empire-sustainers; the latter of the two qualities is the more important. What I complained was that no indiscreet remarks should be made to prejudice foreign people in the East, and particularly the Afghans.

Coming to the actual question, I cannot too often emphasize the fact that this federation of Central Asia is purely a defensive measure. Sir Mortimer Durand has, as you have heard, attested to the truth. I have done my best in telling you about Bolshevism. I am not an avowed enemy of Russia, I am an avowed enemy of a bad system,

Digitized by Google

of a destructive scheme. Give it any name you like, as long as it is a bad doctrine I am an enemy to it. As it happens, Bolshevism is a bad system, and as Bolshevism is an enemy of Islam, also an enemy of peace of your Asiatic possessions, I consider it important that, if you cannot help in the federation, you should not hinder its progression. It will be a barrier to stand firm in the way of the Bolsheviks—Bolshevism, the common enemy of yours and ours.

I cannot let another point pass which, although I have discussed it in my paper, has not sufficiently been appreciated. This is a perfectly friendly discussion, and I wish to be nothing but a friend of Great Britain, but I must say that whatever obligations may have been on Amir Abdur Rahman, and whatever the status of his illustrious son, Habibullah Khan, there is no denying the fact that we cannot hear such terms used for Afghan independence as "*Afghanistan has now acquired something like an independence.*" The Afghans have complete independence. The phrase "something like an independence" is the only phrase to which I object. Beyond that I consider what Lord Curzon has said is just and right, and I certainly reckon him as an authority on Eastern matters. The present attitude of the Afghans is friendly towards you; do not do anything which may cause misunderstandings. If you can put in a good word for their cause, go out of your way and try to placate them, and bring sentiments of a lasting friendship, so that we can bring the Central Asian people together. I hope to live to see a day when a complete and sincere friendship will be cemented between the East and the West—certainly between Afghanistan and India. I hope to play my part in the furtherance of that noble task, and I am going to the East with this intention.

My friend Colonel A. C. Yate has told you rightly that I have learned a great deal of the inner life of our British gentlemen. He has praised me, and has given me credit which I do not deserve. It is the result of his own noble-mindedness. I have accomplished nothing as yet, but one thing I have acquired, that being to see the fine points of British character. People had often spoken about so-called Jingo Imperialists. Well, I have met many British gentlemen of varied ways of thinking, but I have not as yet come across one single man who may be styled as Jingo. Those people who really matter in this country have no thought of belittling the East. Mistakes have undoubtedly been made, and which human being is free from faults?

You should make a common cause with the Afghans, and when I go to the East, and you are friendly inclined, medicine would be my secondary work, but I shall devote my attention first to advocate Anglo-Afghan friendship.

I may add, ladies and gentlemen, that whatever line of policy I may adopt, I will first and foremost advocate it for the Afghans.

Digitized by Google

But as would readily be understood, no politics can be discussed, unless one sides with some really useful and disinterested friend. In Afghanistan potentialities there are in plenty, but the help of someone must be sought to build up a greater nation in Afghanistan. The comparative study of various political doctrines has strengthened my mind that by far the best friend that the Afghans can get is this country. But it is not implied that any exploitation of Afghanistan may be the price paid for its development. For my own part, I do not see any fear of that. It must be a disinterested help, and that kind can only be given by this Government. It is, therefore, for this reason that, in advocating the cause of Afghanistan, I praised Great Britain. On that account people have called me traitor to the East and a pro-British. I regard such allegations with the contempt which they deserve. I have no sympathy with the firebrand Easterner. No country has ever gained anything through the agency of bomb-throwers. Russia is a living example.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I ask you to pass a vote of thanks to the lecturer for what he has told us to-night, I would like to observe that I am sure we here are all in agreement that we wish sincerely for the independence of Afghanistan. I am sure those who have had the most to do with Afghanistan are only anxious to maintain that independence. (Applause.) Further, I would say that I think we are all in agreement with him that the spread of Bolshevism to the East is just as dangerous as the spread of Bolshevism to the West. It is a poison which is being disseminated over the whole world, and anything which will arrest the spread of this poison East and West is, I think, to be welcomed. I hope the lecturer, when he goes back to his own country, will endeavour to impress that view upon all those who have any influence in shaping the course of Afghan politics. (Hear, hear.) Remarks have been made here regarding Mesopotamia and Persia, and I can only say this, that if we ever withdrew—but I will not use the word *ever*, as that connotes the future—if we *now* withdrew from those countries we should undoubtedly see them overrun with Bolshevik ideas; and with that fact before us we know that the poison would soon spread to India, and possibly cause the ruin of the British Indian Empire. (Hear, hear.) I will now conclude by asking you to pass a vote of thanks to the lecturer for having come here to-day to inform us of the views of his own countrymen regarding the several movements that are going on in Central Asia at the present time. (Applause.)

The vote of thanks was unanimously accorded, and this ended the meeting.

Note.—As Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah left for Kabul very soon after delivering this lecture, he requested me to correct his proof. This has been done with every care.—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN UNDER THE BOLSHEVIKS.

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1, on Thursday, November 18, 1920, the principal business being to hear a lecture read by Major F. M. Bailey, C.I.E. The chair was occupied by General Sir Edmund Barrow.

The formal business of the meeting having been disposed of, the Chairman called on Major Bailey to deliver his address.

I PROPOSE to carry on the story which Sir George Macartney told the Society last year of the mission sent to Russian Turkestan in 1918, and to give a short account of events in Russian Turkestan up to the time of my escape to Persia in January last.

After the departure of Sir George Macartney and Major Blacker, the position of Mr. Tredwell, the Consul for the United States, and myself became increasingly difficult. The Bolsheviks were exasperated at our action in sending troops against them both on the Morman coast and in Transcaspia. Permission to leave the country had been refused me, and Kolisoff, the Chief Kommissar, told me that "the Government" had grave suspicions of me.

Mr. Tredwell and I, together with some other foreign subjects, had once been arrested by the Extraordinary Enquiry Commission, a gang of rascals who had power to do what they liked in cases of danger to the republic. Mr. Tredwell had been once released, and Kolisoff and Damagatsky, the Foreign Kommissar, had personally apologized to him. Some days before this the Central Government at Moscow had telegraphed ordering the arrest of all Allied officials, and their "destruction" if they could not be kept safely. To the credit of the Turkestan Government, they refused to carry out this order at once, but telegraphed to Moscow for further instructions, in the meantime keeping six clumsy spies each on Mr. Tredwell and myself. Finally, on October 20, 1918, we heard that the reply from Moscow had been received, directing our arrest, and I disappeared as arranged, and a few days later Mr. Tredwell was arrested and kept under a guard in his own house until he was sent to Moscow and on to America in March, 1919. There had been 110,000 Austrian prisoners in Russian Turkestan, but owing to the dreadful state of the camps, many of these had died of typhus, neglect, and starvation. On the outbreak of the revolution the survivors were set free, and there were about 30,000 in Turkestan at the time of our arrival.

Digitized by Google

The prisoners were mostly Magyars. It was also reported that a German staff had reached Astrakhan, and were to come across the Caspian to Turkestan for the purpose of organizing them; but our troops in Transcaspia prevented communication except by a difficult desert route, and the collapse of the Central Powers in Europe occurred at this time and no more was heard of them.

The Bolsheviks organized propaganda to persuade the prisoners to join the army, and at least 50 per cent. of the Turkestan Red army were prisoners of war. The Magyars joined in great numbers, but other nationalities for the most part refused. The Germans, of whom there were only about 1,200, retained a certain amount of discipline under Lieutenant Zimmermann, who dissuaded them from joining, but endeavoured to form a detachment under German officers, which the Bolsheviks would not allow, as it would have only been a part of the Red army nominally.

It was a comparatively simple matter to pretend to be an Austrian prisoner. The language difficulty was not serious, as the prisoners in Turkestan consisted of Germans, Poles, Magyars, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Roumanians, Italians, Alsatians, and people from Galacia who spoke Little Russian. If one met a prisoner one could always pretend to belong to one of the other nationalities; but it was best to avoid meeting other prisoners at all.

The situation of the Government at this time was very serious. They were entirely cut off on all sides by enemies, as described by Sir George Macartney.

On the west in Transcaspia, Askhabad, Merv, and the country almost up to the Oxus, was held by their enemies. On the north Dutoff was holding the Orenburg-Tashkent railway-line with his Cossacks. In Semirechia there was a large rising of Russian peasants, while in Ferghana a Mohammedan named Irgash was out with a large following of natives and a few Russians. The Soviet army also lacked discipline at this time. The troops at the front would hold a meeting and decide whether they would attack the enemy. After much speechifying it might be decided to advance, when someone would point out that it was impossible owing to lack of water or supplies. They would then wait while supplies were brought up, when a fresh meeting would be held, which as like as not would decide not to attack, and the army would sit doing nothing for several days. When it became evident that war could not be carried on on these lines a very strict discipline was introduced, and the poor Soviet soldier found himself much worse off than when in the Russian Imperial army.

Had these different parties acted in concert, there is no doubt that, as far as Turkestan was concerned, Bolshevism would have come to an end, and the people of all nationalities would have been

Digitized by Google

freed from the most tyrannical oppression. Further, an anti-Bolshevik army would have been formed, which would have advanced along the Orenburg railway, and Kolchak would have found allies on his left flank instead of enemies, and would have been able to draw supplies from Turkestan, and the whole future of Russia might have been altered.

The Bolsheviks in Turkestan formed a very small minority of the whole population. Except for a few adventurers, none of the Mohammedans, who form about 95 per cent. of the population, were Bolshevik, though some of the lower classes were driven by hunger to join the Red army. Bolshevism is directly opposed to the Moslem religion, and it should be noted that the anti-clericalism of the Bolsheviks was as much directed against the Mohammedan clergy as against the Christian, though anti-Christian action was more open. A friend of mine who was in the service of the Bolsheviks wished to get married, but this could not be done in church without getting him into trouble with his employers, and the lady would not be satisfied with the civil marriage which had been instituted by the Government. One great advantage of the Bolshevik marriage was that it entitled the pair to a permit to purchase four bottles of wine to celebrate the event, and people who had been properly married for years would go through a Bolshevik marriage, which only cost seven roubles, for the sake of the liquor. Marriage was accomplished by signing a document in the presence of a notary, and divorce by cancelling the agreement in the same way.

On my disappearance the Bolsheviks at first thought I had been murdered by German agents, or that I had met with an accident. Actually I had left the town and attempted to reach Kashgar via Ferghana, but found this impossible, and I was obliged to remain hidden for some time outside the town.

Our only source of information about the outside world and the war was the Bolshevik Press. This contained telegrams collected by the Moscow wireless and passed on by wireless to Tashkent. According to these messages every country was on the verge of revolution, and strikes and conflicts between the "workers" and the police were reported from all over Europe.

In the summer of 1919 great hopes were centred on strikes which were to take place in Great Britain and France to force the Governments to make peace with and recognize the Russian Soviet Governments. When the strikes failed to materialize and the leaders said things disapproving of the Russian Soviet system, the papers were filled with diatribes against the Western proletariat who had "betrayed" them. There was usually a paragraph in a corner of the newspaper headed "Imperialists' War," from which we gathered that things were going all right for us on the Western front. Then one

Digitized by Google

day news appeared of the Armistice, and the German and Austrian prisoners at once formed *Soviets*, who took charge of the prisoners' organizations, including the Red Cross and its funds. Later the prisoners formed a Communist party, which the German officers did their best to prevent German prisoners from joining.

In January I was returning to Tashkent when an anti-Bolshevik rebellion broke out in the town. A word of explanation may be given of this clumsy expression "anti-Bolshevik." The Bolsheviks called all their enemies "counter-revolutionaries," and one got into the habit of using this word in conversation. I came across very few Monarchists, and the bulk of the people of education were in favour of some constitutional government and opposed to the former autocratic Tsarist régime almost as much as to the present Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Many of these had been labelled as revolutionaries under the Monarchy, and were mortally offended at being called "counter-revolutionaries."

The leader of the outbreak in January, 1919, was a young man called Ossipoff, who had been War Kommissar, and had in October been a violent Bolshevik, and had personally prevented a courier of mine from going to Kashgar, although the Foreign Kommissar had promised me the permission. He was, like so many Bolshevik Kommissars, an adventurer and opportunist. This man treacherously telephoned to the Government headquarters saying that trouble had broken out, and asking the Kommissars to come immediately to confer. Eight of them came, and were at once shot by Ossipoff and his men. The key to Tashkent is the fort, which is situated between the old Mohammedan and new Russian towns. This was held by Magyars, and the White Guards never took it, though for one day they had command of the Russian town. The railway workmen were well organized and formed a compact political body who were opposed to the Bolsheviks. They had had a leading part in this rebellion, but eventually turned to the side of the Bolsheviks, and of their two leaders one was later tried and shot and the other went mad. There are several stories to account for the failure of their attempt to finish Bolshevism in Turkestan. One is that Kolasaieff, the commander of a regiment who had turned against the Bolsheviks, entered Ossipoff's headquarters and greeted him as "Comrade." Ossipoff, who was drunk, said that they were no longer "Comrades," and he would trouble him to be more respectful when talking to his leader. On this Kolasaieff went out and turned all his men against Ossipoff. The latter then collected what men he could and retired to the mountains to the north, but many parties of his men who were patrolling the streets were never warned of his retirement and were caught and shot. The Bolsheviks exacted dreadful vengeance for this attempt, which they attributed to the bourgeoisie. Every house

Digitized by Google

was searched, and all officers and *most* men of the upper and middle classes were taken out and shot in circumstances of great brutality. The men were stripped naked, as their clothes were wanted by the Bolsheviks, and they were kept waiting in intense cold until their turn came to be shot. Exclusive of the few killed in street fights, about 4,000 men were executed at this time in a few days. Their trial consisted in some Red soldiers saying that they had carried arms in the street, when a "Judge," without listening to any defence, ordered the execution. Some of those executed were quite innocent. Had the whole of the intelligent classes taken part in the affair, the rebellion would probably have been successful; as it was, the whole of this class suffered. Among the victims was M. Kleberg, head of the Sweden Red Cross Mission, who had nothing whatever to do with the rebellion, but no word of defence was permitted, and probably he was not even allowed to say who he was. A great number of schoolboys of fifteen and upwards were shot, and I knew one boy of fourteen who was arrested but spared on account of his youth. It is difficult here to realize this awful tragedy of Tashkent, a town of about 90,000 Russian inhabitants. Whole streets of the better class districts had every man executed. One man, Tolkachoff, boasted that at this time he shot 758 men with his own hand, and later he shot others, and was even allowed a ration of wine, as he said it helped him in this work! Several women who had fed the White Guards on this occasion were also shot.

It is fair to say that, apart from these executions, which were carried out in the most inhuman manner, I heard of no cases of wanton torture inflicted by the Bolsheviks, such as have been related from other parts of Russia.

At this time a small British force was in occupation of Merv and the country to the east, and the population of Turkestan was daily expecting and hoping for news of an advance to deliver them from the unsupportable Bolshevik tyranny. After the suppression of the January rebellion there were no elements left capable of being organized against the Bolsheviks, and the only hope of the people was the advance of our troops. I myself was so confident of their advance that I did not think it worth while to take the great risk of leaving the town. For some time after the January events the roads were very carefully watched for escaping anti-Bolsheviks, and the danger of being caught was far greater than in December.

I was not myself in Tashkent during this rebellion. I was actually driving into the town the day it broke out, and was turned back by the news when I had only ten versts more to go, and was obliged to hide in a village until the town quieted down and I was able to enter. Here I lived with peasants in the guise of an Austrian soldier, and had a good opportunity of seeing the results of giving political

Digitized by Google

power too suddenly into the hands of people who neither understood it nor wanted it. The village I was in was divided politically into two halves; one end believed themselves to be Bolshevik, and the other Left Social Revolutionary, though no single man knew anything about differences between these parties. Rumours of the coming rebellion in Tashkent reached the village, and the L.S.R.'s decided to murder the Bolsheviks, who were in a minority; so off they started, full of drink. The Bolshevik portion of the village fled and hid some miles off, and the L.S.R.'s returned home. They then received news that there were no longer such things as L.S.R.'s and Bolsheviks, but that they were united in one party called Communists, and were opposed by the White Guard, who were striving to replace the "old régime." On this the two parties kissed in the streets and went off against Ossipoff.

The Russian peasants were only Bolshevik when Bolshevism consisted in getting rid of a landlord. As soon as this was done, they became landowners themselves, and were consequently classed as bourgeoisie, especially if they employed any labour on their land.

Up to March, 1919, the Soviet Government of Turkestan was cut off from direct communication with Moscow except by wireless, as Dutoff's Cossacks were lying across the Orenburg-Tashkent railway, and an anti-Bolshevik force held the Transcaspian line at Merv and Askabad. In March, however, Dutoff retired, and through railway communication was established for a short time. The Bolshevik leaders in Turkestan included no men of education. The Chief Kommissar had been an oiler on the railway, and most of the other Kommissars were men of this sort. The result was that chaos was worse even than at Moscow and other parts of Russia, where the leaders were fanatical but educated idealists. The Moscow leaders were alarmed at the news from Turkestan, where the Russian population was only 5 per cent., and of this small minority a very small proportion were genuine Bolsheviks. They therefore took the opportunity of the opening of the railway to send some more intelligent men to Tashkent. With them appeared some Indian revolutionaries who had been in Berlin during the war. Prominent among them was one Barkatullah, who had been Foreign Secretary of the Provisional Government of India, Mohendra Pratab, whom later I met in New Bokhara, being president. This "Provisional Government" had been formed in Berlin with the object of administering India after we had been driven out. Barkatullah, when in Turkestan, masqueraded as a German subject, and called himself German Envoy to Afghanistan. With him was associated a notorious agitator, Mohammad Kazim Beg, a Turk, who styled himself Turkish Envoy to Afghanistan. These men conducted a violent Anglophobe propaganda, chiefly directed against the Administration of India. The papers were filled

Digitized by Google

with lurid accounts of the events in the Punjab in the spring of 1919, of which we have heard so much lately. Their accounts of India would surprise anyone who had had personal acquaintance with our system of administration: "Thousands are hanged for expressing love of their country." "In the gaols they perish of disease." "Trials are conducted in English, a language which the people do not understand." "Parts of India remain uncultivated, as the yield is insufficient to cover the exorbitant taxation, and the famine-stricken people are enticed into the army and forced to destroy their brothers, with the result that many battalions have mutinied." "Factories are not allowed to be established." "Education is not allowed." "Men are forced to work for twelve hours a day in the hot weather on a wage of 3d. to 6d. a day, and often, under a system of forced labour, for nothing at all." "They are sent to British Colonies against their will." "An army, known by the natives as the Army of Murderers, had been raised from the frontier tribes, mostly Afghans, to subdue the people"—this last a curious confession while the Bolsheviks were considering an alliance with Afghanistan, and had an Afghan Mission in the town. "India was forced to pay vast sums for the war," etc. A good deal of abuse was also directed against the United States.

It was also stated that we had not taken our fair share of fighting in the war, but had egged on the French, Belgians, and others, and especially had employed Indians. The total British casualties had been only 50,000, while the Indian casualties were much higher.

The arrival of the politicians from Moscow had the effect of steadying the Administration to some extent. Executions without trial became less frequent, and when Tolkatchoff amused himself by shooting three men whom he found in gaol the new Government was somewhat annoyed. At the same time, the pursuit of their enemies among the population was more vigorous, and carried on with more intelligence.

Notices were posted in the streets asking people to report the evil doings of the bourgeoisie, speculators, sabotagists, and hooligans. "One word, a small fact, will often give a clue to the discovery of a conspiracy. If desired, these communications will be kept secret." This sort of thing did not make life pleasant.

The Turkestan republic had always shown itself disinclined to obey implicitly the orders received from Moscow, and these new men tried to bring the Government into line with the desires of the Central Government in Moscow, which led to a good deal of friction. One point which Moscow insisted on was that the native population should receive the same treatment, and be given a voice in proportion to their numbers—*i.e.*, 95 per cent. This would have meant the end of Bolshevism at once, as the native Mohammedans, except for a few

Digitized by Google

adventurers, were directly opposed to Lenin's Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

In the spring of 1919, at the commencement of the Afghan war, a Mission appeared from Afghanistan under command of General Mohammad Wali Khan. He stated that he had come to get the sanction of the Peace Conference to the declaration of independence by Afghanistan. He was accompanied by some Indian revolutionaries, with one of whom I had a talk through an interpreter. He thought I was an Austrian officer.

The Mission was unable to reach the Peace Conference, as the Orenburg railway was again cut by Kolchak's men, and the Transcaspian line still held by anti-Bolsheviks. When the railway to Orenburg was eventually opened, they went to Moscow. The Afghans asked the Bolsheviks for assistance in their war against us, but none could be given. This led to a local sensation when the Opposition asked publicly why assistance had not been given, and the Government replied that they were not sure against whom the arms asked for would be used. This was considered a reflection on the honesty of the Afghans and the Opposition made much political capital out of it, and an Afghan wrote to the papers to say that the British had offered them money and arms if they would fight the Bolsheviks; but the Afghans had rejected the offer, and held out the hand of friendship to the workmen and peasants of Soviet Russia.

The news of the Afghan war as reported in the Tashkent Press showed nothing but Afghan victories, including the capture of Peshawar. Some surprise was therefore caused by a wireless message from Europe saying that peace had been concluded and British troops had evacuated Afghanistan. The Government asked the Afghan Consul, who had been installed on the departure of the Mission for Moscow, to explain the evacuation of Afghanistan by the British, when the only news received had been the capture of Indian territory by Afghans. The Consul published a shameless statement in which he said that the peace was merely to enable the Afghans to harvest their crops, regroup their armies, and consolidate their hold on British territory captured.

An interesting interview with the head of the Mission was published in the Press. The Afghan General stated that the Rowlatt Bill forbade Mohammedans to pray in their mosques and Hindus in their temples. The people of India appealed to Afghanistan through their newspapers for help against this inhuman law. The Afghans, owing to disturbances near their frontier, then moved some soldiers to strengthen their frontier posts. These were attacked without warning by our troops.

The Bolsheviks openly aim at world revolution; the way to accomplish this is to encourage revolutionary elements in other

Digitized by Google

countries. They openly stated that their policy with regard to Bokhara and Khiva was to support the revolutionary movements of the "Young Khiva" and "Young Bokhara" parties and to organize there "revolutionary colonies." They should not strive for a revolution by force, but await the moment when the revolution will come naturally as a result of this encouragement. The Afghan Government, while welcoming Soviet Ambassadors, made them promise not to indulge in any propaganda.

The economic situation of the republic was desperate. They had no machinery for collecting taxes, and they financed themselves by printing paper money and by levying contributions from people who were known to be wealthy. A representative of the Special Department would call and quietly inform you that your contribution was 50,000 roubles, or some such amount. If the unhappy bourgeois refused to pay he was taken to gaol. Here on one occasion three of them were shot, after which threats were usually sufficient to produce the money. One trick they played was to take the men out of the gaol one by one and say they would shoot them if they did not pay. The man would be walked round the corner and a shot fired, and the Red Guards come round for their next victim, who, thinking his predecessor had been shot, usually promised to find the money somehow; but as far as I know only three men were killed for this reason. Many people actually had not the money. Their money may have been tied up in shares, and of course all such money had long ago been nationalized. People were obliged to sell jewellery and even furniture to meet these demands for contributions.

At first insurances up to a very small amount were allowed to stand, though, of course, the funds of the companies were taken over. Later all insurances were repudiated. All houses and property even of a very small rental were nationalized. Great numbers of houses were required for public offices, which increased enormously with the Soviet régime. Members of the Quartering Commission would appear and inform the resident that his house was required, and he would be told to leave next morning, or at best he would be given a few days to make other arrangements. Later the furniture was also nationalized with the house. In the uncertainty people had been selling their furniture to natives (who had opportunities of hiding it in the old city) for a fraction of its value in order to save something, but eventually this was forbidden by law. On being turned out of one's house, one was obliged to search for quarters, and then to go to the Quartering Commission and wait hours in a queue for a written permission to live there. Then one might find oneself living with rude Bolshevik soldiers or other unpleasant companions. The best thing to do was for several upper-class families voluntarily to vacate their houses and take rooms together. Thus you lived

Digitized by Google

with decent people, and provided you packed so many people into the house that it could hold no more you were not likely to be disturbed, but if there appeared room the Quartering Commission would put in someone else.

Turkestan is a great country for fruit. This is sold in kiosks in the streets of Tashkent and other towns. Naturally, owing to the increasing depreciation of the local currency, prices rose. This was put down to speculation. The Government then fixed prices for all fruit, and imposed penalties for selling or buying above the fixed rate; but they did not realize how interdependent commodities are, and the immediate result of this order was that no fruit appeared at all, and a fresh hardship was inflicted on the population. At this time I was stopping at a village some fifty miles from Tashkent, and here fruit could be bought for next to nothing, and cattle were being fed on the choicest melons. I found that owing to the high price of fodder, cartage was so expensive that it did not pay to carry fruit in and sell at the prices fixed, and the people of Tashkent were deprived of very valuable food. Very fine strawberries were on sale for a few days in Tashkent, but suddenly an order was issued nationalizing them for the benefit of the Red troops, after which none could be obtained. The fruit-trees in the private gardens even were nationalized, and in the spring lists were made and the occupiers told that when the fruit ripened they were not to eat it as it belonged to the State. All such property as motor-cars, horses and carriages was of course taken, and as many pianos as were required were taken (naturally the best) for the Conservatory of Music. Private teaching of music and foreign languages, by means of which some of the 30,000 German and Austrian prisoners managed to pick up a living, was discouraged. The teacher was labelled a "speculator" and the employer as a "bourgeois."

No private house was safe from requisitions. A party of soldiers or militia would arrive and say that your carpets were required to decorate the theatre in honour of the Afghan Mission or for some other reason. None of these things were, of course, ever returned. The Museum contained articles of all sorts requisitioned from private houses, and even shamelessly labelled as such. Although in the beginning these requisition or other oppressive measures were carried out by the genuine workpeople against the better classes, later the power got into the hands of more fanatical Bolsheviks and of the scum of the country, and workpeople who had been all in favour of the earlier pleasures and delighted in robbing those who were better off than themselves found themselves classed as bourgeoisie and robbed in their turn, until the whole country was and is groaning under a ruthless oppression.

The Grand Duke Nicholas (not the famous soldier, but an uncle

Digitized by Google

of the late Tsar) had lived for many years in Tashkent, but died during the war. His palace was nationalized and turned into a museum open to the public, and his widow was left there as caretaker.

Before Bolshevism came to upset the economic life of Turkestan the chief crop grown was cotton. The farming of this was so profitable that corn was not grown in sufficient quantities to feed the inhabitants, and had to be imported. The disturbed state of the country has put a stop to all this, and corn was grown. The nationalization of land has now almost stopped this. No farmer was going to sow a crop which would be taken from him without payment, and in 1919 each farmer sowed sufficient for himself, his family, and a few friends. The position became so acute that the Government had to renounce the scheme of land nationalization and do their best to induce farmers to sow. One result of the isolation of Turkestan was that they were deprived of oil, which was the fuel chiefly employed on their railways and factories. A little coal and oil is obtained from Ferghana, but the chief fuel had to be *saxaul* wood (*Anabasis ammo dendron*), a bush which grows in the deserts. This even became difficult to obtain owing to lack of transport facilities, as that near the railways was cut. At one time they burnt quantities of dried fish caught in the Aral Sea.

The population of the towns were put on ration tickets. This entitled you to stand in a queue for hours, and then buy half or sometimes only a quarter of a pound of bread at a cheap rate. Occasionally meat or salt fish was given or cotton oil for cooking, "tea" made of dried apples, and perhaps monthly a piece of calico (nationalized from some merchant or private house), a box of matches, or whatever it was. Before the revolution cotton oil was not used for cooking even by the poorest, but now you are lucky if you get any. It is also used for burning; the usual light in a house in Tashkent is a saucer of cotton oil with some twisted bits of cotton-wool as wicks burning round the edge. The streets were quite dark, and trams ran only to take members of the vast beaurocracy to their business and back, and the public were not allowed to use them. Some houses still had electric light, but these favoured buildings were nationalized and the people turned out.

The Bolsheviks are attempting to force their form of government on the Mohammedan population, who desire none of it. The large Mussulman urban population, mostly traders, suffer from the unrest and dislocation of trade.

In the country each Mohammedan village has nominally an executive committee ("Ispolkom"), but the election for this among the natives is purely fictional, as the people do not understand and do not wish to be bothered with an election. The

Digitized by Google

actual fact is that the "Aksakal," or village headman, is made to call himself "Comrade the President of the Executive Committee," and some house in the village bears a notice-board "Headquarters of the Executive Committee," but there is, of course, no executive committee, and life is carried on much as before. The chief effect of the Bolshevik revolution on the native rural population is that everything is more expensive, and they are liable to be robbed by Red Guards or have their property confiscated. They pay no taxes, as the Government has no means of collecting any.

As their chief source of income was the printing press, the financial situation of the republic was appalling. Part of their system of equality was that all salaries should be equal. The monthly wage was 800 roubles paid in local Turkestan paper money, which was not backed by anything, and in which no one had any confidence; the result was that in this currency prices went bounding up until 800 roubles was insufficient. The Government then simply raised the salaries and printed more paper of higher value.

This system is still going on. In April of this year the ordinary salary was 2,000 roubles a month, while specialists were allowed more. This granting of extra pay to specialists is a distinct renunciation of the principle of equality.

When I left the country the Soviet money was worth one-tenth of a similar face value of the Nikolai or Imperial paper money. Gold and silver and even copper money were unknown. Small change was given in postage-stamps specially printed for the purpose on thick paper. A pound of tea cost 1,200 roubles, 2½ yards of cheap calico 300 roubles, a box of matches 30 roubles. The purchasing power of the one-kopek note can be imagined when it required 3,000 to buy one box of matches. This year I hear the price of a box of matches is 800 roubles—*i.e.*, 80,000 one-kopek notes!

One result of the uncontrolled employment of this useless paper was that gradually the notes of smaller value dropped out of circulation and notes of higher value had to be printed. In January, 1919, the highest denomination was a note of 100 roubles. Then notes of 250 were made, followed later by 500 and 1,000, and now I hear that a million-rouble note has been issued. There can be no end to this system except the exhaustion of paper and ink.

All this time I was living in Tashkent in the guise of an Austrian officer. Most of the Austrian prisoners had by this time discarded their uniform, which was worn out, and wore Russian dress. I had several narrow escapes of being caught, and had to change my name and get fresh papers several times. One couple with whom I lived really believed I was an Austrian, and kept bringing me tit-bits of information that they thought I should like to know, and asking me stupid questions about my country, and I had to simulate interest.

Digitized by Google

The 1st of May was a great day. The streets were hung with red (frequently old newspapers, which were for some time printed on red paper, as there was a shortage of other colours). Large crowds marched in procession carrying banners printed with the different trade union badges and the usual Bolshevik war-cries: "Long live the world revolution," "Down with the bourgeoisie," etc. All the school-children were also turned out in procession, carrying small red flags in their hands and frequently wearing a wreath. One little girl, seeing I had no red badge, presented me with a bunch of poppies, which I wore. These processions gathered at the cross-roads outside the "Dom Sovieta," or Liberty Hall, where speeches were delivered and revolutionary songs sung, while an aeroplane circled overhead. The Bolsheviks organized these demonstrations very well. Men in different parts of the crowd would hand out the words of the "International" (or whatever the song was) and lead the singing, and the people near would join in until the whole crowd would be singing. It was a very simple matter to make a speech at demonstrations of this kind. The crowds usually could not hear a word of what the orator was saying, but suddenly he would bellow out "Long live Red Russia," or "World Revolution," or "Red Army," or any such cry, or "Down with the Imperialists," or "exploiters," or "bourgeoisie." On this the band, which was always handy, played a few bars of the "International," and all the crowds clapped and cheered. Very few troops showed up on these occasions, as they were mostly away on the different fronts.

In July about 4,000 men in first-class British uniform, with a few in Chinese dress, arrived in Tashkent. At first these were announced as prisoners captured from Kolchak's army in a great victory, but later they were welcomed as deserters, and took part in processions and demonstrations. The papers were full of jests about these men—"Tommy from Tomsk," etc.

The names of the streets and parks of the town were changed to perpetuate the memory of their leaders. The principal street in Tashkent had been called the Kauffmannskaya, after the Russian General who captured Tashkent. This was changed to Karl Marxkaya. There was also an Engelsky Prospekt, which had been the Moscowskaya, but very few even among the most rabid Bolsheviks could accustom themselves to these new names. They even changed the name of Askhabad to Poltaratsky, a Kommissar who had been shot.

In the centre of Tashkent was a group of statuary representing General Kauffmann with a soldier planting a flag and another sounding a trumpet. This the Bolsheviks removed wholesale, and were about to replace it by a workman carrying a red flag. The only sculptor in the place, an Austrian prisoner, refused to undertake the

Digitized by Google

job unless they refrained from painting the flag red. Apparently the Bolsheviks could not come to terms with him on this subject, and eventually a bust of Lenin was put up; but as it was only made of mud, it dissolved with the first shower of rain. On special occasions this empty pedestal was decorated with photos of Karl Marx and of the Kommissars who had been shot by Ossipoff's men in January, 1919.

The streets of Tashkent are broad, with trees down both sides, frequently in double rows. These are poplars, mulberries, and acacias. The scent of the acacia-blossoms on a spring morning was really wonderful. Last winter about half of these trees were cut down for fuel, utterly ruining the appearance of the town. Each householder was given a tree standing in the street as a fuel ration for the winter, and was obliged to make his own arrangements for felling and chopping it. A man possessed of an axe or saw could make a small fortune (in paper money) by lending it, and poor people who had no means of felling their tree and could not afford to employ labour must have been very badly off.

The Bolsheviks were very keen on education and what they called "kultur." The streets were placarded with advertisements such as "Get yourself educated," "Culture will be the saving of our revolution," etc.

The school lessons always commenced with the singing of a revolutionary hymn. The children were taught Communism and Bolshevism, and from the age of about twelve and upwards were encouraged to form Soviets who were able to dismiss and appoint their teachers. Sometimes a notice would be posted saying that certain classes had, by a general meeting, resolved on a strike from a given date and hour.

The Government did their best to force everyone to work. A man with a little capital saved from pre-Bolshevik days could live on this cheaply, as the exchange was favourable to him. A 100 rouble Imperial note could be exchanged for 1,000 Bolshevik notes, and would keep him for a month as comfortably as it was possible under the circumstances. Consequently many of them were living in this way. The Bolsheviks wished to catch these people, so one night surrounded the square in the centre of the town, the public park, which had been turned into a private park for members of trade unions only, and raided every cinema, theatre, and place of entertainment. Every single person was then asked for their certificate of employment, one of the papers it is necessary to possess under a Soviet régime. Those who were not actually carrying them with them were all taken off to the various lock-ups and kept until the certificate was produced. I myself was going home about nine that night, when I came suddenly on a crowd of several hundreds,

Digitized by Google

surrounded with soldiers, who were being hustled into a police-station, and I myself was fearful of hearing the cry " Stoi, Tovarish " (Stand, Comrade), which is the prelude to a street arrest. All those who could not prove that they were working were sent up by train the next day and forced to cut fuel for the railway at a small station some hundreds of miles up the Orenburg line.

About October I managed to get engaged in a branch of the Bolshevik secret service. The Bolsheviks had always suspected that there were British officers in Bokhara organizing the army with a view to an attack on them. They sent spies in to find out, but of these very few returned, and those that did brought wild stories.

I was supposed to have been two years in America, where I had learnt English, and volunteered for this (to a Bolshevik) dangerous job. I had to have an interview with the head of my department, a very violent Bolshevik, which went off all right, and, furnished with the best of secret documents, a Serbian (who had got me the appointment), his wife, and I, left Tashkent by train. There were, of course, no passenger coaches, and we were crowded in goods vans, with many passengers sitting on the roofs of the carriages. On reaching Chernaievo our van was cut off owing to a hot axle, and we were told we could go no farther, but must wait for the next train from Tashkent, which would come in two or three days; and, as every train was invariably filled up to the roof before leaving Tashkent, the prospect seemed gloomy. A secret interview with the station-master, however, resulted in places being made for men going on dangerous secret service for the Soviet Republic, and we proceeded. I had a few hours in Samarkand, and spent them in visiting the ruins of the fourteenth-century buildings of Tamerlane's capital, and took some photographs.

From Samarkand we continued our journey to Bokhara by train. Bokhara city is about ten miles from the railway, and at the time of my visit Bokhara was nominally neutral; but naturally, as the Emir feared for his crown, he was not in sympathy with the Bolsheviks. I drove into Bokhara city, very glad to be out of Soviet territory. Here I remained two months. We left Bokhara, a party of about eighteen, including some guides, and travelled over the desert, crossing the Oxus at Burdalik and the Khushk-Merv railway-line and Murghab River near Sari-Yazi. From here we had another stretch of desert to the Sarakhs or Tejent River and the Persian frontier. Here we had the misfortune to be intercepted by a Bolshevik patrol; but in the skirmish which ensued we got off free, save the loss of a little kit which fell from one of the ponies, and we wounded two of our adversaries. We crossed the frontier at the village of Naurozabad, all of us thoroughly glad to be free from the tyranny of Soviet Russia. The villagers turned out armed to the

Digitized by Google

teeth when they heard the firing. There was at one time a danger that they would fire on us, but this was averted, and I was well received and treated very well by the inhabitants. Not so my Russian companions. The Russians are cordially disliked in North Persia, and a great deal of this hatred is due to their having shelled the Holy Mosque of Imam Reza in Meshed in 1913.

During the whole of the journey to Meshed I had difficulty in getting accommodation and food for my Russian companions; though for myself and the non-Russian members of the party the Persians were most anxious to do anything they could. We rested a day in Naurozabad, and the next morning, with a small escort of Persian cavalry, we travelled in a snowstorm to Serakhs, where we remained two days as guests of the Governor, who helped us on our way to Meshed, which we reached four days later, on January 14, this year.

The CHAIRMAN: The lecture is not one that leads to much discussion, because I do not suppose that anyone here except Miss Houston has had any experience of those countries under Bolshevik rule; but if anyone would like to make any remarks I am sure we should all be very glad. Of course, we should all be very glad if Miss Houston would speak. (Applause.)

Miss HOUSTON: Ladies and Gentlemen, Major Bailey has told you all about this. I was in Turkestan seven years, and came home in August. I came out from Tashkent a different way from Major Bailey; I came down to Askhabad by train. Before I left Turkestan I was requisitioned by the Bolsheviks to teach in a military school there, also in an Oriental school to teach English, as the Bolshevik officers have two hours English every day. That is compulsory in the military schools, and, as I was the only Briton, they requisitioned me to give the lessons. The time came when I felt I must get out of Turkestan, but did not know how. I went to the Commissar of Education, and said I had heard that in Askhabad they wanted teachers in the schools—I said two or three things that were not exactly accurate, I suppose (laughter)—and got the necessary permission. Then I had to go to the secret police and get permission to travel down on the troop train. They gave me permission to travel on this train, and I was very pleased at having got so far all right. But then I heard from one of their spies—or not exactly a spy, but a man who knows everything going on—that they had found out what my little game was, and intended to let me get as far as Samarcand and arrest me there. Now I was between the devil and the deep sea, and did not know what to do; for I could not back out, having asked for a transfer to Askhabad. Fortunately, a Russian engineer that I knew on the Central Asian line came in and promised to take me down to Askhabad on a special train which

Digitized by Google

was taking some Bolshevik engineers down to Askhabad. He did. I left Tashkent on the Thursday night, and got into Askhabad on the following Sunday morning. I stayed there until the following Saturday, because I did not know exactly how I was to get from there up to the frontier. I got into touch with the Persians, who rather did me over the money part; for I had to pay 240,000 roubles to take me up to the frontier—that is, about 60 toumans, or £12 in English money. I started out about eight o'clock in the evening from Askhabad with one horse; it was a very bad night. The first night I spent in the rain; the second night I spent in some smugglers' caves, the third night I got into Djirestan, on the North-East Persian frontier, not having had any food since Saturday. Eventually I got up to Meshed, where Colonel Grey entertained me very hospitably. I came home from there, via Quetta-Bombay. (Applause.)

Colonel GREY: Ladies and gentlemen, I do not know that I have very much to say, as I never happened to cross the frontier into Transcaspia and Turkestan. I was not at Meshed when Major Bailey arrived, but can testify to the pleasure with which he was received, and the great relief it was to know that he had reached a place of safety. During the summer of 1919 we used, from time to time, to hear from refugees some account of his doings; and I remember one story which, perhaps, will be of interest, because in his lecture, to which we have listened with so much pleasure, he has made very little reference to the intrepidity and courage which he had to show every day of his life while in a position of such extreme danger. An advocate from Tashkent came down to Meshed in search of a missing brother. He called on me, and asked, "Have you many people like Colonel Bailey?" I said I did not know; why was the question asked? He said: "Because he is never happy unless he is in a position of extreme danger. The more acute the danger is, the more hugely delighted he seems to be." I suppose this love of perilous adventure, and the desire to gain information and serve the Government even at the risk of one's life, has helped to make the British nation what it is, and to give us the capability to deal as we do with Oriental races, helping them in their pursuit of the fulfilment of national aspirations. With regard to Miss Houston, I was able to receive her, and right glad we were to see her also, as we knew the position in which she had been. I believe she rendered great assistance to Major Bailey at Tashkent, at great risk to herself, and I think we might put that on record, as it is universally believed to be the case.

The LECTURER: Absolutely true! I do not think I could have got out without the help of Miss Houston. Many times she did things at great risk to herself, getting me quarters and various things I wanted.

Digitized by Google

Colonel GREY: What surprised us so much about Miss Houston was her extreme cheerfulness. She was much more like a person who had been spending a visit with intimate friends than one who had been in such a precarious position. She belongs to what was called, ages ago, the weaker sex. Heaven forbid that anyone should use that expression now! I think what we have heard and know about her courage in helping Major Bailey at the risk of her own life will suggest to us that there has never been a weaker sex; or, if there has been, it is certainly not that of which Miss Houston is so courageous and distinguished a representative. (Applause.)

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: Ladies and gentlemen, perhaps I ought to apologize for addressing a society of which I have not the honour of being a member, though I hope soon to be. My reason is that twenty-four years ago I paid a short visit to Turkestan, and that some of the incidents which Major Bailey has so graphically described reacted on the situation in the Punjab in the spring of 1919, when I was in charge of the administration. At the time I went to Turkestan, twenty-four years ago, the position was very different from what it is now. Major Bailey and Miss Houston had no difficulty in getting there, but considerable difficulty in getting out. I had the greatest difficulty in getting in, but no great difficulty in getting out. I travelled from Russia and had a permit from the Governor of Turkestan; but on the way thither I had to pass through the province of Transcaspia, which was in charge of General Kuropatkin, then very anti-English. At Askhabad I was stopped by a political official—a sort of glorified C.I.D. man. I showed my telegram from the Governor-General in Tashkent; but he said: "We don't recognize that here." I said: "I can only get to Tashkent by going through Transcaspia; if I am authorized by so big a man as the Governor-General of Tashkent, won't that do?" He replied, "No," and I was asked to leave the train while he communicated with Petrograd. That might have meant waiting for a week or two. I asked him to step into the train and talk about it; I knew the way to the heart of a Russian is generally through food and drink, and Major Bailey has shown us the large part wine plays even now under the Bolshevik régime. We went into the restaurant car and began to discuss the situation over a cup of tea. He was a decent fellow, of an artistic temperament, and I told him wonderful things about the opera in Moscow and elsewhere. We got on well together. I asked him to dine with me, and he consented. Meantime we were speeding on through his territory and getting towards the Oxus; if I could get there by midnight I should be in Turkestan and out of this man's territory, and be free. We sat down to dinner. I selected a very strong Caucasian wine. I asked two or three people, including a Russian missionary, to join us, and we did full justice to the

Digitized by Google

Caucasian wine. I drank as little as I could, but had to keep the others company. We went on merrily until ten o'clock. I had two other friends with me, both Britons; just at the critical moment, when this man was mellowing under the influence of the wine, these two got up and said they must go to bed—and they went. Our guest's suspicions were aroused. "What are your friends doing?" he asked. I said: "They will be back presently." I apologized for their absence, and with some difficulty kept things going until midnight. When we reached the Oxus my friend staggered out, said he had enjoyed himself immensely, gave me a parting kiss of peace, and sped me on my way, hoping to see me on my return. (Laughter.) In Tashkent I spent some days. I found the Russian officials civil and courteous, and they gave me the run of the place because I was only interested in the civil administration. I wanted to see how their administration compared with ours in India, and, on the whole, it was not unfavourable; but the most striking difference from India was that the whole personnel was Russian, and native agency was scarcely employed at all. It was a rough-and-ready system, but fairly efficient. The Russians enforced criminal justice as a matter of law and order, but as to civil justice they said: "We don't touch it; there is so much perjury and injustice that we prefer the odium should fall on the people themselves. We allow civil justice to be enforced either through religious courts or such other agency as they prefer." In those days Russian rule had been going on for fifteen or twenty years, and had already left its mark. They had good roads and had planted fine avenues of trees. Law and order was very well preserved, but very little had been done to extend irrigation. There was a certain amount of education and a pretence of racial equality. The Russian—as you will have gathered from Major Bailey's remarks—in Turkestan is a colonizer. There are Russian villages side by side with Turcoman villages. You find the Russian droshky or jarvey working side by side with the Turcoman, or Uzbeg, or Sart in the towns. The two races are very much closer together than the French and Algerians or the British and natives of India. Apart from religion, the line of demarcation is slight, and they get on well together. Trade and agriculture were prospering when I was there: there was a great boom in cotton in Ferghana; the country had a prosperous future before it. That was in 1896. Now we have heard what that country has become under Bolshevik rule. Major Bailey has described the blessings of nationalization of land and industries—a blessing with which we are threatened in this country, and has shown the demoralization and depreciation which takes place in everything. I had the pleasure of meeting Major Bailey in February last; he was describing to me the results of the depreciation of the currency.

Digitized by Google

Among other things he showed me one of the Bolshevik notes for 100 roubles—nominally £10. He wished me to take it as a souvenir. I said: "I cannot take a thing so valuable, but I will buy it." He said: "You are welcome; it is worth four annas"—less than sixpence. (Laughter.)

I was deeply interested, as having had something to do with movements in the North of India at the time he describes, with his account of the Bolshevik outlook on the situation in the Punjab last year and the Afghan war. Major Bailey brought back a most admirable and valuable collection of Bolshevik propaganda literature, and it was really most interesting to note the cleverness with which they seized on some little point and twisted it round to their benefit, and to our discredit—such as the statement that all religious services in mosque and temple had been closed down in India by order of the Government, that being one of the alleged reasons of the rebellion. There was just one little fact which tended to give some foundation for that statement. During the risings in Lahore the rebels had taken possession of the Badshahi Mosque, and had used it for preaching rebellion and revolution. The first thing the military did when they took possession of the city was to close the mosque until they had guarantees that it should only be used for legitimate purposes. It is within the Lahore Fort, and is under the control of the fort commandment. The Sikhs had used it for an arsenal, but its use for Mohammedan worship has been allowed by us since annexation. But that little fact of its temporary closure was probably the foundation of the statement in the Bolshevik papers that all religious ceremonies by Hindus and Mohammedans were prohibited in British India. Here is another curious instance of the way what was happening in the Punjab at the time got known in Central Asia. On a particular day, I think April 13, 1919, the situation in certain parts of the Punjab was very serious. I had to wireless—all other means of communication were cut off—to Simla asking for the proclamation of martial law. The time was very short, and I did not think it necessary to code the message. The message was duly sent, and two days afterwards I received a warning from Meshed that if the situation in the Punjab was very critical, it was just as well not to let the Bolsheviks know of it in Tashkent, as my message, not being in cypher, had been received there. It was very interesting to hear from Major Bailey the Afghan explanation of their invasion of Northern India in May, 1919, as being due to the fact that appeals had been received from the Indian revolutionaries by the Afghans to come and restore freedom to India. That was the very thing we suspected at the time. We heard that such messages had been sent both to the Afghans and to the tribes on the frontier; but some doubt was thrown on our opinions, and this

Digitized by Google

indirect corroboration received from the Afghans in Central Asia shows that what we suspected was the case. The lecture is not only a most admirable exposure of the working of the Bolshevik system in what was once a prosperous country, but it throws extraordinarily valuable sidelights on the methods of propaganda which the Bolsheviks in Central Asia and elsewhere adopt in their dealing with neighbouring countries—with Afghanistan, Persia, and India. They have used their propaganda with marvellous effect in unsettling and disturbing all neighbouring kingdoms. We on our side lie low, and, confident in our honesty of purpose and good intentions, think it is unnecessary to counter their propaganda; and, meantime, we allow the evil seed which they sow all the world over, and which is especially directed to the destruction of the British Empire, to mature and bear fruit. The one moral to be drawn from Major Bailey's admirable address is that if we want to prevent in Afghanistan and Northern India what has happened in Bokhara and threatens in Persia and Afghanistan, it is time we adopted active measures, not only military, but propagandist, to counteract the Bolshevik designs. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, as no one else seems prepared to make any remarks, I will now on your behalf call for a vote of thanks to Major Bailey for the very interesting lecture we have had to-night. I only regret it was so short; I should have liked to hear a great deal more of his own personal experiences. He has told us a great deal about the Bolsheviks and about other people; but he has told us very little about himself. However, I have no doubt he will have other opportunities of recounting his own personal adventures, if not in this meeting, as they say in Parliament, in another place. (Applause.) I have no doubt this vote of thanks to Major Bailey will be passed unanimously by all here.

The vote of thanks was heartily accorded, and this ended the meeting.

Digitized by Google

LIEUT.-COL. G. E. LEACHMAN, C.I.E., D.S.O.

OUR thoughts seem to have to carry us back fifteen—perhaps more—years to the time when the name of Captain Leachman, of the Royal Sussex Regiment, became known to us as a daring traveller in Arabia, and, speaking for myself, little more was heard of him till, in August, 1920, telegraphic intelligence of his death reached the London papers. We have had many fellow-countrymen of great ability in Arabia and Mesopotamia, but Colonel Leachman was a type *sui generis*, and it is as such that I have sought to get descriptions of him for the "CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL." *The Times* of August 20 pays him a very high tribute, and Commander D. G. Hogarth, in the October number of the *Geographical Journal*, records with knowledge and sympathy his remarkable career. But the best picture of the man is that given by "W. A. W."* in *The Near East* of August 26, 1920, and it is upon the lines of that picture that two members of the Central Asian Society have framed their descriptions of Colonel Leachman as they learnt to know him, partly by personal intercourse and partly by Arab report. To these two "appreciations" I have prefixed an extract from the *Baghdad Times* of August 19, 1920.

"DEATH OF COLONEL LEACHMAN.

"We regret to announce the death at Khan Nuqta, on August 12, of Lieut.-Colonel Gerard E. Leachman, C.I.E., D.S.O., Royal Sussex Regiment, attached to the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia, aged 40. It appears that he was murdered in cold blood by Khamis, the eldest son of Shaikh Dhari al Mahmud, Chief of the Zoba tribe, in whose tents he had slept the night as a guest. The Arab driver with him was also killed. His body was recovered shortly after in the Khan and taken to Fallujah, and there buried in a military camp. By the death of Lieut.-Colonel Leachman, the Arabs of Mesopotamia have lost a true friend, who had made their interests his own. By six years' continuous service in this country with the Civil Administration in different capacities he had acquired unrivalled knowledge of the country and the people.

"He came out first in April, 1915, and was present in person at the battle of Shuaibah. He accompanied the 6th Division to Amarah,

* A member of the Central Asian Society, to whom the haunts of the Assyrian Christian and of the Kurd have long been familiar.—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

and was Political Officer on the Tigris continuously during 1915, being present at the capture of Amarah, the capture of Kut and the battle of Ctesiphon. He returned to Kut with Townshend's force and left Kut with the Cavalry, a few hours before it was invested. He remained on the Tigris during the period of reconstruction and advanced with them, being present at the capture of Baghdad in 1917. After a brief visit to Egypt, Palestine and the Hedjaz during 1917, he returned to Mesopotamia and took over the Dulaim Division, being present at the capture of Ramadi, Hit and Anah. When during September, 1918, operations on the Tigris recommenced, Lieut.-Colonel Leachman was attached to the 1st Corps as Political Officer, and took a prominent part in the operations leading to the surrender of the Turks at Shergat for which he received a D.S.O. by an immediate award in the field. He was present at the surrender of Mosul by the Turks, and was appointed Political Officer in charge of the Mosul Division, which post he held until he was compelled by sickness to take leave home. On his return he took over the Dulaim Division, which he held with distinction until his death. During the last few months Lieut.-Colonel Leachman performed some remarkable reconnaissances in Central Arabia, where his name is a household word.

"Lieut.-Colonel Leachman was educated at Charterhouse. He entered the Army in 1900; served in South Africa; despatches, Queen's Medal, 4 clasps; King's Medal, 2 clasps. He holds the Gill Memorial Medal of the Geographical Society for travel in N.E. Arabia, and the MacGregor Memorial Medal of the United Service Institution in India for distinguished exploration and survey. Distinguished alike amongst his fellow-countrymen and amongst the people of this country for his energy, courage and determination, and for his unrivalled knowledge of the problems with which he had principally to deal, his death leaves a gap which will not soon be filled. His soldierly qualities and his strong sense of duty were marked characteristics of a very lovable nature. Few men in this country have made more friends or so few enemies."*

"LUCHMAN."

No. I.

I have been asked to write down a few of my personal recollections of the late Colonel G. E. Leachman, C.I.E., D.S.O., during the years I have come in contact with him. I am more than proud to have been one of his friends, and as such to have the privilege of writing these few very inadequate lines to the memory of one who was deservedly admired and esteemed by all, both Britons and Arabs,

*Extract from *Baghdad Times* of August 19, 1920

Digitized by Google

who had dealings with him. It was at the end of 1904, about November, I think, but I speak from memory only, that Leachman, then Lieutenant in the Royal Sussex Regiment, first made his acquaintance with Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, and I can recall to this day, vividly, being introduced to him by the Captain at the foot of the gangway ladder of the small British India mail steamer that had brought him from Bombay to Busreh. The usual whisky-soda followed the introduction, he sitting on the ladder and I in my *bellum* (native boat), as I was prohibited from going on board owing to the Turkish quarantine regulations against all arrivals from India. I discovered he was on his way to Baghdad, nominally on language leave to study Arabic, and after he had completed his term of "imprisonment" in the Turkish quarantine station on shore he stopped with me in Busreh for two or three days, pending the departure of the Baghdad river steamer. He was then, as he was to the last, the most excellent and amusing company and a man of extraordinary personality, and it was with much regret that a number of the Busreh residents said "Good-bye" to him on his steamer, which weighed anchor to the accompaniment of an impromptu song and dance by Leachman, while the rest of us performed on the deck of the towing barge lashed alongside. Incidentally, the Captain of the steamer, the s.s. *Mejidiah*, was Charley Cowley, later of Julnah fame and a posthumous V.C.

Leachman was some time up in Baghdad, and I lost sight of him for a period, but in the intervals between then and 1913 I met him on several occasions, sometimes in the least expected places. On one occasion, when I was stationed in Bahrein, a group of Islands off the Arabian Coast in the Persian Gulf, my Persian servant informed me that an Arab wished to see me. Entered a long, cadaverous and altogether filthy-looking "Bedou," who greeted me with, "Hullo, ——! got anything to eat?" This was Leachman, just arrived from a six months' trek across Arabia, from Damascus by a hitherto untravelled route. He had intended to continue his overland trek to Muscat, but owing to inter-tribal trouble had been forced to make for Ojeir, on the mainland opposite Bahrein, from whence he had come by native *buggalow*. They had encountered a bad storm and he had consequently spent three days on board this craft practically without food and herded up with a crowd of dirty Arab divers. I gave him what lunch there was left, but discovered him later down in the kitchen with an Arab companion of his who had made the whole journey with him, sitting over a large dish of rice, wolfing into this ravenously and using his fingers in true Arab fashion. I was just off to Busreh by a steamer then in port and sailing almost at once, and as Leachman wanted to get to Bushire he came off with me, still in his Arab clothes. The excellence of his

Digitized by Google

disguise can be gauged from the fact that, on his attempting to board the steamer by the first-class companion ladder, he was roundly abused by the ship's Chief Officer and told that Arab deck passengers should use the other ladder.

In the same way that his appearances were unexpected and sensational, so were his departures. He would dine with you and say good-night, and that was the last that would be heard or seen of him for perhaps months, when he would suddenly appear again and take up the threads of civilization as if he had never been away. His absences were accountable for by trips into the interior and journeyings among the tribes. It was only with the greatest of difficulty that he could be made to talk about himself or his experiences, and even if he did do so the casual listener would probably not realize a fraction of the dangers and hardships that Leachman had gone through, so modestly did he relate his experiences. The Turks not unnaturally regarded him and his trips with the utmost suspicion and used all efforts to stop and hinder him, and as he could have expected little or no help from the British Politicals, should he have got himself into trouble with the Turks or tribes on his journeys, Leachman was indeed playing the "lone hand" and carrying his life in his hands. He was one of those who could not live without constant risk and adventure. He never attempted to pass himself off as an Arab to his Arab friends, but wore Arab costume to avoid being conspicuous, so that his movements among the tribes should cause as little comment and talk as possible, both in tribal and Turkish circles.

It was during the war, from the beginning of 1915 to end of 1918, that I saw most of Leachman and his works, when he served as a Political Officer to the forces in Mesopotamia. His success in policy with the Arabs was based on their respect for his courage, justice and liberality, combined with a certain fear of his unrelenting hatred of lies and treachery. He could on occasion astonish them by a very cyclone of wrath. Many a shaikh has behaved, under the influence of Leachman, like a gentleman, though he may have been formerly an unmitigated scoundrel. He was essentially a ruler of the tribes, not the townspeople. His methods of action were somewhat forcible, and, therefore, understood and appreciated by the tribes who would not understand other methods. But with all his masterfulness and impulsiveness and the respect, not unmixed with fear, which his name inspired, he was implicitly trusted and popular among them, and a very real friend. Their name for him was "Luchman" and you will find "Luchman" is known through the length and breadth of Mesopotamia, and the news of his death will have been a very real grief to very numerous Arab friends.

I have spoken of Leachman's courage, and I wish it were possible

Digitized by Google

to quote any special instances; but I think it would be invidious to do so, as his whole service has been one continual test of this. As regards the value of his services during the war, a price was placed by the Turks on Leachman's head, and we know from captured records how great a thorn in their side he was, and to what extent he rendered futile their intrigues with the tribes. His D.S.O. was only granted to him after his Mosul operations towards the end of 1918, and a better earned one never was.

As a man, among his fellow-officers, he was known and respected by all, and loved by his real friends. He was generous to a fault, and would share his last crust, if needed, with anyone, Englishman or Arab. The news of his death by violence will not have caused surprise among those who knew him, in view of the fact that he had been courting such an end and carrying his life in his hands so long.

C. F. M.

No. II.

I first heard of Leachman during my travels in Mesopotamia before the war. He had plotted the desert with his tracks from Damascus to Kuwait and from Jauf to Armenia. I knew him personally throughout the Mesopotamian campaign, but I never had the privilege of working with him; and a good deal of what I know of his character is derived from Arabs. During the war his chief work lay on the Tigris from Amarah to Baghdad, in the desert south of the Euphrates between Shagrah and Hail, in the Shamingah desert west of Karbalá and Ramadi, whence he penetrated to all kinds of remote watering-places, and in all parts of the Mosul Vilayet. How far he is remembered beyond the confines of Mesopotamia I do not know. A late wazir of Ibn Rashid and the Shaikh of the Dhafir once told me of a great fight between Shammar and Ruwallah at which the women of the defeated Ruwallah deposited their jewels for safe-keeping with a tall Englishman who happened to have arrived at the Ruwallah tents under the protection of a Shammari *raftq*. This Englishman was Leachman, but I do not know in what year before the war the incident took place. As Leachman travelled in Arab outer dress and travelled fast, he would not be known except to the particular Shaikhs with whom he lodged. But in Mesopotamia his name is a household word. Rough tribesmen have been known to name their sons "Luchman" after this astonishing foreigner, and Shaikhs from end to end of the country would enquire always with affection and admiration of their friend "Luchman." He became a "sharaf" to them, the highest honour they could pay. I may be forgiven, in the light of certain misunderstandings in the public mind, for pointing out that a vast distance of desert separates the Jordan

Digitized by Google

from the Euphrates, so that a man may be known throughout Mesopotamia and unknown in Syria and Palestine. Owing to its distance very little is known in England about the doings of individual British officers in Mesopotamia. How few Englishmen at Home know about Leachman! Yet his name should be famous, as it is famous in Mesopotamia. I think one of the reasons is the loneliness of his activities, this and his real modesty. He did not pose as modest: he simply left you to guess or hear from Arabs the extraordinary nature of his life in the deserts, his fatigues, his dangers, and his escapes.

His particular appeal to the tribes was his magnificent personal courage. He was also the soul of honour, and his moral hold over Arabs was the result of his rigid justice in his dealings with all classes. He was too their best protector, and though a fierce enemy of their duplicity would fight like a tiger to right the wrong, if by unfortunate mistakes, which are bound to occur in military operations, the wrong Arabs sometimes suffered indignities and attacks. At the same time he was not gullible. The Shaikhs knew it, and ordered their behaviour accordingly, and in their illogical way liked him all the better for their inability to deceive him as they have deceived so many. He was essentially virile in his dealings with them. His political successes were not won by lavish gifts of gold nor by large promises of future rewards: they were the outcome of respect for a character which displayed the best qualities of the British officer's traditions. In fact they were not political—I mean not achieved by diplomatic guile—they were personal and moral, the tribute of the Shaikhs and the tribes to the force and fineness of his character. He was quietly generous to individual Arabs in distress; but as he was modest, you will only discover this feature of him from talks with Arabs. Physically he was tireless. Whatever happened, he was up at 4 a.m., and he could outraid the most famous Arab raiders. He moved constantly in the territory of enemy Kurds and Arabs, but he escaped ambush by the rapidity and unexpectedness of his movements. The Shaikhs who did not love him feared him. The Shaikh who is responsible for his murder in circumstances which have blackened his face for ever was the bad leader of a bad tribe. Leachman was the ideal tribesmen's Political Officer, unique and irreplaceable, and his loss to the political staff of Mesopotamia is beyond count. His best epitaph is the one word "Rajúl," as I have heard it spoken of him by many an Arab Shaikh. "'Rajúl'—a man, a brave man, a fine man, a great man: as who should say: 'This was a man.'"

R. M.

In conclusion, I can only express my regret that Lieut.-Colonel G. E. Leachman was not a member of the Central Asian Society.

A. C. YATE.

Digitized by Google

NOTICE.

It is notified for general information that a certain number of copies of the earlier Nos. of this Journal are available for sale to members desirous of possessing them and of completing their sets. They can be seen at 74, Grosvenor Street. The price, as a rule, ranges from 1/- to 2/- per No. Application for them should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary, 74, Grosvenor Street.

A. C. YATE, Lt.-Col.,
Hon. Sec.

5th December, 1920.

Printed in Great Britain by Billing and Sons, Ltd., Guildford and Esher.

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. VIII.

1921

PART II.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

NOTICE

THE Assistant Secretary will be at 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, on Mondays and Wednesdays from 2.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m.; and on Thursdays from 10.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m., or till the end of the lectures.

Digitized by Google

MILITARY MISSION TO NORTH-WEST PERSIA, 1918

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, on Thursday, December 16, 1920, when Major-General L. C. Dunsterville, C.B., C.S.I., read a paper on "The Military Mission to North-West Persia, 1918." Lord Carnock presided.

The CHAIRMAN, in calling on General Dunsterville for his lecture, said that he need not introduce the lecturer to that meeting, as his name was perfectly well known, as also the great services he had done for the Empire; he only wished to say how grateful they all were to General Dunsterville for coming to their meeting and reading his paper.

In order to deal with the subject of to-night's lecture it will be necessary to give a summary of the events that led to the sending of the British Military Mission through North-West Persia in January, 1918.

The Russian revolution broke out in 1917, and by the autumn of that year the whole of the Russian Army on the various fronts had "downed tools" and left the enemy free to work his will in Asia Minor and elsewhere.

Prior to this the right flank of the Mesopotamian Army linked up at Khanikin on the western frontier of Persia, 94 miles east of Baghdad, with the Russian troops, who connected through North-West Persia and the Caucasus with the main Russian western front. Owing to the defection of the Russian troops, the whole area as far as the Caucasus was left undefended and open to the advance of Turkish troops, also permitting German agents to flood Central Asia with anti-Entente propaganda, and enabling them to bring about the long-desired result of chaos in Persia, Turkestan, Bokhara, and Afghanistan, thus stretching out a long arm to reach the seditious movement in India and pressing us at our weakest point.

At this time affairs on all the fronts were too critical for troops to be spared to deal with the situation, and, failing actual troops, it was hoped that a force composed of selected officers and N.C.O.'s despatched to Tiflis might succeed in reorganizing the revolutionary soldiers and putting up a new front against the Turkish troops in

Digitized by Google

Asia Minor. It was reasonable to hope that the local troops, who were well-trained, would be willing to fight to save their own homes from invasion; but the revolution had taken all spirit out of them, and, judging by later experiences in Baku, it is probable that, had we reached Tiflis, we should have failed in our endeavours to thwart the Turkish advance. As it was, we never reached so far, and the scheme, therefore, was never put to the test.

It was in command of this selected force that I made my first acquaintance with Persia, a land to which my thoughts had turned with longing since my early studies in the Persian language, and my introduction to the inestimable Sadi.

I received my orders at Peshawur, on the North-West Frontier of India, on Christmas Eve, 1917, and by January 18, 1918, was in Baghdad in pursuance of my orders to go to Tiflis.

At Baghdad a delay ensued, owing to the fact that so far none of my officers had reached me, and the enterprise was not one that could be carried out single-handed.

On January 27, having collected a small party of twelve officers and two clerks, I decided to make a start for Enzeli, on the Caspian, 600 miles by road and about 400 miles in a straight line from Baghdad.

We knew of many rocks ahead, but were determined to succeed if success were possible.

Among our future difficulties were bad roads, the Kurds, bad weather, Russian revolutionary soldiers, and the hostile neutrality of the Persians. If we overcame these we should find ourselves at least as far as Kasvin, 140 miles from our port of Enzeli, on the Caspian, but the principal difficulties confronted us in that last lap of our journey.

Our route from Kasvin onwards lay through the country of Kuchik Khan, who announced that we would not be allowed to pass, and if we none the less succeeded in getting through to Enzeli it would remain to be seen what amount of opposition to our farther progress would be offered by the Bolshevik Committee controlling that port.

On January 27 our small column of Ford vans set out from Baghdad in fine weather. The road as far as Khanikin (94 miles), on the Persian frontier, was good enough under the circumstances, but being unmetalled would have been almost impassable if rain had fallen.

On the following day we passed through the low foothills and camped for the night at the foot of the Taki-giri pass. Here we entered Kurdish country, and experienced two of our other foreseen difficulties—bad roads and bad weather.

On January 29 we left at daybreak to ascend the pass which would

Digitized by Google

take us up on to the Persian plateau. The first few miles of the road are steep and rocky, and we ran immediately into a blinding snowstorm. It took us four and a half hours to push the cars by hand over the first four miles, and at that point farther progress was barred by heavy snowdrifts. An ever-kind Providence provided a shelter in the shape of a ruined sarai at the small village of Surkhadisa, where we camped for the night. Snow continued to fall, and frequent attempts to reach the top of the pass ended in failure. At last, on February 2, we made a moonlight start at 4 a.m., and succeeded in getting over the snow while frozen hard, and reached Harunabad the same evening. On February 3 we reached Kermanshah in fairly good weather, over a road that was just passable while the snow was frozen. Large stretches of this road would become a swamp in a thaw.

We passed through a succession of mountain ridges and cultivated valleys, the road on the former, in spite of boulders and gradients, being preferable to the latter, where after the recent snow no road was visible, and the cars made frequent diversions into the fields. The rocky hills were thinly sprinkled with dwarf oak, the only wild tree we saw in North-West Persia until we reached the Caspian slopes of the Elburz. The climate of North-West Persia, with a very small rainfall, is not favourable to forest growth, but the entire absence of trees may perhaps be more rightly attributed to the absence or ineffectiveness of forest laws.

From Kermanshah we set out on February 4 in the hopes of reaching Hamadan the same day; but we were in for a spell of bad luck, and we actually reached that town only on February 11.

We were up by 3.30 a.m. and got away by 4.30, but before we had gone a mile we had a broken axle that delayed us for one and a half hours. At Bisitun, 21 miles farther on, we passed the wonderful rock inscriptions of Darius. Here we crossed a tributary of the Kara Su by a fine single-arch brick bridge which the retreating Turks had blown up, but failed to destroy entirely. There was just a sufficient width of arch left to get the cars over very carefully, with only an inch or two to spare.

At Sahneh, 38 miles from Kermanshah, we encountered a short but steep pass, over which each car had to be pushed and hauled, taking three hours to get them all over a distance of 1 mile. At Kangavar, 18 miles farther on, we were most hospitably entertained to a hot meal by the Russian detachment.

As night fell it became evident that it would be hopeless to try to reach Hamadan that day, so we tucked ourselves up in a sarai at the foot of the Asadabad pass, hoping to cross early the next day. We were doomed to disappointment, however, as heavy snow fell that night and continued for several days. The pass is 7,600 feet

Digitized by Google

above sea-level, and the road up is quite a good one, having been put in order by the Russians during the recent fighting. Deep snow-drifts, however, entirely blocked the road, and we were lucky to be able to employ villagers from the neighbourhood in cutting a way through.

On February 14 we left for Kasvin, crossing the Sultan Bulaq pass at the 68th mile and camping for the night at Aveh. The pass is 7,500 feet high, and would have been as badly blocked as the Asadabad pass; but we were now on the well-made Russian road, and had caught up the stream of retiring Russian troops. The latter were not in a mood to allow any obstacles to delay their homeward march, and they cut through the drifts in record time. On February 15 we reached Kasvin, 478 miles from Baghdad.

Up to this point Persian unfriendliness had not shown itself in any very marked manner, though we could hardly expect to be popular. But at Kasvin things looked very threatening. Mass meetings were held in the town and resolutions were passed decreeing our immediate destruction. We also had a final warning that we should be attacked if we attempted to pass through Kuchik Khan's country.

The resolutions for our instant annihilation were not put into effect, and on February 16 we started for Enzeli with our armoured car, which had joined us under Lieutenant Singer at Hamadan, defiantly leading the convoy. An armoured car on a narrow mountain road is not at its best, but it looked very formidable, and in Persia " looks " are more than half the battle.

We crossed the Bikandi pass at the 20th mile. There was plenty of snow on the top, but the Russians had again saved us all trouble by cutting through the drifts, and we reached Menjil, 70 miles from Enzeli, by nightfall.

On February 17 we left Menjil at 6 a.m., and arrived at Enzeli (much to our surprise!) at sunset. It was delightful to run the cars past the wharves and the shipping, and to hope that to-morrow might see us embarked on the Caspian Sea; but there is many a slip twixt the cup and the lip, and I knew that after all the obstacles we had surmounted, the biggest one yet remained. Why Kuchik Khan's men did not open fire on us on the road I have no idea. It was just one of those things that was " not to be," and it is futile to look for material explanation. His braves, heavily armed, lined the road, scowling, with rifle in hand, and every moment I expected the battle to begin, but not a single shot was fired. So far, therefore, we had to congratulate ourselves on having overcome bad roads, bad weather, Persian hostility, Kurdish threats, and Kuchik Khan's defiance. We were now to ascertain the attitude of the Bolshevik Committee.

The 70 miles of road from Menjil to the sea merits a more detailed description.

Digitized by Google

Leaving Menjil in a westerly direction, at a distance of about 1 mile the Safed Rud is reached. This river, which is unfordable at all times of the year, and in the spring is a very formidable obstacle, brings down the water from the Tabriz area into the Caspian. At about 1 mile from Menjil it passes northwards through a sharp gap in the Elburz range, reaching the sea about 60 miles farther on. The road here crosses by a well-made stone and steel girder bridge to the left bank, which it follows as far as Imamzadeh Hashim, where the mountains end, 25 miles from the sea, and where the road diverges slightly to the west to pass through Resht and reach the port of Enzeli.

At Nagober, about 20 miles from Menjil, the wonderful forest belt of the northern slopes of the Elburz is entered. The contrast after the barren landscape of Persia is most striking. The forest is very dense, and includes many well-known varieties of European trees, such as beech, sycamore, walnut, elm, and ash, while box forms the chief part of the undergrowth. At Imamzadeh Hashim the low country is reached, and the road runs the rest of its length through cultivated lands until the sand-dunes are reached within a mile or two of the port.

I can imagine no more dangerous defile for troops to force in the face of opposition than the 50 miles from Menjil to Resht. The road is in most places cut out of the sheer rock, leaving the heights towering over on the left hand and a steep drop on the right to the torrent below. When the forest is entered the difficulties of attacking troops would be intensified, as an active enemy could approach the road within 20 yards at any point without any possibility of their being observed, and their withdrawal would be similarly aided.

I may say a few words here of Kuchik Khan, our redoubtable opponent. He is a Persian patriot of revolutionary tendencies, who long before the war was noted for his zeal in demanding reform of the Government. I think it is generally admitted among the Persians themselves that he is a high-minded enthusiast who is truly out to do or die for his country, with no ulterior motive of making a bit for himself in the meantime. His cry is " Persia for the Persians "—a very legitimate one—and his aim is therefore to rid Persia of all foreigners and to secure the annulment of all existing treaties and concessions accorded to non-Persians. Like most enthusiasts of his type, he proposes to adopt the line of " direct action " without stopping to consider what the ultimate effect of that action would be. " Persia for the Persians " is a most laudable watchword, but has Kuchik ever considered ways and means of establishing Persia on a basis firm enough to enable her to support herself and resist foreign invasion? The main factors in the problem, which Kuchik Khan has probably overlooked, I will refer to later on.

Digitized by Google

Persia has to take into consideration the position of Russia on the north (now weak, but eventually to be more powerful than in 1914), Afghanistan and Baluchistan on the east, Arabs and Turks on the west. Truly a lively position for a country with all the elements of national weakness and none of strength. A successful issue of the claim of "Persia for the Persians" would certainly shortly be followed by a general scramble of these lively neighbours for fragments of Persia! I always hoped to meet Kuchik Khan and talk these things over, but no opportunity occurred of realizing this wish.

Kuchik Khan's headquarters were in the wooded country of Gilan, in the neighbourhood of Resht, and he claimed at that time to have 5,000 men under his command. The number may have been exaggerated, but he certainly had a large force. The men were well armed and uniformed, and ammunition from Turkish sources was plentiful. Austrian and Turkish instructors superintended the training of his men.

While on this subject I may say a word as to the neutrality of Persia. Our excuse for entering a neutral country was that two of the other belligerents had made it a common fighting-ground for the last two years without any very marked protest from the Persian Government. Under these circumstances it was not too much to ask that we should pass through on a mission which was a direct outcome of the action of the other two belligerents—Turkey and Russia.

At the same time it is not surprising that the neutrality of Persia was hostility inclined towards ourselves. The Persians had had enough of the Turks and the Russians, and just as they were congratulating themselves on having got rid of these two, up bobbed the British. Enough to exasperate anybody.

Moreover, a nation like Persia, situated as Persia is, needs to be pretty certain that she backs the winning side. And to all appearances in the early months of 1918 the war was all but over and the Germans everywhere triumphant. These legitimate grounds were made the most of by enemy agents and propagandists in Teheran, and the only wonder is that the Persians treated us as well as they did.

Now to return to the narrative of our travels.

On February 17 we arrived at Enzeli at about 5 p.m. There were at that time some 2,000 revolutionary Russian soldiers at the port awaiting embarkation, and the road from Kasvin to Enzeli was thronged with disorderly detachments hastening to shake the dust of Persia off their feet. The Committee controlling the town, under the guidance of Comrade Cheliapin, was Bolshevik, but the soldiers were not in a mood to distinguish between any one kind of revolutionary and any other—they just wanted to get home, and knew little and cared less for any political programme. They were, as Russians

Digitized by Google

usually are, good-tempered and reasonable, but easily stirred by mob orators.

The entire town turned out to watch our arrival, and a dense throng gathered round the cars, rather impeding our efforts to get everything shipshape for the night, but not intentionally annoying us.

The Committee, however, took up quite another position, and peremptorily demanded my presence at a meeting to explain the reason of our sudden arrival in their midst. Several meetings were held, and at each I noticed an increased tone of severity. It was as if they were trying to nerve themselves for the fairly obvious move of arresting or destroying my ridiculously small contingent.

Moreover, I discovered that the Committee were working together with Kuchik Khan, who himself was a pawn in the hands of the formidable Committee of Union and Progress.

Forward movement was out of the question, as all ships were strongly guarded. Retreat was almost impossible, as it was too much to hope that Kuchik Khan would again let us through his country, this time as an already defeated force. Still, it was worth trying, and anything was better than staying on where we were, with the prospect of any single individual putting a lighted match to the fuse.

So on February 20 we made a rush for it, starting in the dark at 6 a.m., ready for a fight at every turn of the road, but marvellously permitted to pass unscathed the groups of fierce and scowling warriors on the Resht road.

By 6 p.m. we were back in Menjil, hardly believing that we could have come through, after all those threats, without the firing of a single shot, and devoutly thankful to have had so lucky an escape from the Bolshevik-Jangali combine.

On February 22 we returned to Kasvin in a blizzard. The people of Kasvin had shown their dislike of us on the road down; the question was, How were we going to be received on the return journey?

There were rumours in the town that Kuchik Khan had magnanimously allowed us to return, after depriving us of the enormous sums of gold we were supposed, like all Englishmen, to be carrying.

It was unfortunate, too, that the cars were feeling the effect of their rough journey, and we were compelled to stay a whole day in Kasvin for repairs. The populace were threatening, but again there was a reluctance to translate words into deeds, and possibly the continuance of the snowfall helped to damp their ardour.

On February 24 we were back in Hamadan, which remained my headquarters until June, when I moved forward again to Kasvin with a view of keeping closer touch with the Baku situation.

The intervening time was spent in various ways. For the first six weeks, until the arrival of another party of officers and N.C.O.'s

Digitized by Google

and a platoon of the 1/4 Hampshire Regiment, were spent in a rather tense atmosphere. The town of Hamadan was full of Kuchik Khan's adherents, and a Persian political party styling themselves "Extreme Democrats" passed many resolutions decreeing our immediate destruction.

We found ourselves in the midst of a terrible famine, which we did our best to alleviate by calling on the inhabitants to help in road construction, for which a good wage was paid. The extreme democrats, finding that our famine relief work was adding to our popularity, did their best to undermine our efforts and keep the people in the state of misery and despair which produces the right sort of soil in which to sow the seeds of disorder and revolution.

They engineered an artificial rise in the price of bread, and at one time compelled the bakers to strike; but in one way or another we got over these difficulties, and when our next party under General Byron arrived on April 3, we felt ourselves quite firmly established.

On March 24 we received disquieting news of Kuchik Khan's intention to march on Kasvin. If he put this plan into execution it was certain that there would be no opposition on the part of the Persians, who were prepared to welcome him as the righter of all wrongs, and from Kasvin to Teheran would not be a matter of great difficulty. This would mean the whole of North Persia in a state of revolution and a final closing of the road to the Caspian.

The situation was saved by Colonel Bicherakov with his Cossacks.

Bicherakov is an Ossietin from the North Caucasus who had served with distinction in the war, and had been several times wounded. He was a brave and fearless leader and adored by his men.

When the main Russian Army broke up under the influence of the revolution, a body of about 1,200 Cossacks put themselves under Bicherakov's orders, each signing a document to be true to death to their leader.

At Hamadan we came in touch with Bicherakov and his "partisans," and drew up terms of an agreement to act in mutual support. Under this agreement the "partisans" were despatched with all haste to Kasvin, and arrived there just in time to thwart Kuchik Khan's plans. The latter contented himself with entrenching his troops on the Kasvin side of the Menjil bridge, 70 miles from Kasvin, and declaring the road finally closed.

On March 29 one aeroplane arrived from Baghdad, and greatly added to our prestige in the neighbourhood.

With the arrival of the new party in April we set to work raising levies from the surrounding villages. These levies were useful in police and patrol work, but it was evident from the first that their actual fighting value was nil. This they were able to demonstrate

Digitized by Google

later when they came up against the Turks on the Tabriz road and promptly took to their heels.

But they were worth their pay to us in many ways, and vastly increased our strength in the exaggerated reports that our enemies were receiving from Persian sources.

By the end of May two more of my parties had arrived, and I was able to push very small and risky detachments farther afield to the north-west towards the Turkish 5th and 6th Divisions, who were investing Urmia. Major Staines commanded the small party at Bijar, 100 miles west of Hamadan, and Major Wagstaff led a party to Zinjan, on the Tabriz road, to see if we could get the formidable Shahsavan tribes to help in keeping the Turks off that road. Both parties met with a considerable amount of success until their weakness was discovered, but by that time they had fulfilled their purpose.

On June 1 I moved my headquarters to Kasvin, and Bicherakov got on the move to attack the Jangalis at Menjil. On June 12 he fought the battle of Menjil bridge, entirely routing the Jangalis, who retired into the forest country and left the road once more open. The Cossacks then continued their march to the port of Enzeli, whence they later embarked for Baku.

Troops had now begun to reach me, and as Bicherakov marched down the road I was able to put my few units in position to keep the road open. The available infantry was two battalions, the 1/4 Hampshire Regiment and the 1/2 Gurkhas. These I put under the command of Colonel Matthews, of the former regiment, with his headquarters at Resht.

Bicherakov sailed from Enzeli on July 3, taking with his " partisans " four of my armoured cars and some staff officers for liaison purposes.

We hoped to meet again later, when I could get over to Baku, but circumstances rendered that impossible, and thus greatly weakened our position there when we moved across in August. By that time Bicherakov had been compelled to retire to the north, in the direction of Petrovsk, and he was not able to take any part in the Baku fighting.

Various raids were made on the road, and on July 20 the Jangalis, under their German leader, von Passchen, made a determined attack on Resht. The attack was beaten off and the enemy suffered severe casualties, as a result of which Kuchik Khan sued for peace, and a treaty with him was signed in August, after which the Jangalis gave us no more trouble.

A change of policy and our impending withdrawal from North Persia have since induced Kuchik Khan to raise again the banner of revolt, and the unfortunate inhabitants of Resht during the last two years have found themselves occasionally under British control,

Digitized by Google

sometimes in the hands of the Persian Cossacks, who are not really inspired by any enmity against the Jangalis, and more often, as at the present moment, loyal subjects of Kuchik Khan.

I have several times seen references to Kuchik Khan's freebooting tendencies. But I do not think it would be fair to regard these as designed to enrich himself. The money he acquires is, he maintains, merely the revenue necessary to conduct his military operations and to pay the charges of his civil administration. And I think that is a fair statement.

On the question of what right any private individual has to usurp the functions of State, I am afraid that I am not capable of giving an opinion of any value. The world is very much out of joint at present, and we have more glaring examples of a similar situation nearer home. It seems to me that the chief difficulty in any such argument is the fact that the words employed to express ideas on either side are seldom, if ever, capable of exact definition.

To return to the narrative of events.

By the middle of July we got news that the fall of the Bolshevik Government in Baku was imminent. By the end of the month it had fallen and its place had been taken by the Central Caspian Dictatorship, who, as had been foreseen, invited our aid in defending Baku against the Turks.

It was impossible not to respond to the appeal, although, like many incidents in war, it was obvious that the real opportunity had passed before preparations could be made to deal with it. One of our many " ifs " was this, that if we could have got over to Baku in July instead of August, and before the Turk had been allowed, without serious interference, to occupy positions which practically sealed the fate of the town, the saving of Baku would have presented only normal, instead of insuperable, difficulties. But we have to take facts as they are, and a discussion on " ifs " is the most futile of all discussions.

By the end of the first week in August we found ourselves firmly established in Baku and in daily conflict with the Turks. A portion of the 39th Infantry Brigade had reached us, and I was enabled to put a maximum of 900 rifles in the firing-line. A small enough figure for a 20-mile front, but some 8 miles of the front was denied by natural obstacles of cliffs and salt marshes, leaving 12 miles for defence. Our detachments were placed at the critical points, and the intervening spaces were held by the town troops, numbering some 6,000 men. When I say " held " I mean theoretically, because when attacked the town troops seldom " held " their positions, and when the attack fell on our portion of the line they never on any occasion rendered any effective support, with the result in each case of my parties falling to the enemy in spite of heroic resistance.

Digitized by Google

The strength of the Caucasus Islam Army opposing us was between 12,000 and 15,000 men; but the enemy entirely lacked initiative and hesitated to launch a really determined attack, which must inevitably have resulted in the capture of the town on any day he chose.

The one factor that might give us any hope of success was entirely lacking, and that was a fierce determination on the part of the town troops and the citizens to keep the enemy out. But the chaos of the revolution had deepened the already apathetic and fatalistic tendencies of the people, and they seemed incapable of making any real effort. Their despondency was increased by the smallness of our numbers. I had always warned the Baku authorities that at this stage of the war it was impossible to expect large numbers, but this warning had never reached the people. On the contrary, they had indulged in wild dreams of large British forces pouring into the town and entirely taking over the defence while they stood by and applauded.

We undertook the organizing and training of the local units, and got the arsenal into proper order; but it was late in the day to start this fundamental work, when the enemy were already at the gates and his artillery was within easy range of all parts of the town and the wharves.

On September 1, after a glaring failure on the part of the local troops to support one of my detachments which was being fiercely attacked, I summoned the various revolutionary committees and informed them of my determination to withdraw, giving the obvious reasons outlined above. My remarks were greeted with consternation and dismay, as if, in spite of my repeated warnings, the thought of the possibility of the fall of the town had only now presented itself to their minds for the first time. The Dictator officially forbade my departure, and informed me that the gunboats had orders to fire on and sink any of my vessels endeavouring to leave the port.

The committees took no action on my statement of the case beyond the passing of endless resolutions, and as the Turks still delayed the pressing of their advantages I determined to hold on and continue to hope against hope for some sign of heroism among the doomed population.

Meantime, I kept ready my three steamers, which would suffice for the evacuation of our troops—the *Kruger*, the *Kursk*, and the *Abo*.

Desultory fighting took place during the next fortnight, with the usual results, and at last, on September 14, the Caucasus-Islam Army launched its great attack.

The fighting began an hour before dawn, and soon after daybreak the Turks were already in possession of the outskirts of the town. The British detachments held their own, keeping the Turks back from actual entry into the town, and continuing in action till after

Digitized by Google

the sun had set—a very fine achievement indeed for young soldiers of the new army.

At nine o'clock in the evening the withdrawal began on lines which had been very carefully and minutely worked out beforehand. The Turks were too exhausted to interfere in any way, and the townspeople never realized our movement till we were all on board. The *Kursk* and the *Abo* had been got away without difficulty with the sick and wounded on board. The *Kruger*, with the fighting men and the guns, was ready to leave the wharf at 10 p.m., when a frantic message arrived from the Government, ordering me to replace my troops at once in their former position in the firing-line. I took no notice of this impossible order, and steamed out of the harbour dead slow with all lights out at about 11 p.m. We passed the guardship within 500 yards, and she opened fire on us, but without effect, and we were soon clear of the harbour.

Behind me came a small steamer, the *Armenian*, in charge of Colonel Rawlinson. This small steamer was loaded up with ammunition and explosives, and received six direct hits from the guardship, which, fortunately, failed to sink her or blow her up. By the next evening the force reassembled on the shore of the Caspian Sea at Enzeli, and the enterprise was at an end.

I have endeavoured to compress an account of our many activities into as small a space as possible, but I fear I have left myself but little time for the subject of Persia herself and Persia as regards the general situation in Central Asia.

It is within the knowledge of all that the treaty of 1907 dividing Persia into a Northern (Russian) sphere of influence, Southern (British), and Central (neutral zone), has recently been annulled. Its place has been taken by a treaty between ourselves and Persia, which is drawn up on indefinite lines, but is probably the best we could do at the present crisis, in which the world is undergoing a process of resorting, the outcome of which the wisest cannot foresee. This later treaty was signed at Teheran on August 9, 1919, but to this day, sixteen months later, has not yet been ratified by the Mejliss. The terms of the treaty are, briefly—

(1) The assertion of the independence and integrity of Persia.
(2) A supply of expert advisers.
(3) Munitions and military experts.
(4) A very small loan.
(5) Encouragement of Anglo-Persian enterprise—railways, etc.
(6) A joint committee to revise the Customs tariff.

Russia, it will be observed, has been left out of the agreement. This was, of course, unavoidable, owing to the present condition of Russia. But, whatever the condition of Russia may be to-day, there cannot be the least doubt that she will arise again on some future

Digitized by Google

date under some stable form of government which will enable her to fulfil her destiny in Asia. And the first signs of revival of vitality will be the putting of her Asiatic possessions in order, which at once brings her back to the northern frontier of Persia, and the whole series of events begins again.

I do not think it wise to provoke a discussion on this subject; it would probably lead to things being said that would be better unsaid. Let us, therefore, content ourselves with thinking over the various difficult problems involved.

The few facts that remain unalterable are—

The enormous area of Persia.

The large proportion of desert land.

The small population.

The small revenue.

The philosophic and unmilitary temperament of the modern representatives of this very old civilization.

France forms a convenient basis of comparison. The area of Persia is three times that of France. The population is one-fourth of that of France. The revenue of France, on a pre-war estimate, was 140 times that of Persia. (Actual figures: France 207½ millions and Persia 1½ millions sterling.)

So there you have the problem that requires solution. How can a country, not imbued with a warlike feeling, with an area of 630,000 square miles, with frontiers aggregating 4,000 miles in length, surrounded by powerful and ambitious neighbours, with a small population and a totally inadequate revenue, with no railways and scarcely any roads, *defend* itself against aggression?

There is only one answer, and that is, "By an appeal to the League of Nations." Such an appeal has already been made by Persia on purely sentimental grounds, but unfortunately the League of Nations itself is at the present moment little more than a sentimental idea, with no practical method of enforcing its ideas.

So, for the moment, I am afraid that salvation does not lie that way, nor can I offer any other solution. I am a thorough believer in the ideals of the League of Nations, but high ideals will not control the evil forces of a bad world, and until human nature is regenerated one can hope for no application of such noble theories to the hard facts of life.

The question of the stability of Persia is naturally of deep interest to the members of this Society, and that stability is seriously threatened at the present moment. So, without setting ourselves to answer the vast problems of the future set forth above, it behoves us for the present moment to adhere firmly to the terms of the recent treaty and, in the words of Lord Curzon, "see her through" the present crisis. With Turkestan in the hands of the Bolsheviks and

Digitized by Google

Kuchik Khan within her own borders working on similar lines, Persia, if left unaided, is indeed in a parlous plight.

I have been honoured by being permitted to place my views before you, and I trust I have not trespassed too much on your generosity in putting them at considerable length.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The account we have just listened to of the experiences of the military mission to Persia has been of absorbing interest, and I think I may say interspersed with passages of the most delightful humour. I was very glad to read in this morning's papers the well-merited eulogy which the Prime Minister delivered in the House of Commons last night on the successful exploits of General Dunsterville and the force under his command.* Among many remarkable phases of the recent Great War, I think that the part which was played by what is now popularly known as the " Dunsterforce " will stand out conspicuously as a most notable achievement. We can, I think, esteem ourselves extremely fortunate at having heard from the leader of that expedition a recital of the events in which the expedition was concerned; and I think we can congratulate the country on the fact that the leadership was entrusted to the distinguished officer who has honoured us with his presence here this evening. Before asking your approval of a motion which I propose shortly to submit, I would invite any observations which anyone here present would desire to make. I do not know if Sir Arnold Wilson, who, I believe, is in the room, would favour us with any views.

Sir ARNOLD WILSON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I did not expect to be asked to speak to-night. I really have little to add to Major-General Dunsterville's extraordinarily interesting report of his mission. I myself was not at any time with him during that period; I was Chief Political Officer to Sir William Marshall at Baghdad, who was his military chief. There is one point that General Dunsterville has scarcely referred to, and that is the general effect of his mission upon our politics in Persia and our good name in Persia. In that connection I would like to tell you a very short story. One of my officers was sitting in a coffee-shop dressed in the conventional garb of a British officer on active service in summer—revolver, short puttees, and shirt—looking very much like a private

* The Prime Minister said: " Why did we go to Persia? The Turks suddenly developed a great Pan-Turanian mania. So we decided, with such force as we had at our disposal, to send an expedition which would arrest the Turkish advance. It was very successful. It was one of the best bits of work done in the war. That small force resisted the Turkish advance, and had prevented what might have developed into one of the most menacing movements against the British Empire."—*The Times*, December 20.—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

soldier. Nobody thought he knew Persian. Troops were toiling past the coffee-shop up the road. Some pilgrims were discussing politics; one of them, pointing to the troops, said: "It is clear the British are not going to compromise; they will either be beaten or win. If the Turks are beaten bravery will disappear from the world, if the Germans are beaten science will disappear from the world, and if the English are beaten justice will disappear from the world." Then an old man in the corner remarked: "If that is the case the British will never be beaten, for God does not wish justice to disappear from the earth." That was after more than a year's acquaintance with us, and is enough to show that the name of Great Britain abroad did not suffer from closer knowledge of our officers and men. For that we must thank first and foremost General Dunsterville and his staff. (Applause.) What has been said by General Dunsterville regarding the effect that he had on general policy is very much less than I could have wished, but it is too long a subject to enter into to-night. It was one of the decisive factors at a decisive moment in the war, and the dates during which he was having his worst times were just about the dates when we were conquering and finally smashing the Turks. A month more or less would have made the difference to him, as he said. General Dunsterville's force succeeded in attracting one or two divisions from the Syrian and Mesopotamian fronts, where they might have had an effect on our advance to Baku and the Caucasus. (Applause.)

Sir HUGH BARNES: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not know that I can add very much to what the last speaker has said. I think you will all agree that we have listened to a most interesting, instructive, and amusing address. I dare say that most of you know that General Dunsterville has written a book, in which the adventures he has described to-night are told in very much greater detail. If you have not got it, I advise you to get it. It is written in the same breezy, humorous way, and with the same light touch as the lecture to which we have listened. I happen to know a little about that part of Persia, because I am Chairman of the Imperial Bank of Persia, and I constantly get reports from our various officers. I hope that General Dunsterville received assistance from our managers at the various places he visited, such as Kirmanshah, Hamadan, Kasvin, and Resht. . . .

The LECTURER: I could not have done without them.

Sir HUGH BARNES: We certainly heard from them a good deal about his doings while he was there; I know they were greatly relieved when they heard of his force coming up, and I am sure they were all very grieved when he departed. I think it is possible that if General Dunsterville had remained in command the Persians would not have lost Resht and Enzeli a second time. We also heard a good

Digitized by Google

deal about Kuchik Khan and the Jangalis, and not very long ago we had a very interesting report from our manager at Resht, Mr. Butters, who had been invited by Kuchik Khan to visit him in his camp, and had gone there for a few days. A smart guard of honour turned out to meet him and presented arms. He spent two nights in the camp and had several conversations with Kuchik Khan, and his view coincides with that of General Dunsterville—he is of the same opinion that Kuchik Khan is a well-meaning man, an honest fanatic, whose one idea is Persia for the Persians. I am sorry to say that during this last summer Kuchik Khan, unfortunately, has again thrown in his lot with the Bolsheviks, who, as you probably know, had returned to Enzeli. They seized the ships which General Denikin had brought there—and which had been interned—and took Resht. At first Kuchik Khan was against the Bolsheviks, and I think fought them. Ultimately he joined hands with them. At one time there was very serious alarm in Persia that Kuchik Khan, with the Bolsheviks, would succeed in getting through the passes and take Teheran. I understand that the British brigade which was at Hamadan—I suppose under orders from England—was not allowed to move, and the Teheran Government made use of a force which has been entertained for many years at Teheran—a semi-military force known as the Persian Cossacks, which is enlisted from Persians and officered by Russians. It was till lately commanded by a Colonel Stassorelsky, who gained a preliminary success against Kuchik Khan and the Jangalis, but ultimately, on advancing to Resht, was very badly beaten in an attempt to take Enzeli. The Persian Cossacks were more or less demoralized and broken up, and the result has been that the Persian Government has dismissed Colonel Stassorelsky and all the Russian officers, and the reorganization of the Persian Cossacks is to be entrusted, we hope, to Colonel Dickson, who is one of the British officers sent out to reorganize Persian military affairs under the Anglo-Persian agreement. If our officers are allowed to reorganize them, we may be perfectly sure that the force will become very much more efficient than it has ever been. I understand under the Russian arrangements they were paid for by contract, so that the officer commanding was able to keep anything he could save. Therefore it was not his interest to keep the force efficient and up to strength. At the present moment Persia is, I think, faced with a very serious crisis; everything depends just now upon what will be the decision of the Mejliss—*i.e.*, the Persian Parliament—as to the acceptance or otherwise of the Anglo-Persian agreement. You will remember the agreement which was arranged about a year and a half ago. In accordance with it our Government sent out certain officers to assist in forming the nucleus of a Persian Army. They also sent out Mr. Armitage Smith as financial adviser. But the

Digitized by Google

Ministry which negotiated the agreement fell; a new Government came into power, and they decided they could not confirm the Anglo-Persian agreement until it was approved by the Persian Parliament. So all the officers were put into cold storage, and everything agreed upon has been kept in abeyance until this event should take place. There has been very great delay in calling the Persian Mejliss, but I am told it was to meet last Sunday; we have all been looking forward with great interest to see what would happen when it met. So far we have had no telegrams, and nothing has appeared in any of the newspapers as to what the results of the first meetings of that body have been. The future of Persia will depend very largely on the decision arrived at. If the Anglo-Persian agreement goes through, and our officers are able to remain there, and the financial adviser goes back—at present he is in England—there is every hope that in time things in Persia may so far improve that we shall be able to withdraw our troops. Persia ought to be able to stand on her own feet, as soon as our officers have had sufficient time to organize for them a force that will enable them to hold their own frontiers. If, on the other hand, the Persian Mejliss turns down the Anglo-Persian agreement, I suppose the British Government will have no option except to withdraw their troops, and then no one can tell what will happen. I imagine the probable result will be a Bolshevik advance, joining with Kuchik Khan from Resht. If the Bolsheviks do advance, Persia has neither the money nor the men to face them, and the probability is that the whole of Northern Persia will fall more or less into a state of chaos. You will no doubt look with interest to your newspapers during the next few days to see what the result of the meeting of the Persian Parliament is. The British Government desires—I am sure every Englishman desires—that the independence and integrity of Persia may be maintained. We all hope that Persia, with her magnificent past, will again rise in the world, and prove able to hold her own without outside assistance. But I am afraid there is very little chance that she will succeed in doing this, unless for a short time, a year or two at any rate, she takes the hand held out to her by the British Government. I trust, and I am sure you will all hope, that the decision of the Persian Parliament will be a wise one. (Applause.)

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P.: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had a most interesting lecture to-day on one of those curious derringdoes that the British Army takes up from time to time. When we consider where the British soldier has found himself during these years of war, in all the odd places where we never expected to find him, I think one of them is that extraordinary expedition of 600 miles across Persia, and then up the Caspian Sea to Baku. If we leave out all the other countries and only take Russia, think what the British soldier has done. Think as to that one battalion—a garrison

Digitized by Google

battalion, mind you—of the Middlesex Regiment under the command of Colonel John Ward, which went out from France, went to the Cape, went to India, Rangoon, Singapore—where they put down a mutiny—went on to China, and then to Vladivostok; and after that they joined General Koltchak throughout Siberia. Other battalions went to Murmansk and Archangel. Here we have the account to-day of this third expedition through Persia to the Caucasus, and we have seen General Dunsterville's illustrations of the great difficulties that had to be got over when passing up through Western Persia in mid-winter. The commanding position we might have held on the Caspian has always interested me very much. The Caspian Sea always seemed to me to be the real vital point in those regions. I remember when I first wrote to the Defence Committee, and suggested to them the advisability of getting a naval force on to the Caspian, I had before me the idea of what had been done on Lake Tanganyika in East Africa. There we sent a naval detachment, we got a gun on to Lake Tanganyika, sank the German ships there, and got entire command of the lake. It seemed to me the same thing might be done on the Caspian. It was done. We had a magnificent naval force there, and my one regret is that when we had got the ships and the guns, and had supreme command of the whole Caspian, we went and handed over all the ships and all the guns to General Denikin. He was a broken reed. He failed in the end. Had we retained our own naval force on the Caspian and kept those ships in our own hands we should not have had the terrible catastrophe when all those ships—after General Denikin's defeat—were eventually taken over by the Bolshevik forces. Had that naval force and those ships remained in our hands we might have had command of the Caspian to the present day. Then think what General Dunsterville has told us about Persia. One of the heartrending things he has mentioned is the famine there. I think we shall all agree that the most extraordinary thing, when we think of all the governors, rulers, and upper and merchant classes in Persia, is how absolutely apathetic and callous they were to all forms of human suffering in the people committed to their charge. General Dunsterville has told us here—and in his book you will read it—how not a single Persian Governor seemed to care a bit as to the sufferings of the people under him. The only idea that seems to occupy a Persian Governor's mind is how much money he can make out of the situation. I remember some thirty years or so ago there was a great famine in Persia. There was a Mansion House fund and enormous sums of money were subscribed. We did our best to save life in Persia, but I do not think I ever heard a word of thanks given for that. The only thing I ever heard was that the Persians thought we had some subtle idea of our own to benefit ourselves by doing this. We were out for humanity, and I

Digitized by Google

must say that from the ruling class of Persia the very idea of humanity seems to be entirely absent. General Dunsterville has told us also of the extraordinarily unmilitary temperament of the Persians; I think all who know Persia must thoroughly realize that. The Persian "Sarbaz" as I have seen him is a hopeless soldier. I do not know a single man in the whole Persian Army who would risk his life for the sake of his country. Patriotism seems to be entirely wanting in the ordinary Persian—I am not talking of the tribesmen; you find brave men amongst them. The Persian idea of patriotism is to boast of their antiquity, their poets, and their writers. They are extraordinarily clever, witty, amusing men, the best of companions; but when it comes to fighting—well, General Dunsterville has shown us what happened at Baku, and you find the same thing in Persia. The Baku troops would not go to the front, and that is the difficulty we have before us in Persia at the present time. Whether the British officers who have now gone to Teheran will be able to get up a really strong and reliable Persian force remains to be seen. We have seen how the Persian Cossacks, who had been trained for years under Russian officers, broke at the very first attempt they made to oppose the Russian Bolsheviks at Resht; and whether we shall be able to raise a reliable force or not in their place has yet to be proved by experience. A hundred years ago Lindsay and other English officers did great things with the Persian Army; let us hope great things may be done there again. As to the present condition of Persia, no one can say what will happen. The Prime Minister told us last night that the small force of 3,600 men that now holds Kasvin, and is the only reliable defence against a Bolshevik advance upon Teheran, is to be withdrawn under any circumstances in the early spring when the roads are open. What decision the Persians will come to in the meantime we cannot say; we can only hope they will realize the seriousness of the situation; and we must look to the papers, as Sir Hugh Barnes has told us, for the next few days to see what the decision is.*

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you will concur

* The latest news from Teheran indicates that the new Persian Government that is being formed by Sayad Ziá-ud-din, supported by the Cossack force under Riza Khan, will not proceed further either with the Anglo-Persian or Russo-Persian Agreements. A Finance Commission, consisting of Persian, British, and Belgian officials, has been appointed to control expenditure. A new army is at once to be organised, with the assistance of foreign officers, for national defence. The proclamation issued at the end of February by the new Prime Minister is stated by *The Times* correspondent, telegraphing on February 28, 1921, to have "made a good impression on all Europeans here, especially the British." It is understood that the small British force at Kasvin will be withdrawn as soon as the passes via Hamadan and Kirmanshah are open.—A. C. Y., March 5, 1921.

Digitized by Google

with me in voting to General Dunsterville our warmest and most grateful thanks for the most entertaining, instructive, and interesting paper which he has been good enough to read to us, and for his having devoted an hour or two of his most occupied time in coming here this evening.

The vote of thanks was unanimously and warmly accorded.

MEMBERS of the Central Asian Society are recommended to correspond, except under special circumstances, about Lecture tickets, this Journal, and the election of new Members, direct with the Assistant Secretary at 74, Grosvenor Street, and not with Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Yate, who is mostly away in Shropshire. By doing this, both time and postage will be saved.

A. C. YATE, *Lieutenant-Colonel*
(*Hon. Sec., C.A.S.*).

Digitized by Google

COMMUNICATIONS BY AIR IN THE EAST

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1, on Thursday, January 20, 1921, when Captain P. D. Acland read a paper on "Communications in the East: Their Expansion by Means of Aircraft." Lord Carnock presided.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasing duty to introduce to you Captain Acland, who has been good enough to come here this afternoon to read us a paper on "Communications in the East: Their Expansion by Means of Aircraft." Captain Acland is a well-known authority on the subject with which he proposes to deal, so I think we can look forward confidently to hearing a very interesting and instructive lecture.

Captain ACLAND: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I had to recast this lecture at the last moment, because I found that Lord Montagu of Beaulieu was giving a lecture from a commercial point of view, so I took the liberty of cutting out any figures I had put in in order to avoid any confusion. We get very confused when we start talking about figures, because most of us take very different angles, and you don't get very much farther. You will have an opportunity of seeing what Lord Montagu had to say on the subject of figures to-morrow, from which you will be able to draw conclusions.

I should like to say how honoured I feel at being asked to give this lecture to-day before so august a Society and so well-known a gathering. I feel that the time is at hand when the advent of aviation is very close to us—indeed, everything points to this fact. If we look back over the last hundred years, we find that progress in communication, advancing year by year, has been leading up to the stage when a man must needs have himself transferred, body and soul, to the place he desires. We have gone forward step by step from the written message sent by cable or wireless telegraphy to wireless telephony, by which means the voice can be carried for vast distances; all these, however, are only subterfuges in really urgent and vital affairs of State, or business, or war, where the presence of perhaps one man decides the day. We all know how much personality counts —States are ruled by it, businesses are run by it, the war was won by it. The transference of a man's personality may mean a decision that will turn a seeming defeat into a victory; he may be the means

Digitized by Google

of stopping a revolution, or perhaps turning what seems a trivial affair into a sanguinary civil war. Thousands of such cases could be produced, all proving the same thing—namely, that the fact of being able to arrange for the presence of a certain man or men at a certain place on a certain day is the consummation of human need. And apart from the individual, it will mean that close linking up of nations we all long for, leading to better relationship, harmony, and peace.

The development of aerial transport signifies all this. Before long we shall be able to say with certainty to America, "We shall be with you to-morrow"; to India and South Africa, "The day after to-morrow"; to Australia, "In five days." The uttermost ends of the earth will be as near to us then as Egypt is to-day.

The progress of the world depends upon the advancement of aircraft.

In drawing up this paper to present to you I was faced with a difficulty as to what method would be most likely to lead to a discussion, which, to my mind, is the chief value of meetings of this description, where there is such a wealth of experience and talent represented. It occurred to me, therefore, that by setting out certain facts showing what has been done up to the present, and by indicating a few conclusions based upon experience, an opportunity would be given for those who have specialized in certain aspects of Government service, and aviation, to base their views on what they have heard and express an opinion as to how they consider their duties in the past, and the duties of those of to-day and in the future, would be facilitated by making the fullest use of this new means of transport and human intercourse.

Perhaps it will not be considered out of place if some consideration is given to the stages of development of our science up to the present time.

Progress.

The very rapid advance made in aviation was due to the necessities of the war, together with a complete disregard of expense so long as definite results in the direction of obtaining aerial supremacy over the common enemy in all phases of aerial warfare were attained. For instance, at the commencement of operations in 1914 the majority of aeroplanes were fitted with power units of 70 h.p., with quite a number of 63 h.p., whereas the Germans had successfully attained 100 h.p. These conditions obtained for the first few months of the war. In November, 1918, however, a few British machines were operating with 150 h.p. motors, a very large number of single-seater machines with 200 h.p., heavy bombing machines with 700 h.p., while in England a type was being evolved and tested of 1,400 h.p.,

Digitized by Google

and yet another of approximately 5,000 h.p. being "drawn out." It seems almost miraculous that this evolution could be brought about in so short a time.

War to Peace.

It has been one of the constructors' great difficulties since the war —and I may add disappointments—that they have not been able, for economic reasons, to continue their experiments and research on a similar scale. However, a vast mass of most valuable data was collected which gave us the means of studying departures in design which might fulfil commercial conditions. You will, I am sure, excuse me mentioning machines designed and produced by ourselves, but it is simpler for me to illustrate the Vickers-Vimy, which is a good example of one of the methods adopted for rapid turn-over to peace conditions. The war machine had a capacity of about 100 cubic feet, whereas our adaptation of this machine for commercial purposes—such as *The Times* aeroplane which flew from London to Tabora, and that named the "City of London," operated by Messrs. Instone and Co. between London and Paris—has a capacity of 300 cubic feet or sixteen passengers, the actual load in pounds to be carried remaining the same (approximately $1\frac{1}{4}$ tons dead weight).

The war types can be generally classified as follows:

(*a*) *Single-seater* machines for scouting and offensive work, which have their prototype in civil life in sporting machines;

(*b*) *Two-seater* machines used for reconnaissance and artillery spotting, and in their heavier forms for day-bombing; and

(*c*) *Heavy bombing* machines, of which the Vickers-Vimy, Gotha, etc., are examples.

For the change-over to peace the machines on which designers chiefly centred were—

(*a*) Single-engined reconnaissance, and
(*b*) Twin-engined heavy bombing types,

the reason for this being that there was more scope with these of effecting modifications to existing machines, as opposed to building and testing a completely new design, to enable a commercial load to be carried in anything like attractive quantities, time being an all-important factor. Good examples of the single-engined type were the Bristol two-seater fighter, converted to the Bristol tourer, and the evolution and new design of the D.H.4 and D.H.9, from which was eventually evolved the D.H.16 and later the D.H.18; and, finally, in the twin-engined heavy bombing type, the Vickers-Vimy bomber, from which was evolved the Vimy commercial.

I propose leaving this aspect here with the sole remark that out of war types craft have been evolved which are doing very good work

Digitized by Google

in service, but at the same time sufficient data have not been collected to make it possible for a really practical specification to be got out as to what is ultimately needed. We cannot expect in these, the early days, to be able to make exact statements of what is required in the same way as engineers of a railway or controllers of shipping interests can issue specifications of material to be used by them in their operations.

Civil Uses.

Since the Armistice, and particularly during the last nine months, aircraft have been operating to a considerable extent in various parts of Europe. The technical results of all of these services have shown more than promising regularity and freedom from serious accidents, as is shown below:

Period, May, 1919, to September, 1920 (17 Months).

Flying accidents resulting in death to one or more occupants of machine	7
Flying accidents not involving injury to personnel	19
Third party killed	1
Third party injured (propeller accident) ...	1
Machine miles per flying accident (not necessarily fatal)	31,400
Passengers killed per 1,000 carried, or 1 in 12,500	0·08

Period, October, 1919, to September, 1920 (12 Months).

(These figures include Continental Services.)

Total number of machine flights made ...	27,229
Total number of passengers carried	42,153
Total weight of goods carried	112 tons
Total number of miles flown	921,174

I particularly want to draw attention to the last half-yearly results which have been published in Germany, and were also issued in the half-yearly report of the Controller-General of Civil Aviation published in December last. These results are all the more remarkable as they show very great determination on the part of the Germans to compete seriously, and to entertain the running of aerial transport services. At the same time one cannot refrain from respecting the initiative shown when one considers the very great restrictions which were placed upon them in all matters connected with the air.

In spite of the restrictions imposed by the Peace Treaty and petrol shortage, the results achieved by Germany in the first six months of commercial aviation are approximately 50 per cent. of those achieved by the British. Over a third of a million miles were flown, 1,574 passengers carried, and over 81 tons of mails, parcels, etc., carried,

Digitized by Google

while the regularity of scheduled flights shows an efficiency of 93·3. Six new designs have been passed as "civil" by the Inter-Allied Commission of Control; permission for manufacture, however, has not been granted so far. The trading companies have formed an association which is officially recognized, and now appears to have assumed responsibility for the control of aerodromes, meteorological stations, and signals. There are daily services connecting Berlin and Copenhagen, Berlin and Bremen, Berlin and Wangerooge, and three times weekly from Berlin to Amsterdam.

It is of considerable interest that the trading Aerial Transport Companies have associated themselves with the Hamburg-Amerika Line and the Norddeutscher Lloyd.

Representatives of the German industry are investigating the opportunities for exploiting German machines in North and South America, especially the former, with a view to inaugurating a Trans-atlantic Airship Service.

This should serve as a warning that the potentialities of the air are not being lost sight of by the Germans—a fact which I urge should be pondered on most particularly in reference to some of our long and sparsely defended frontiers in distant lands.

Subsidies.

You will doubtless have made a mental note that I have said nothing up to the present on the finance of aerial traffic.

The story of aerial transport has been somewhat disappointing to date. We have seen that several enterprising concerns have ceased operations altogether, while others are carrying on with restricted services. This state of affairs is not surprising when one recalls that the services were experimental, the conditions under which they were working extremely difficult, financially as well as physically, the flying taking place over one of the most difficult aerial routes in the world—namely, a circle of about 250 miles radius of London—whilst in the early stages of organization. Almost every day this organization is being improved by the extension of wireless installations, aerial lighthouses, creating machinery to speed up the notification of meteorological conditions, etc., but this all takes time and, incidentally, spells expense. Again, firms directly interested in the construction of aircraft were the first to undertake transport, and, at a time when finance was necessary to nurse their new development, they were working under grave difficulties in that their whole business was disorganized through the cancellation of Government contracts and turning over their factories from war to peace, which is, of course, a difficult and embarrassing operation. The travelling public, on the other hand, had not developed the "air sense," and were naturally awaiting signs of a large volume of regular traffic before they were

Digitized by Google

prepared to trust themselves and their goods to this new, rapid, and little known means of transport.

You may have noticed in a letter to *The Times* of last Tuesday from Major-General Brancker, that reference was made to the report that Fokker machines are to be used in a London-Berlin service. Unfortunately, the British firm who made the preliminary negotiations for this service has now gone into liquidation, leaving the field open to Mr. Fokker, a Dutch designer of acknowledged achievement. It remains to be seen whether such conditions will receive official sanction.

We have just heard that Sir Frederick Sykes has at last been able to overcome one of his many cardinal difficulties in the shape of obtaining a subsidy for aircraft on approved routes, subject to final sanction. This is a matter for very sincere congratulation. I fancy it has not been the easiest project he has seen through. The effect of this should be good. One of the great dangers, as I saw it, was that owing to insufficient data financial and transportation interests were unable to see their way sufficiently clear to embark on something entirely new at this difficult time, the result being that the aircraft industry, from which the machines emanate, stood in danger of having no outlet for their new designs and sale of products, thus losing some of their best brains. This danger, I hope, is now past.

Notes on Cairo-Karachi Route.

I now venture to approach the territory in which this Society is interested, and suggest that we keep in mind the aerial junction at Cairo with a view of linking up with Karachi, Damascus, etc.

First of all I want to say that my personal experience of transportation in the East has been that of an ordinary member of an Indian cavalry regiment. I am hoping that the proposed route will form a useful basis of discussion from several aspects. We want to benefit by the experience and advice of the distinguished members of this Society to aid us in promoting our art in this territory—for it is always the man on the spot, and the practical man, whose views are essential when endeavouring to urge forward the latest development of our Western civilization in the new territory.

Sir Frederick Skyes in February last, in speaking before the Royal Geographical Society on Imperial Air Routes, described Egypt as the hub of aviation in general and Great Britain in particular. I think the slide now to be shown makes this quite clear.

London to Cairo, of course, is not " all red " as we see it; on the other hand, it is a suitable and obvious first stop for an airship radiating from our capital in an easterly direction.

Here I think it is advisable to make myself very clear on the

Digitized by Google

method of setting out an Empire aerial organization based on Cairo. We require airships, aeroplanes, amphibians, and—though open to discussion—flying-boats as our full complement of craft, each to be used in its own sphere. Thus the airship, as we all know, is distinguished for its non-stop passages of 2,000 to 3,000 miles. A demonstration service is now being worked out by Sir Frederick Sykes.

Surplus airships left over from the war are to be operated by the Department of Civil Aviation, whose object is to experiment with them in practical service on a commercial basis, an undertaking impossible for private enterprise at the present time.

The part to be played by the heavier-than-air craft—that is to say, the aeroplane, amphibian, or flying-boat—is to link up points not touched by the airship, and to operate the shorter distances from the airship stopping-places—for example, aeroplanes from Cairo to Basra, say, thereafter transferring to seacraft until Karachi is reached. Up to the present time the prevalent view is that for heavier-than-air craft distances approximating 250 to 300 miles in one flight are economical for general purposes.

To operate from Cairo and to maintain a civilian aerial organization seems to me to be something which is of direct benefit to our great Empire.

The political conditions in Egypt and the awakening of national thought there seem to point to a progressive aerial policy, with as little militarism as possible in its elements—that is to say, intercommunication having to be kept free and open under all circumstances, considered decisions can be given in the shortest time on accurate information obtained from men on the spot. This can be done most easily by personal intercourse and exchange of views. Again, if the part replacement of troops by aircraft for security can be safely achieved, this will be of definite service, an outstanding example of this being the operations against the Mad Mullah a short time ago.

The present convulsions and disturbances in the Near East have retarded progress very considerably in laying out a Cairo-Karachi route, which perhaps is not altogether to be deplored, since the resultant economy in the working of the Department of Civil Aviation has made it possible for a sum to be set aside for the commercial enterprises nearer home, whereas the R.A.F. in the Near East have been doing all that is possible to extend their sphere of usefulness and obtain experience of flying conditions which in due course will be made available for their friends in commerce. But even so, generally speaking, wireless stations have been opened every 300 miles between Cairo and Karachi. This is a first step, and a vital one; without a complete wireless organization aerial transport is gravely handicapped, for by early and accurate notification of meteorological conditions a

Digitized by Google

regular service can be maintained. I go so far as to say that if wireless is necessary for shipping it is a hundred times more so for aircraft.

Doubtless there will be some delightfully intricate problems to be solved by our friends at the Air Ministry and Foreign Office in making suitable arrangements for aerial intercourse over the many and varied territories, mandatory and otherwise, which one now finds on the map in the Middle East. These will take time and patience to solve, and until the situation is clear politically there can be no question of private enterprise stepping in to organize and exploit this route.

Meteorological Conditions.

I am indebted to the Air Ministry for the following notes of the meteorological conditions existent on the Cairo-Karachi route, and I think you will agree that the pilots who contribute so largely in maintaining an average of 85 per cent. efficiency on the English-Continental services, notorious for the rapid variations in weather conditions, would have little difficulty in negotiating the average weather encountered in Egypt, Persia, and Mesopotamia.

The weather conditions in Northern Egypt are very stable. During the winter (November to February) cloudy weather with occasional rain prevails, the wind being usually south-west. March and April are the transition months to the summer season, and are usually very hot, with dusty south winds. From May to September there is a prevailing north wind, increasing to a fresh or moderate breeze in the afternoon, and falling by the evening. October is the transition month to winter conditions.

Over the portion of the route between Lower Egypt and the Persian Gulf, via Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, the prevailing winds to a considerable height are westerly, and gales are rare, except at the equinox. The greater part of this area is arid and almost rainless, though subject to thunderstorms; hot winds of a sirocco type occur. The mean cloudiness is small; the coastal region of Syria is, however, subject in midwinter to gales and rain, and snow falls every winter on the Syrian mountains.

The Persian Gulf is subject in winter to strong winds of the north-westerly (Shamal) type, with occasional gales and squally heavy rains and thunder; the alternative wind from the south-east also brings similar weather in that season. There is seldom bad weather between mid-April and mid-October, but the damp heat becomes excessive and visibility is often bad.

From Bandar Abbas to Karachi the route enters the monsoon region. The rainfall is uncertain. During the winter months the north-west wind and bad weather prevail, as in the Persian Gulf. On the north of the Gulf of Omar such weather, though alternative with

Digitized by Google

frequent calms, may be experienced at any time of the year. The south-west monsoon prevails in summer, especially towards Karachi. Inland the mountains cause erratic conditions; on the delta of the Indus storms are rare.

Conclusions.

What police, militia, or military forces will be necessary to guard aerodromes, etc., is a problem which does not come within my province—except as a taxpayer; this has to be decided by our military advisers, but, granted political co-operation, this should not be a serious matter, and certainly less difficult and hazardous than securing a long line of railway—say the Bagdad Railway, with its many tunnels and bridges, etc.

The necessity for quicker transport and communications seems to become daily, almost hourly, more important; the control and administration of the world's affairs appears to be more and more centralized in fixed places as time goes on, and less freedom of action is given to the man on the spot, as was the rule and necessity in pre-telegraph and railway days. This is a factor which has to be faced, and I do feel that at the present time, with few exceptions, sufficient use is not being made of the air. The military and—may I whisper—naval problems are being examined; yes: but do you not think that a vast field remains unexplored in the maintenance of direct contact between our outposts and their respective headquarters, thus cementing further the link of the Empire?

Consider the difference in speed (apart from travelling under infinitely more comfortable conditions) of the aeroplane, with a cruising speed of 90 to 100 miles an hour, and that of the camel with his 2 miles an hour, the steamer anywhere from 4 to 16 knots, and the railway averaging, say, 25 miles an hour.

In many cases men administering vast tracts of territory are cut off by hundreds of miles geographically and months in point of time from civilization, when frequent and speedy communications would be something more than a godsend. I think of the tragedy of General Charles Gordon and what might have been done to assist him had there been aircraft in those days. It is possible that similar situations may arise in the future. Equally important uses in the field of commerce—the early stages of surveying a new railway, exploration of new fields of enterprise—occur to one. Take, for instance, a journey from Cairo to Mosul (assuming the oil to be there) by sea, etc.; it takes some three to four weeks, whereas by air it is a matter of about eight hours.

Now, having spoken for so long about the possible uses of aircraft, I am, naturally, asked, "What is the best application of aircraft?" The answer is simple: Mails for one thing and competition for quick

Digitized by Google

intercourse for another. I feel the means by which this can be carried out are worthy of our very serious consideration. Should aviation compete with railways by land and ships by sea? The answers appears to be, No. Aerial travel is an addition to the present means of transport, not a competitor. Should it happen that in the distant future the main carrying of the world's commerce is through the air, well and good. May it not be analogous to the advent of the railway replacing the stage-coach, the steamer, the sailing ship? which was, after all, the process of steady evolution keeping pace with scientific achievement. In the meantime it is too early to speak of such things except with reserve; progress must be made step by step on sound lines commercially and technically with the means now at our disposal, using each to the best of our ability for the benefit of humanity, and not fearing to take advantage of this attractive infant prodigy—aviation.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Being, I fear, a very ignorant layman with regard to these matters that have been treated of this afternoon, I would not dream of occupying your time by any observations of my own on the most excellent paper to which we have just listened; but I understand that there are in this audience several gentlemen who are most admirably qualified to speak on the subject, and I am sure we should be very grateful if they would favour us with their views. I would, in the first place, ask Sir Frederick Sykes if he would kindly give us any observations he may wish to make.

Major-General Sir FREDERICK SYKES, Controller-General of Civil Aviation: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Captain Acland has surveyed such a wide area that it is a little difficult for me to take up any points and amplify them; but I will try to do so. He mentioned the point in regard to turning from a war to a peace basis, which of course is a very difficult matter in the air, as it has been in many other directions. It is perhaps even more difficult in air matters than in others, because the whole development of the air was brought to a head by means of war objects, so that really we had nothing to go on. We sat down at the end of the war to think out the directions in which this great movement could best be used. The machines had all been developed for war purposes; the special attributes had been speed and manœuvreability and weight-carrying capacity for bombing purposes. Those attributes had in some cases to be diverted—that is to say, in the commercial machine great speed and manœuvreability were not so essential. Weight-carrying was very desirable, but safety and reliability were the most important factors. To gain the confidence of the public reliability and safety had to be put before everything. Whether it was from the point of view of the public subscribing capital for companies which might be

Digitized by Google

promoted, or from the point of view of their being carried themselves, or their mails or their goods, it all came to the same thing: reliability and safety had to be considered first. The aircraft constructors at once took up this line and did what they could as a temporary measure to modify existing types; and Captain Acland has described the great results which have been achieved by the Vickers-Vimy in its modified peace form. I think it is a matter of great credit to the company that they have been able to do so much with a machine which was originally designed for war purposes. It has flown over a large part of the world. Other machines have also been modified, but to put commercial flying on a sound basis it is recognized that we must really design and build for definite commercial use. This naturally means a very large outlay of money. Also, although design is the heart and core of the whole of the movement, new and improved designs are of no value unless the resultant machines can be used. Therefore air transport, in my opinion, is the great object which we should have in view in order to develop aviation in peace. Service aviation can only, under the restricted conditions of finance, be carried up to a certain point. Design for war purposes must of course continue; but civil design, commercial design, can also greatly help forward war design, and, if it develops to the extent we hope, can maintain a large industry, both in regard to construction and the operation of the machines turned out by the constructors and designers. As Captain Acland has shown you, this was progressing during last year very rapidly when we consider the adverse conditions under which it had to start. We hope that the Government agreement to subsidize will help to hasten forward this movement, as I feel quite certain it will. Turning to minor points, Captain Acland has mentioned the genesis this year of a successful type of amphibian. In my opinion the amphibian is one of the most important developments which has occurred in air matters for a very long time; you have only to think of the advantage of using a machine which is equally suitable for water or land work to appreciate the extraordinary advance which is made over a machine which can only use one element. To take one small instance, if you can get a machine which can fly in a direct stage to Malta, and in a second stage to Egypt, instead of pursuing a tortuous course via Lyons, Italy, the Straits of Otranto, and possibly Greece and Suda Bay in Crete—the route we had to take during the war to get some of our machines out to Egypt —the difference in relative distances is very great. If we intend to develop aviation on an Imperial basis, we must concentrate on reaching Egypt in two direct stages via Malta, for, although our French and Italian friends are prepared to render us every assistance, I am sure you will agree that we must use every effort to establish an all-red route to Egypt to connect this country with the hub from which

Digitized by Google

our other two red routes, to South Africa, India, and Australia, radiate. The amphibian will help us enormously in that direction. In regard to airships, the main difficulties which confront us are their great cost, problems connected with their design, and the fact that their development, compared with that of the aeroplane, was not pushed forward during the war. But I think that we shall be able to develop the airship to a certain extent within the necessarily limited finances at our disposal.

It is our intention to put the airship station at Pulham, which is now to be run by my department, on a commercial basis, so that we can demonstrate in a practical way that the operation of airships is commercially sound, and offer any company which may be formed in the future to take them over the results of the experience gained in a really tangible form. The mooring mast is one of the most important factors in the operation of the airship. I was up a mooring mast yesterday at Pulham, and I can assure you it is not as easy as it appears to put up the girder arrangement, such as you have seen on the screen, and tie up an airship to it. But we have very good brains working out the problem, and I think we are moving in the direction of success. What we wish to prove is that the mooring mast will be effective whether it is situated close to the airship sheds or at a temporary base in Egypt, Malta, or elsewhere. R24 did some very useful work at a light mooring mast, but of course she was a comparatively small airship.

Although the flights across the Atlantic—both by aeroplane and airship—the flights to South Africa and Australia, all had enormous value in showing what can be done, it must be recognized that commercial flying day in and day out on a reliable, safe, and regular basis, is a very different thing. That is what we—constructors, Government Department, and everybody else concerned—have got to prove out. That is what we are steadily working at now; and I am quite certain that, whether this year, next year, or in the years to come, that result will be achieved. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Will Dr. Chalmers Mitchell say something?

Dr. CHALMERS MITCHELL, F.R.S.: Lord Carnock, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I really came here to do myself the pleasure of hearing Captain Acland speak, not with the least intention of speaking myself. However, as you have kindly asked me, there are one or two things I should like to say. First I should like to join with General Sir Frederick Sykes in congratulating Captain Acland and his associates in the Vickers Company on the marvellous success of their adaptation of the war type to the Vickers-Vimy commercial type. My own practical experience is not great, but it is something. I believe that the Vickers commercial type is just as comfortable a way of travelling as it is possible to have. It is certainly very much more comfortable

Digitized by Google

than a fast express train. For instance, I was able to write practically the whole time without any trouble at all, whereas I dare say you know, if you try to write with a stylograph even in a smooth-running express train, you find considerable difficulty. It is really more comfortable than an express train, and a great deal more comfortable than a fast steamer, except in the very best weather. I should like, your lordship, to say that I had the pleasure of a short trip in that very interesting new invention the amphibian, and that I agree with General Sir Frederick Sykes that it has a future of very great promise indeed. But so far as concerns the actual route from London to Cairo: I am rather more inclined to be interested in the very great experiment that General Sykes is going to introduce now, because it seems to me between London and Cairo, if we are to expect, as I think one must expect, that Cairo is going to be the aviation hub of the British Empire—almost of world aviation—in the future, I think it stands to reason that there is going to be rather heavy constant traffic between London and Cairo; traffic heavy enough and constant enough to carry the cost of a big flying-ship. I am therefore looking with very great interest to the experiments to be started presently, the attempts to try to use a flying-ship commercially between this country and Cairo. There will always be more passengers from London to Cairo than from London to the Cape, or Cairo to India. Again, one has to realize that the weather conditions between London and Cairo are usually difficult, and much more suited to the flying-ship, which can make a long non-stop run. For a very long time yet aeroplanes will be very much safer and more comfortable for passengers where there is the opportunity of breaking the journey every 500 or 600 miles at most. You have a very difficult route between London and Cairo, especially with regard to aerodromes suitable for the landing of an aeroplane. I should expect, therefore, that one of the earliest stages in the flying of the future will be airship transport between London and Cairo, taking a large number of passengers with a fair quantity of baggage on a non-stop journey—where they can sleep, dine, and have most of the comforts of modern travel—and by aeroplanes from Cairo onwards in each direction; from Cairo towards Mesopotamia and India; and from Cairo southwards to the Cape and south-westwards across to Nigeria, the latter, I think, being probably also a route of the future. I think all these are routes for which aeroplanes are most suitable. For one thing, they are routes where very mountainous regions have to be traversed, and an aeroplane has very great advantages over an airship in rising and falling over high mountains. I do not want to detain you any more; I want simply to say, as at least a middle-aged person, that I am quite certain that flying is going in a way in which a middle-aged person can travel for decently long journeys with very

Digitized by Google

much greater comfort than by any other method. I myself am a convinced believer, not only in the remote future, but in the immediate future of aerial transport for passengers. (Applause.)

Major-General E. D. SWINTON: Lord Carnock, Ladies and Gentlemen,—There is little I can add to the able lecture delivered by Captain Acland and to the remarks made by Sir Frederick Sykes and Dr. Chalmers Mitchell. One point, I think, in regard to the subject we have been hearing about this afternoon, which has special reference to the portion of the world with which the Society is connected, and which, though obvious, is sometimes lost to sight, is the fact that aerial roadways are ready made and free to all. In parts of the world as yet undeveloped, such as Central Asia, where roads are difficult to construct, railways more so, and both very expensive, this is a very important factor. From the commercial point of view the actual volume of traffic, of course, will depend on the demand, and this is true of all parts of the world. But the necessity for establishing communication through the air, apart from the volume of traffic, is greater in the less civilized parts of the world, because there we find the most marked absence of communication on the ground. The time factor also, in undeveloped countries, carries greater weight, because air transport gives a comparatively greater advantage over any other form of transport other than rail. In regard to development, roads and railways have in the past sometimes been a great assistance to the settlement of a country by the flow of the mass of traffic, either of passengers or merchandise. This I do not think will apply to air communications, which will be useful for connecting together existing centres of population, etc., otherwise separated by many days of travel across impassable country. In point of time and in point of experience the solution of the transport problem over the wilder portions of the earth's surface seems to lie in the air. Captain Acland referred to a quotation from one of Sir Frederick Sykes's speeches to the effect that Cairo would be the air hub of the world. Only this afternoon I was looking at a German pamphlet in which international air traffic in the future was discussed, and the argument of the writer was that Germany would be the centre of European air traffic owing to her geographical position, but he at the same time admitted that in the future the British Empire would be Germany's greatest competitor in the air owing to the worldwide extent of the British Empire. I do not think I have any more to say; the ground has been so well covered already.

The CHAIRMAN: Captain Sheppard, if he is here, or Sir Arnold Wilson.

Sir ARNOLD T. WILSON: My Lord Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My only title to speak is that of practical experience of flying as a passenger in the Middle East. It has been my good fortune to

Digitized by Google

fly for over three hundred hours in the past two or three years—from Bagdad to Cairo, Aleppo to Cairo, Hamadan, Basrah, Bushire, Koweit, and I was only accidentally prevented from going down to Bahrein. I have had a good many crashes, due not to any lack of skill on the part of the pilots, but due entirely to the fact that pioneer travel and unknown aerodromes involve unknown conditions. But I remain a convinced optimist. The air makes one optimistic—perhaps unduly so. None of the previous speakers has referred to what we might describe as the ground conditions; at the present moment the ground conditions in the Middle East are distinctly more unfavourable than atmospheric conditions. I am not so afraid when flying of what is in the air as of what is on the ground, and I fear that is likely to be accentuated in the near future. There is nothing a pilot is more afraid of than what is known as drift. Drift is the motion imparted to an aeroplane by a side wind of unknown velocity, and it is dangerous because while the machine appears to be moving in one direction it is actually going in another direction. There is such a thing as drift in politics; we have it frequently at the present moment, especially in the Middle East, and if we do not make some allowance for the unfavourable winds which are now blowing there, we shall have a crash, and a very bad one. Turning to subjects more within the scope of this lecture, we have had a certain amount of experience of using aeroplanes in connection with Government purposes in Mesopotamia for surveys. We found we could get surveys completed sufficiently satisfactory for ordinary purposes at two-fifths of the cost and in one-fifth of the time—a very satisfactory result. I do not suggest that it is equally applicable to all countries and all sorts of surveys, but within limits the aeroplane has exceptional value for survey work. My own experience is that future air routes will be hampered not so much by climatic conditions, which, as the chart showed, are normally good in the Middle East, but by the absence of good communication. Aerodromes require very considerable quantities of petrol, spare parts, hangars, and the like, and these have to be transported by rail or road. To maintain an aerodrome at Hamadan in Persia at an altitude of 6,000 feet, and with a thermometer going down to approximately zero for two or three months at nights in the winter; to maintain a hangar at Bagdad, only 300 miles away, with a thermometer going up to 160° in the sun for three months during the summer, with nothing between them except very indifferent road, and a people who have become accustomed to regard the aeroplane as an enemy rather than a friend—and who cannot resist the temptation of shooting at the bird—involves difficult problems which we have to face. We have not failed to do so, but they involve risks which a commercial company cannot be expected to take on at the moment. The traffic is there, both mails and

Digitized by Google

passengers, but the ground conditions are not such as to give immediate hope. Most countries that we know have been through somewhat similar conditions to those now prevalent, and I can only express the pious hope that before long satisfactory conditions will reign in the Middle East. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think, ladies and gentlemen, we are very fortunate in having had the advantage of listening to the remarks from the distinguished gentlemen who have been good enough to address us, and I think I shall be interpreting your wishes if I move a very hearty vote of thanks to Captain Acland for the very interesting lecture which he has been kind enough to deliver to us.

The vote of thanks was most cordially given to the lecturer.

Digitized by Google

SARACENIC ARCHITECTURE AND THE CRUSADERS

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society took place on the afternoon of Thursday, February 17, 1921, with Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., in the chair, the principal business being to listen to an address by Mr. M. S. Briggs, F.R.I.B.A., on Saracenic Architecture.

The CHAIRMAN: The Honorary Secretary will read the names of the members who have been elected to-day.

The HON. SECRETARY (Colonel A. C. YATE): We have to-day elected nineteen new members: Mr. Henry Wellcome (donor of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories, Khartoum); Brigadier-General M. E. Willoughby, C.B., C.M.G., C.S.I.; Dr. Patrick Alfred Buxton, Trinity College, Cambridge; Lieutenant-Colonel P. C. Joyce, C.B.E., M.C.; Mr. H. E. Bowman, C.B.E., Director of Education, Jerusalem; Captain W. J. M. Watson-Armstrong; Mr. G. Monteath, I.C.S.; Major J. R. L. Weir; Major C. G. Lloyd, C.I.E., M.C.; Major M. Hiles, O.B.E.; Captain R. Horsfield; Captain L. Gard Matthews; Captain G. H. Shellswell; Captain W. F. Webb; Captain L. C. R. Wilkinson, R.A.; Captain H. Prichard Thomas, of the 126th Baluchistan Regiment; the Rev. R. A. Young; Mr. G. Antonius; and Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Thornton, C.M.G.

I have to mention that in the last number of the JOURNAL we invited members to contribute anything they thought would be acceptable to the library or, possibly in the future, museum of the Central Asian Society. Major Henry Lawrence Haughton, of the 36th Sikhs, responded at once with a Chinese currency note of the reign of the Emperor Hung-Wu, the first ruler of the Ming Dynasty. The date is the second half of the fourteenth century. I confess for myself that I am no authority whatever on Chinese antiquities, but we can imagine this a thing of very considerable value. We are indebted to Mr. Alexander for a terrestrial globe. My brother, Colonel Sir Charles Yate, has presented two books, of which he is the author, viz., "Khurasan and Sistan" and "Northern Afghanistan," the latter being a record of his experiences on the Afghan Boundary Commission of 1884-1886. Then we have received from Baghdad—from the High Commissioner—a considerable number of official publications connected with the administration of the pro-

Digitized by Google

vince. Mr. Banerjee has presented us with "Hellenism in Ancient India," a book that I know has attracted a good deal of interest and attention, and which Sir Richard Temple kindly consented to review for us, but unfortunately his health prevented that. Mr. A. L. P. Tucker has given us his Memoir on Sir Robert Sandeman. When I came back from the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1885, the *Pioneer*, whose correspondent I had been on that Commission, in a very sporting spirit, printed off fifty copies of the letters which I contributed during my year with the Boundary Commission, and gave them to me. Most of them have long ago been distributed, but I still have two or three, and I venture to offer one to this Society. For the moment that constitutes what I may call the commencement of the library of the Central Asian Society; but I venture again to ask all who are here present to remember that we shall be glad to receive books. Most people have books that they don't want. Naturally, we want books that deal with our subject, which is Asia. I am going to say one more word, as I am on my feet, and that is regarding the increase of the membership of this Society. I tell you from my experience, which now has been a pretty close one of three years, that, if you want your friends to become members, you must suggest it to them. I will not use a stronger word than "suggest." Many men do not know that the Society exists; many think they have not the qualifications for it. But the fact is we want members. We want strength and we want money; otherwise we cannot carry on. As you all know, expenses are heavy in these days. Therefore I appeal to you all not to go about as if your sole interest in connection with this Society was to come to its meetings and read its JOURNAL. You should know that we want another five hundred members at least, and I think that, when we have got that five hundred, we shall want another five, if we are going to adequately represent British interests, which are vast, in the Middle East. If this Society ever numbers two thousand, it will be none too strong for the work before it. At present we are 400 against 130 at the time of the Armistice. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thoroughly endorse all that our very energetic and persevering Honorary Secretary has said, and I hope we shall all do our best to bring in an increased membership. I would like to bring to your notice this little book by Mr. Tucker on Sir Robert Sandeman. It is a very good book on that eminent Indian administrator. I will now introduce Mr. Briggs, an able authority on Saracenic architecture. (Applause.)

SARACENIC ARCHITECTURE AND THE CRUSADERS.

As the lecture was practically identical with one entitled "Saracenic Architecture in Egypt and Palestine," given before the

Digitized by Google

R.I.B.A. on December 13, 1920, and reported in the journal of that Association dated January 8, 1921, as also in the *Architects' Journal* of December 15, 1920, it has not been considered necessary to reproduce it here. The lecture was listened to by the assembled audience with close attention, and when Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., said in the subsequent discussion that it really was a relief to turn from everlasting politics to art, the audience promptly evinced its sympathy with that sentiment. Mr. Briggs illustrated his lecture with excellent lantern-slides, and the vote of thanks to him, proposed from the chair, was most willingly and warmly accorded. For the information of those who desire to pursue further the subject of Mr. Briggs' lecture, I may mention that there is also an article by him in the *Burlington Art Magazine* for January, 1921, entitled "The Architecture of Saladin and the Influence of the Crusades (A.D. 1171—1250)."—A. C. Y.

The CHAIRMAN: It has been very pleasant to have a change to art from the usual lectures on the politics of Central Asia. But of course the Society deals not only with politics, but with art. Sir Reginald Wingate was here, but I am sorry to say he has had to leave; we should have been very glad indeed to have had the result of his experience of so many years in Egypt. I do not know if Major Ormsby-Gore is still here.

Major the Hon. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE: I was extremely interested in Mr. Briggs' most admirable paper. I think I have seen all the buildings that he showed us, and, like him, have been a humble student of architecture in the Middle East. He invited us to express opinions as to whether we should call it "Arab," "Saracenic," or "Mohammedan." I hope he will stick to "Arab," and for this reason: that I think scholarship tends to prove that the great Mohammedan buildings, such as the mosque of Ibn Tulun and the mosque at Samara, of which we were shown photographs, the earliest great Moslem monuments, owe their origins to pre-Islamic Arab art. The most notable building of that pre-Islamic Arab civilization that still remains to us is the great palace of Okhaidr, near Kerbela and Nejef, west of the Euphrates. You will find admirable photographs in Miss Bell's "Amurath to Amurath," and her great monograph published by the Clarendon Press on that building. That is near the Euphrates. Similarly, east of Jordan, on the edge of the desert there, you will find the beginnings of the new style of architecture breaking away from the Roman and Greek tradition, which eventually evolved into the Arab architecture, dating from pre-Islamic times—notably in Rabbath Ammon and other places east of the Jordan along the edge of the desert. There is still a good deal of further research needed, although Dieulafoy, the great student of Persian building,

Digitized by Google

drew attention to them. There is another point in connection with Mr. Briggs' paper—that is, the interaction of the Crusader with his Western architecture on Saracenic, and Saracenic architecture on Western. I do not know if he knows—probably he does, and others know also—the most extraordinarily interesting essays on that subject by Phené Spiers, which show the enormous importance of the architecture of the island of Sicily in this connection. In Sicily you find that extraordinary blend of the Saracenic, Byzantine, and Norman under the Norman Sovereigns of Sicily in the eleventh century—under King Roger and King Robert—and they are the most interesting monuments for studying the interaction of East and West. Mr. Spiers makes out that most of the Crusading churches in Palestine, such, for instance, as the church of Abu Gosh, were made by Sicilian masons who accompanied the Crusaders. They had the pointed arch and took it back to Palestine, having got it before we got it in France and England, from the Saracens in Sicily. Unndoubtedly the pointed arch—that is to say, the structural and architectural use of the pointed arch—seems to come from Southern Persia and Mesopotamia about the time of the rise of Islam in the seventh century of our era. As the lecturer said, you see it fully developed in that magnificent example, the wonderful mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo, of the ninth century, than which nothing is grander in the whole period of Moslem architecture. But it was carried West in the seventh and eighth centuries, and the interest in Persia arises as to the origin of that stalactite. The lecturer talked about the first example known to him being in the twelfth-century mosque of Al Achma in Cairo. My impression is that you get earlier stalactites in Sicily than you do in Cairo, and earlier still in Mesopotamia. There is a great dispute as to the tomb of Zobeida outside Baghdad, of the ninth century, as to whether its stalactite is original or not. There is the Saracenic palace of La Ziza outside Palermo. I have seen it. It is undoubtedly of the tenth century A.D., and stalactite vaulting is developed on the Norman architecture of the eleventh century in Sicily in the most splendid examples. The Capella Palatina at Palermo is probably one of the finest examples of stalactite vaulting. I think this interaction of East and West most interesting. I think probably the pointed arch was brought to the West, and the Crusaders in some way restored its purity by their influence in Palestine during their hundred years' rule. That tower at Ramleh was close to General Allenby's General Headquarters; I used to see it every day in the summer of 1918—it was built shortly after the close of the Crusades. I do not think it was built by Bibars. I remember trying to transcribe the inscription of the Mameluke Sultan who built it. The date is about 1340, as far as I remember. It shows the effect of the Western Crusaders on the sort of archaistic

Digitized by Google

revival which took place in Syria and Palestine under the Mameluke Sultans. One can go very wide, because Islam carried this pointed arch and their special conception of architecture, which I think the lecturer very well dealt with—namely, this tremendous feeling for unity and a great congregational enclosure for simplicity and dignity, that is the first impression of the mosques—it carried it far and wide; to India, Central Asia, Syria, North Africa, and across to Spain and Sicily. Undoubtedly Islam carried the impulse, the origin of which I think you will find in the Arab and Semitic civilizations which came before the actual rise of Mohammed. I think Mr. March Phillips knew extraordinarily little about the architecture of the Middle East, or about the Arabs (Hear, hear)—both the men and the buildings. To attempt to judge Saracenic architecture from Spain is most unfortunate. He might even have gone to North Africa, say to Tlemcen, on the borders of Algeria and Morocco, where you find something a good deal finer than anything in Spain—something that has the spirit of the desert and the better aspect of the East still in it. I am not quite sure that this Sociey will share my views that a paper of this kind helps to bring us into touch with the history and character of the East to an extraordinary degree, and that we are very glad to get away from politics on to the creations of beauty which have been produced by Arab civilization in those parts of the world. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We are very grateful to Major Ormsby-Gore for his interesting remarks. He has already dealt with the proposal for a Middle Eastern Department. If and when he is directly connected with that Department, we hope he will bear in mind the lecturer's recommendation that special care should be taken to preserve the Saracenic or Arab art of the Middle East. Before I ask you to give a vote of thanks to the lecturer, I should like to make some observations on a remark that he made as to this Saracenic or Arab architecture being expressive of the character of the people. Some of us have had experience of the way in which these buildings—whether they are mosques, tombs, or domestic architecture—are actually brought into being. How it comes about is this: Either the chief or some notable man, whoever it is, who wishes to construct a building, gets together his friends and some experts in building. They have many conclaves, and discuss the whole project in all its bearings, and gradually the idea of the building takes shape. Many opinions are expressed; there are very close discussions—very much in the same way, although on a larger scale and more frequent, as we see in the discussions about war memorials in this country. There are also great differences of opinion, as there have been over those war memorials. Anyhow the whole matter is most thoroughly discussed, and then, as the building rises, everybody gives his opinion about it,

Digitized by Google

the chief himself, of course, having the principal say in the matter. As the result, you get in the building a true expression of the character of the people. I entirely endorse what the lecturer said on that point, and, of course, as these Arabs came Westward, and came into contact with other peoples, their character was affected by those other peoples, and this change came to light in the buildings they constructed. I am sure you would all like me to express on your behalf a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for this most interesting lecture. We hope it may be followed by other lectures of the same kind. (Applause.)

This ended the meeting.

Digitized by Google

HOW SIR RICHMOND SHAKESPEAR SET FREE THE RUSSIAN SLAVES AT KHIVA

After the occupation of Kabul by the forces of the Government of India in 1839, Major D'Arcy Todd, Bengal Artillery, was despatched on a special mission to Herat. With him, among others, went Lieutenants James Abbott and Richmond Shakespear, both of the Bengal Artillery. Major Todd, on his own initiative, sent Lieutenant Abbott to Khiva, to attempt to persuade the Khan to release the Russian subjects who were held as slaves in his dominions, and thereby remove the only just ground of offence against Khiva on the part of Russia.*

Lieutenant Abbott was at Khiva from January 19 to early in March, 1840, and then set out for St. Petersburg, carrying with him a letter from the Khan to the Czar, promising that all the Russian prisoners should be released, provided that the Czar would release the Khivan subjects detained in Russia. The Khan was very suspicious of the Russians, and it required much skill and patience on the part of Lieutenant Abbott to obtain this letter. On his way to the Caspian, Lieutenant Abbott met with many troubles, being attacked by Cossacks, and severely wounded, but, nevertheless, he delivered the letter, and from information received in Calcutta, it appears that his efforts would have been successful, but as it turned out, the Khan of Khiva had released the Russian captives before there was time for Abbott's mission to bear fruit.†

Shortly after Lieutenant Abbott had left Herat, Major Todd received some instructions from Sir William McNaughten, the British Envoy at Kabul, and decided to send Lieutenant Shakespear to Khiva, to give them effect. Lieutenant Shakespear reached Khiva on June 12, 1840. He had much difficulty in persuading the Khan to release the Russian subjects, but eventually did so, and also obtained the order published herewith. Lieutenant Shakespear, after much patient work, collected all the Russian subjects, and set out with them, 416 in number, men, women, and

* "Kaye's Lives of Indian Officers," Major D'Arcy Todd, p. 356.

† Appendix A to "Journey from Heraut to Khiva, Moscow, and St. Petersburg," third edition, by Captain James Abbott.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Translation of Rescript of the King of Khwárazm (Khiva), written at the beginning of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1256 [=*July* 31, 1840.]

Abu'l-Muzaffar Wa'l-Mansúr Abu'l-Gházi Khwárazm-sháh.
OUR WORD:

The Royal and Most High Order to the Wise Governors of the Metropolis of Khwárazm [Khiva], festive as Paradise, to its Lords and Captains, to the doughty Warriors and Chiefs of the Yemút and Chúdar (?) Tribes, to the brave Chiefs of Qázzag (Cossacks) and Quara-galpá (Black-caps) Peoples, and to all Peoples under our rule,

Know that on the first day of the month of the second *Jumáda*, in the year one thousand two hundred and fifty-six of the Flight of His Holiness the Prophet (may God bless and salute him), and in the year of the Mouse, it was that WE began to be on friendly and familiar terms with the Most Great Emperor, the King of the Russian domains, and to pursue peace and friendship with him.

Therefore on becoming aware of, and acquainted with, the purpose of this high command, let no one make raids into the Russian territories, nor buy Russian captives. And whosoever shall act contrary to the purport of this high command, and shall perpetrate such raids, or purchase such captives, shall be deserving of the Royal Punishment.

This Royal, most august, sacred, and sublime command received honourable issue *A.H.* 1256 [=A.D. 1840.]

EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., F.B.A.,
Adams Professor of Arabic, Cambridge.
November 14, 1920.

Digitized by Google

children, and on September 15 handed them all over safely to the Commandant of Nova Alexandroff, the Russian fort on the eastern shore of the Caspian.

The Russian Government in return released 640 Khivan subjects, so that the immediate result of Major Todd's sending Abbott and Shakespear was the release of over 1,000 persons from lifelong slavery. It also contributed largely to the postponement of the conquest of Khiva by Russia till 1873.

Lieutenant Abbott's visit had paved the way for Lieutenant Shakespear, but Abbott has left on record his opinion that "had any officer of less genius, prudence, and engaging manners than Captain Shakespear been sent after me to Khiva, the negotiations might have had a result very different from the brilliant conclusion to which his prompt and judicious mediation brought them."*

Lieutenant Shakespear proceeded to St. Petersburg, and thence to England, where his services were rewarded with the honour of Knighthood.

An account of Sir Richmond Shakespear's journey was published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1842, and some letters of his written during the journey were published in *Bengal, Past and Present*, October–December, 1910, the journal of the Calcutta Historical Society.

J. SHAKESPEAR.

* Quoted from "Journey from Heraut to Khiva, Moscow, and St. Petersburg," third edition, by Captain James Abbott.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO MARCH, 1921

Digitized by Google

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1920-21

Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, P.C., K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., ETC.

Chairman of Council:

1920. THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents:

1913. H.E. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.I.E.
1917. THE RT. HON. SIR MORTIMER DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1919. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
1919. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
1920. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1920. GENERAL SIR EDMUND BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Hon. Treasurer:

1920. SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.

Hon. Secretary:

1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

Members of the Council:

1918. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR A. H. MCMAHON, G.C.V.O., G.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., F.S.A.
1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. P. R. PICOT.
1919. COLONEL SIR CHARLES YATE, BART., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., D.L.
1920. GENERAL SIR REGINALD WINGATE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., D.C.L.
1920. CAPTAIN THE HON. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P., D.L.
1920. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1920. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.
1920. THE RT. HON. SIR MAURICE W. E. DE BUNSEN, BART., P.C., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B.
1921. CAPTAIN G. C. STEPHENSON.

Assistant Secretary:

MISS M. N. KENNEDY.

OFFICES: 74, GROSVENOR ST., W. 1.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS

The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.

A

1910. Sir Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, K.C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.W.F. Province.
1921. Acland, Captain P. Dyke, attd. Aviation Dept., Vickers Ltd., Vickers' House, Broadway, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1920. Adye, Maj.-Gen. Sir J. K., K.C.M.G., C.B., etc., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
†Aglionby, Captain A., Junior Naval and Military Club, 96, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1916. Ainscough, T. M., McLeod House, Off. of H. M. Trade Commissioner, Post Box 683, Calcutta.
1919. Alexander, Y. Patrick, F.R.G.S., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
1919. Allahabad, University of, History Department.
1920. Allchin, Geoffrey C., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Allen, W. E. D., Commonwood House, Chipperfield, Herts.
10 1920. Allenby, Field Marshal the Rt. Hon. Viscount, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., Cairo, Egypt.
1921. Antonius, George, The Union Club, Alexandria.
1920. Ashton, Captain F. T., Glendower, Pinner, Middlesex.
1920. Austin, Lieut. A. P. M., c/o Coutts and Co., 440, Strand, W.C.

B

1920. Bacon, Captain S. F., Windcliffe, Grove Road, Sutton.
1908. *Baddeley, J. F., 34, Bruton Street, W. 1.
1917. Bahrein, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.
1910. Bailey, Major F. M., C.I.E., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1906. *Bailward, Brig.-Gen. A. C., R.A. (ret.), 1, Prince's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
20 1920. Balfour, Lt.-Col. F. C. C., C.I.E., M.C., Caledonian Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Ballard, Mrs. C. R., Hadborn Mill, Much Hadborn, Herts.
1916. Baluchistan, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta.
1918. Banks, Mrs. M. M., Hornton Cottage, Hornton Street, W. 8.

Digitized by Google

1920. Bannerjee, Gauranga Nath, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., (Professor of Ancient History, Calcutta University), 107/11, Mechua Bazar Street, Calcutta.
1920. Barman, Maharaj Kumar J. C. Deb, Comilla, Tipperah.
1920. Barman, Col. Thakur Mohin Chandra Deb, Agartala, Tripura State, Bengal.
1905. *Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., 29, Campden House Court, W. 8. M. of C.
1913. Barrow, General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., India Office, S.W. 1., and 7, Lansdowne Crescent, W. 11. M. of C.
1920. Barstow, Captain A. E., M.C., 15th Sikhs, Mesopotamia.
1920. Base, Edward H., 5, Station Road, Lowestoft.
1919. Bateman, H. G., F.R.G.S.
1920. Beale, Captain C. T., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Bell, B. H., Law Courts, Baghdad.
Bell, James, 107, Godolphin Road, Shepherd's Bush. W.
1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Resident, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.
*†Bennett, Sir T. J., C.I.E., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent.
1918. Beresford-Lovett, Major-Gen., C.B., C.S.I., Hillside, Harvey Road, Guildford, Surrey.
1916. Bernière, Col. H. J. de, 115, Jermyn Street, S.W. 1., and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Birch, Lt.-Col. J. M., D.S.O., 20, Bina Gardens, S.W.
1910. Bigg-Wither, Captain F., I.A., Deputy Commr., c/o Messrs. A. Scott and Co., Rangoon, Burma.
1920. Blacker, Major L. W. S., Queen Victoria's Own Corps of Guides, Junior Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1916. Bombay, Sec. to Govt. Political Dept., Bombay, India.
1919. Bone, H. Peters, 5, Hamilton Mansions, Kings Gardens, Hove, Sussex.
Bosanquet, Sir O. V., K.C.I.E., 1, Vicarage Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.
1921. Bowman, H. E., C.B.E., Director of Education, Jerusalem.
1920. Bray, Major F. E., M.C., 21, Evelyn Gardens, S.W. 7.
1920. Bray, Major, N. N. E., M.C., Political Dept., Govt. of India, c/o Political Secretary, India Office, S.W. 1.
1921. Bridcut, Lieut.-Col. S. H., O.B.E., 20, Pelham Crescent, S.W. 7.
1920. Bros, Major H. Alwyn (R. of O.) Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Browne, Claude M., 10, Queensberry Place, S.W. 7.
1916. †Bruce, Brig.-Gen. C. D., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Brunskill, Major J. S., 135, Sloane Street, S.W.
1920. Buchanan, Sir G. C., K.C.I.E., Kt., 16, Victoria Street, S.W.
†Buchanan, W. A., The Cottage, Knebworth, Herts.

Digitized by Google

1919. Bunsen, The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de, P.C., G.C.M.G., Old Lodge, Taplow, Bucks. M. of C.
1919. Burdwan, The Hon. Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, K.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., T.O.M., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of, The Palace, Bardwan, Bengal, India.
1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
1920. Busk, H. Gould, F.R.G.S., Dodnash Lodge, East Bergholt, Suffolk.
1920. Buxton, Leland W. W., 45, Kensington Park Gardens, W.
1921. Buxton, Dr. P. A., Trinity College, Cambridge.

C

1919. Calcutta Imperial Library (Journal subs.).
1920. Cameron, Major G. S., M.C., Dept. Director of Agriculture, Lower Baghdad, Mesopotamia.
1918. Campbell, John MacLeod, Glen Saddell, Carradale, Argyll.
1907. †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Carey, Lieut.-Col. A. B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., c/o Director of Public Works, Baghdad, and 52, The Close, Norwich.
1920. Carleton, Col. the Hon. Dudley, 21, Upper Berkeley Street, W. 1.
1919. Carnock, The Rt. Hon. Lord, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3. Chairman of C.
1920. Chakravati, Professor Nilmani, M.A., 18, Sitaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
1920. Charge, H. L., Oakwood, Roundhay, Leeds.
1923. Chatterjee, K. N., B.A., 12, Madan Mohan Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta.
1920. Chesney, G. M., 69, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. 5.
1920. Childs, W. J., The Quadrangle, Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1903. *Chirol, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Chitty, Christopher, 2, East Heath Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1920. Chondhurry, R. G. K., M.A., B.L., Zemindar, Tako, 24, Parganaks Dt., Calcutta.
1918. Christie, Miss A., 40, Ovington Street, S.W. 3.
1920. Christie, Miss E. R., F.R.G.S., Cowden Castle, Dollar, N.B.
1920. Clayton, Brig.-Gen. Sir Gilbert F., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., Ministry of Interior, Cairo.
1920. Clayton, Brig.-Gen. W. W., Director Special Section, Public Security Dept., War Office, Cairo.
1919. Coales, Oliver R., H.B.M., Consulate General, Shanghai, China; R. Societies Club, St. James's Street.
1920. Cobbe, Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. S., V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1920. Cole, Major J. J. B., F.R.G.S., Rifle Brigade, Brit. Section Allied Military Committee of Versailles, 22, rue de l'Elysée, Paris, and Travellers' Club, Pall Mall.

Digitized by Google

1918. Collis, Mrs., 17, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W. 6; The Ladies' Army and Navy Club, Burlington Gardens, W. 1.
1920. Connal-Rowan, Major J. F. Meiklewood, Gargunnock, Stirlingshire; Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Cooke, Captain R. S., Dalnottarhill, Old Kilpatrick, N.B.
1920. Cornwallis, Col. Kinahan, C.B.E., D.S.O., F.R.G.S., Director of the Arab Bureau, Cairo; Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Costello, Brig.-Gen. E. W., V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O., 12, Cardinal Mansions, S.W. 1.
1920. Costello, Mrs. E. W., 12, Cardinal Mansions, S.W. 1.
1919. Cowell, Mrs. M., 26, St. George's Court, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1908. Cox, Lieut.-Col. Sir Percy Z., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1920. Craufurd-Stuart, Major C. Kennedy, D.S.O., Government House, Simla, India.
1920. Crawfurd, Lt.-Commander C., R.N., c/o L.D.D., Admiralty, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1914. Crewdson, Major W. T. O., R.F.A., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W. 1.
1907. Cuningham, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1907. *Curzon of Kedleston, The Rt. Hon. Earl, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants, 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W. 1. Hon. President.

D

1919. Dane, Sir Richard Morris, K.C.I.E., Morden Grange, Betchworth, Surrey; East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1908. Daukes, Major C. T., C.I.E., 3 E, The Mansions, Bramham Gardens, S.W. 5.
1921. Davies, R., Standard Oil Company of New York, Rue Rakovska, 127, Sofia. (Journal subscriber.)
1906. Davis, W. S., Greyhounds, Burford, Oxon.
1918. Davis, Mrs., 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
1920. Deedes, Lt.-Col. W. H., C.M.G., D.S.O., Civil Sec. Palestine Govt., Government House, Jerusalem.
1919. Digby, Bassett, F.R.G.S., 49, Elm Park Mansions, Park Walk, Chelsea, S.W.
1906. Dobbs, Sir H. R. C., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1903. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.
1910. Douglas, Captain H. A.
1920. Douglas, Major-Gen. J. A., C.M.G., C.I.E., 16, Park Mansions, Knightsbridge.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
1920. Dunsterville, Col. K. S., C.B., 12, Oakwood Court, Kensington, W.

Digitized by Google

1920. Dunsterville, Major-Gen. L. C., C.B., The Cronk, Port St. Mary, Isle of Man.
1903. *†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane, W. 1.
1907. *Durand, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Penmayne House, Rock, Wadebridge, Cornwall. Vice-President.
1920. Dyer, Brig.-Gen. R. E. H., 22, Ryder St., St. James's, S.W.

E

1920. Egerton, Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. G., K.C.B., K.C.I.E., 43, Cheyne Court, S.W. 3.
†Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Empson, C., 1, Driffield Terrace, The Mount, York.
1911. Etherton, Lieut.-Colonel P., British Consulate Kashgar.
1918. Evans, T. Herbert, St. David's, Lisvane, Glam.

F

1920. Fardell, Mrs. H. A., 16, Brechin Place, S.W. 7.
1919. FitzHugh, Capt. J. C., D.S.O., M.V.O., c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., 16, Charing Cross.
1920. FitzGibbon, Captain H. D. C., M.C., 13th Hussars, White's Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
1915. Flower, Hon. E., Durrow Castle, Durrow, Queen's County, Ireland.
1920. Forbes, Mrs. Muriel, Naval and Military Club, Harrington Road, S.W.
1920. Forbes, Mrs. Rosita, 69, Curzon Street, W. 1.
1920. Fowle, Captain T. C., I.A., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Fraser, Commander Bruce A., R.N., Whitecroft, Nailsworth, Glos.
1921. Fraser, Captain B. de M. S., Political Dept. Govt. of India, c/o H. S. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Fraser, E., 14, Chester Street, S.W. 1.
1915. Fraser, George, Imperial Institute, S. Kensington, S.W. 7.
1920. Fraser, M. F. A., F.R.G.S., Beaufort, Knaphill, Nr. Woking.
1916. Fraser, The Hon. Sir Stuart M., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., c/o H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1906. *Fryer, Sir Frederic, K.C.S.I., 23, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7. Vice-President.
1920. Fuller, N. B., M.B.E., Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W. 1.

G

1908. Gabriel, Lieut.-Colonel Vivian, C.V.O., C.S.I., The Marlborough Club, 52, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

Digitized by Google

1920. Ganguly, Manomohan B. E., M.R.A.S., 50, Raja Raj Bulbul Street, Calcutta.
1919. Garbett, C. C., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Garbett, Captain R. B. L., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad, c/o The Eastern Bank, Crosby Square, E.C. 3.
1920. Garland, Major Herbert, O.B.E., M.A., Agent for Mesopotamia, The Residency, Cairo.
1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, and Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.
1920. Gaster, Dr. M., 193, Maida Vale, W. 9.
1919. Gaulter, Mrs., 152, Earl's Court Road, S.W. 5.
1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1920. Geden, Rev. A. S., Royapettah, Harpenden, Herts.
1919. Goold-Adams, Col. Sir H. E. F., K.B.E., C.M.G., Jamesbrook, Middleton, Co. Cork. United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Gorbold, Captain Roland, R.A.O.C., c/o Sir C. R. McGrigor, Bart., & Co., 39, Panton Street, Haymarket.
1920. Gordon, Lieut.-Col. P. J., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Gourlay, W. R., Government House, Calcutta.
1920. Gowan, Captain C. H., M.C., 13th Hussars, Cavalry Club, Piccadilly.
1920. Graham, Col. R. J. D., Dunalastair, North Inch, Perth.
1919. Grant, H. D., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S., Automobile Club, S.W. 1.
1920. Gregson, Lieut.-Col. E. G., C.M.G., C.I.E., Buncrana, Rake, Liss, Hants.
1920. Grey, Lieut.-Col. W. George, Solars, Chiddingfold, Surrey.
1920. Grieve, Captain A. McLeod, 3rd Black Watch, 21, Queen's Crescent, Edinburgh.
1920. Griffin, Captain A. C., O.B.E., R.E., c/o H. S. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Grove White, Major M. FitzG., D.S.O., O.B.E, R.E., War Office, Whitehall, S.W.

H

1920. Hadow, Major H. R., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Hall, Captain A. H., Annfield, Rothesay, Scotland.
1918. Harford, Frederic Dundas, C.V.O., 49, Egerton Gardens, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Harapvasad, Mahamohopadhyaya, Shastri, C.I.E., F.A.S.B., 26, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.
1920. Hardinge, The Rt. Hon. Sir A., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Coldharbour, West Hoathley, Sussex.
1920. Haughton, Major H. L., 36th Sikhs, c/o Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Hay, Captain W. R., Jacolines, Southern Hill, Reading.
1920. Headley, R. Hollowell, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.

Digitized by Google

1920. Hendley, Major-Gen., M.B., C.S.I., Hon. Surgeon to H.M. the King, Caxton, near Cambridge.
1921. Hiles, Major M., O.B.E., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1919. Hill, Lt. H. Brian, F.R.G.S., c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton & Co., Calcutta, India.
1921. Hodgkin, R. Howard, 20, Bradmore Road, Oxford.
*†Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W. 7.
170 1919. Hope, Miss T. M., Crix, Hatfield Peverel, Witham, Essex.
1921. Horsfield, Captain R., c/o Director of Railways, Baghdad.
1920. Houstoun, G. L., The Farm, Kyrenia, Cyprus.
1908. Howell, Lieut.-Col. E. B., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Hubbard, Lieut.-Col., Royal Aero Club, 3, Clifford Street, W. 1.
1920. Hunter-Weston, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Aylmer, K.C.B., D.S.O., D.L., M.P., 2, Culford Gardens, S.W. 3, and Hunsterton, West Kilbride, N.B.
1918. Hunter, Mrs., 81, Holland Park, W. 11.

I

1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.
1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1915. Ingram, Captain M. B., the Foreign Office, Whitehall, S. W., and Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
180 1919. Inman, Miss H. M., 12, Sloane Terrace Mansions, S.W. 1. (Journal subscriber.)

J

1920. Jacob, Col. H. F., C.S.I., Holly Cottage, Consley Wood, Wadhurst, Sussex.
*†James, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham. Vice-President.
†Jardine, Mrs., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
*†Jardine, W. E., C.I.E., I.C.S., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.
1919. Jeejeebhoy, Lieut. J. P. B., F.R.G.S., Pedder Road, Bombay.
1920. Jeffreys, Major J. F. D., I.A., Political Officer, Kut-el-Amarah, Mesopotamia.
1920. Jhalawar, H. H. Maharaj Rana Sri Bhawani, Sahib Bahadur of, K.C.I.E., Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.
1921. Joyce, Lieut.-Col. P. C., C.B.E., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

K

1920. Kay, Professor D. M., Marine Hotel, St. Andrew's, Fife, N.B.
190 1920. Keeling, Capt. E. H., M.C., United University Club, 1, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.

Digitized by Google

1907.†*Kelly, Col. J. G., C.B., 1, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, S.W. 5.
1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
1920. Kettlewell, Captain L., D.S.O., Stourpaine Vicarage, Blandford.
†King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.
1920. Knox-Niven, Lt.-Col. H. W., 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1918. Kuwait, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.

L

1920. Laithwaite, John E., 39, Bryanston Street, Portman Square W. 1.
1904.†*Lamington, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1.
1920. Lane, D. A., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
200 1920. Lang, Commander G. H., D.S.O., R.N., 13, Abbey Court, Abbey Road, N.W.
1920. Law, Bunara Charan, M.A., 24, Sukea's Street, Calcutta.
1920. Law, Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
1920. Lees, Captain G. Martin, M.C., D.F.C., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Léon, M. Henri M., Ph.D., L.L.D., 8, Taviton Street, Gordon Square, W.C.
1921. Leslie, Lieut. L., Shropshire L.I., The Barracks, Shrewsbury.
1920. Leveson-Gower, Col. C., C.M.G., C.B.E., 13, Cottesmore Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.
1921. Lloyd, Major C. G., C.I.E., M.C., Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1908. *Lloyd, H.E., Capt. Sir George A., D.S.O., Government House, Bombay.
1912. Loch, Capt. P. G., 97th Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Bombay, India.
210 1908. Lockhart, Lady, C.I., 187, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1920. Longrigg, Major S. H., Political Officer, Kirkuk, Mesopotamia.
1920. Lowis, Lieut. H. R., I.A., Underhill, London Road, Camberley.
1909. Lyall, Major, R.A., I.A., 3rd Kashmir Rifles, E.E.F., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.

M

1909. Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., Les Vaux, St. Saviour's, Jersey, Channel Isles. M. of C.
1920. Macgregor, Lady, Hampton Court Palace, Hampton Court.
1920. Mackenzie, Lady M. M. Owen, 6, Chesham Street, S.W. 1.; Brantham Court, Suffolk.
1920. Mackie, Captain J. B., Castle Cary, Somerset.
1920. Macpherson, C. F., c/o Gray Mackenzie, Basra.
1903. Malcolm, Brigadier-General Neill, D.S.O.

Digitized by Google

1920. Marling, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., British Legation, Copenhagen.
1920. Marrs, Major R., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Massy, Col. P. H. Hamon, C.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall.
1921. Mathews, Captain L. Gard, Arab Levies, 2, Napier Terrace, Plymouth.
1920. Mathews, Captain L. S., 2nd Euphrates Levy, c/o Eastern Bank, Ltd., Baghdad.
1920. Mathieson, Wilfred, Minchinhampton, Glos.
1920. May, Major W. R. S., C.I.E., Twyford House, Alnmouth.
1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.
1906. McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., 59, Pont Street, S.W. 1. M. of C.
1920. McNearnie, Captain H. D., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1920. McRobert, Sir Alexr., Douneside, Tarland, Aberdeenshire.
1912. Medlicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Mellor, Donald, 180, The Grove, Wandsworth, S.W. 18.
1920. Meston, The Right Hon. Lord, K.C.S.I., etc., Hurst, Cookham Dene, Berks.
1920. Michell, Roland, 22, Lansdowne Crescent, W. 11.
1920. Millard, W. S., c/o Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.
1921. Minchin, Captain A. C. Stephens, I.A., Gorsedene, Farnham, Surrey.
1920. Mocatta, Major V. E., O.B.E., 14th Hussars, 31, Great Cumberland Place, W.
1920. Molony, Wm. O'Sullivan, Christ Church, Oxford.
1920. Monteath, D. Taylor, O.B.E., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1921. Monteath, G., I.C.S., Buckerell Lodge, Honiton, Devon.
1920. Mookerji, Dr. Radhakumad, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Mysore University, Mysore.
1903. Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7. M. of C.
1920. More, Major J. C., D.S.O., 51st Sikhs (F.F.), Political Agency, Kuwait, Persian Gulf.
1920. Morison, Sir Theodor, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Overdale, Lindisfarne Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1920. Morrison's (Dr. G. E.) Library, Mitsubishi Buildings, Maronoushi, Tokyo, Japan. (Journal subscription.)
1920. Mukhopadhyaya, Panchanana (Hon. Presidency Magistrate), 46, Bechu Chatterji Street, Calcutta.
1920. Mules, Sir Chas., C.S.I., M.V.O., O.B.E., c/o Messrs. H. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W., 1.
1920. Mumm, Arnold L., F.R.G.S., 112, Gloucester Terrace, W. 2.
1920. Murchison, C. K., M.P., Hargrave Hall, near Kimbolton, Huntingdon.
†Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

1920. Murray, Major S. G. C., C.I.E., I.A., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1920. Mylles, Captain C. C., M.C., H.L.I., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, 14, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 2.
1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

N

1920. Napier, Major A. Harper, I.M.S., c/o Marshall, Terne, N. Queensferry, N.B.
1919. New York, The Library, American Museum of Natural History, 77th Street, Central Park West, U.S.A.
1920. Noel, Major E., C.I.E., D.S.O. (Political Dept. Govt. of India), Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Noel, Major J. B. L., M.G.C., 7, Crawford Mansions, W. 1.
1920. Noone, H. V. V., c/o R. G. Shaw & Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E.C. 3.
260 1916. North-West Frontier Province. The Hon. the Chief Commissioner, Peshawar, India.

O

1920. O'Connor, Captain K. K. O., M.C., 14th Sikhs, c/o Deputy Commissioner, Abbotabad.
1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Shiraz, Persia.
1920. O'Dwyer, Sir Michael F., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., 26, Brechin Place, S.W. 7.
1905. Oliver, Captain D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Orgill, Captain T. C., 2, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge.
1920. Ormsby-Gore, Major the Hon. W. G. A., M.P., J.P., D.L., F.R.G.S., 5, Mansfield Street, Cavendish Square, W. 1. M. of C.
1921. Outlaw, Captain W. H., 40, Charles Street, Berkhamstead.

P

1920. Parker, Lieut.-Col. A. C., D.S.O., Governor of Sinai Peninsula, Arîsh, Sinai.
1920. Parr, E. Robert, Black Birches, Hadnall, Shrewsbury.
270 1918. Patel, F. B., 208, Upper Clapton Road, E. 5.
1920. Patranavis, S. C., B.A., Sub-Registrar, Kendna P.O., Dt. Mymensingh, Bengal.
1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1920. Pearce, Captain M. Channing, Cintra, Swanage, Dorset.
†Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1907. Pemberton, Col. E. St. Clair, R.E. (ret.), Pyrland Hall, Taunton.
*†Penton, Sir E., K.B.E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1. Hon. Treasurer.
1920. Peralta, Miss Louise, 45, Powis Square, W. 11.
†Perowne, Lieut.-Col. J. T. Woolrych, 32, Lowndes Square, S.W.

Digitized by Google

1921. Perry, Miss C. E., 185, Clarence Gate Gardens, N.W. 1.
1919. Philby, H. St. John, C.I.E., I.C.S., Baghdad.
1921. Phillips, Miss L. B., 9, Rosslyn Mansions, S. Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. 1.
1920. Pickthall, Captain C. M., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Pickthall, Mrs. W. M., c/o Ladies' Army and Navy Club, Burlington Gardens, W. 1.
*†Picot, Lieut.-Colonel H. P., Indian Army (ret.), 86, Ebury Street, S.W. 1, Junior United Service Club. M. of C.
1920. Platt, T. Comyn, 47, Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.
1920. Popham, Lieut.-Col. E. Leyborne, D.S.O., 2, Marlborough Buildings, Bath.

R

1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1916. Rajputana, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General, The Residency, Mount Abu, Rajputana, India.
1920. Rawlinson, General The Lord, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., C.M.G., Commander-in-Chief, India.
1920. Reynardson, Capt. H. Birch, 1st Oxford and Bucks L.I., 14, Lancaster Gate Terrace, W. 2.
1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.
1919. Ridgeway, Col. R. Kirby, V.C., C.B., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Robinson, Captain F. A., M.C., R.A.M.C., The Vicarage, Holme on Spalding Moor, Yorks.
1920. Rodd, Major W. J. P., D.S.O., R.A.O.C., 55, Queen's Gardens, W. 2.
*†Ronaldshay, H.E. The Earl of, Governor of Bengal, Government House, Calcutta, India. Vice-President.
1920. Rooker, S. K., 63, St. James's Street, S.W.
1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., 46, Abingdon Villas, Kensington, W. 8.
1920. Rundle, Gen. Sir H. M. Leslie, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Rundle, Captain C. A. Grant, M.C., c/o Henry S. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Rynd, Major F. F., D.S.O., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

S

1918. Salvati, Signor M. N., Via Lamarmora 41, Torino, Italy.
1920. Sammadar, J. N., F.R.E.S., Patna College, Patna, India.
†Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1918. Shah, Sirdar Ikbal Ali, c/o T. Cook & Son, Kashmir Gate, Delhi.
1920. Shakespear, Lieut.-Col. J., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., 15, Alexandra Court, W. 9.

Digitized by Google

1920. Shakespear, Col. L. Waterfield, C.B., C.I.E., Deputy Inspector-General, Assam Rifles, Shillong, Assam.
1920. Shastri, Professor Ashutosh, 23/1, Beniatola Lane, Calcutta.
1921. Shelswell, Captain G. H., Albards, Stork, Ingatestone, Essex.
1921. Shepherd, Miss E., 66, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1920. Sheppard, Captain E. W., O.B.E., M.C., War Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1919. Silberrad, C. A., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Simpson, J. Alexr., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1920. Sircar, Ganapati, 69, Beliaghatta Main Rd., Calcutta.
1920. Skrine, F. H., C.S.I., 147, Victoria Street, S.W.
1920. Slater, Captain A., I.A.R.O., c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Charing Cross.
1920. Slater, Mrs. E. M., 13, Dawson Place, W. 2.
1920. Smith, A. A. F., M.V.O., Education Dept., Baghdad.
1920. Smith, Captain Godwin, c/o Messrs. Richards, Thynne & Co., 130, Tooley Street, S.E.
1920. South Manchuria Railway Co., 1, Itchome, Yurakucho, Tokyo, Japan.
1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R.E., 4, Via Michele, Florence, Italy.
1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co., 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Stanham, Major H. F., R.A., Western Command, Cairo.
1917. H.M. Stationery Office, Princes Street, S.W. 1 (Journal subscriber).
1919. Stebbing, E. P., Hawthornden Castle, Lasswade, Midlothian.
1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.W.F. Province, India.
1920. Stephenson, Captain G. C., 99, Inverness Terrace, W. 2. M. of C.
1920. Stewart, C. W., 3, Newburgh Place, Acton.
1920. Stewart, G., M.P., House of Commons, Westminster; Whiteholme, Hoylake, Cheshire.
1920. Stirling, Lieut.-Col. W. F., D.S.O., The Residency, Jaffa, Palestine.
1907. Stokes, Colonel C. B., 3rd Skinner's Horse.
1903. Stoner, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W. 8.
1920. Swettenham, Sir F. A., G.C.M.G., C.B., 43, Seymour Street, W. 1.
1920. Sydenham, The Rt. Hon. Lord, of Combe, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., etc., The Priory, Lamberhurst, Kent.
1920. Sykes, Lady, Sledmere, Malton.
†Sykes, Miss Ella E., 26, St. George's Court, S.W. 7.
1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., 29, Trevor Square, Knightsbridge, S.W. 7.
1904. Sykes, H. R., Lydham Manor, Bishop's Castle, Shropshire.
1907. Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.

Digitized by Google

T

1920. Tagore, Kshitindra Nath, 6/1, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, East Gate, Jorasanka, Jerusalem.
1920. Tagore, Profulla Nath, 1, Durpondrian Tagore Street, Calcutta.
1920. Talbot, Colonel the Hon. G. Milo, C.B., Bifrons, Canterbury.
1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.
1920. Tatton, R. Grey, 2, Somers Place, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, c/o Mesopotamia Persia Corpn., Teheran, Persia.
1919. Teague-Jones, Major R., 80, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1919. Teichman, Eric, Sitka, Chislehurst, Kent.
1920. Temple, Lt.-Col. Sir Richard, C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., The Nash, Worcester.
1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Thomas, Captain H. Prichard, 126th Baluchistan Regt., c/o Cox & Co., Charing Cross.
1920. Thomson, J. S., I.C.S., c/o Commercial Bank of Scotland, 62, Lombard St., E.C.
1919. Thorburn, Major H. Hay, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
1921. Thornton, Lieut.-Col. C. E., C.M.G., 16th Cavalry, I.A. (ret.), 31, Sydney Street, Chelsea, S.W. 1.
1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., C.M.G., Standlynch, Four Marks, Hants.
1920. Tokyo, Japan, S. Manchuria Railway Co., 1, Itchome Yurokucho. (Journal subscription.)
1920. Trench, Rev. A. C., M.C., Chaplain's Office, Bolarun, Deccan, India.
1920. Trott, Captain A. C., 5th Devon Regt., St. John's College, Cambridge.
1919. Trotter, Lady, 18, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
1920. Tudor Pole, Major W., 61, St. James's Street, S.W.
1908. *Tucker, A. L. P., C.I.E., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.
1920. Tyler, H. H. F., C.I.E., I.C.S., Limavady, Co. Londonderry, Ireland.

V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1919. Van Ness, Major W. Waters, c/o T. Bowen Reese, Smyrna, Asia Minor.
1920. Varma, Raj Kumar N. Chandra Deb, Comilla, Tipperah, India.
1920. Vasu, Rai Sahib Nagendra N., Prachyavadya Maharnara, 9, Visvakosha Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta.
1920. Vidyabhusan, Amulya Charon, Professor, Vidyashagar College, 82, Maniktola Street, Calcutta.

W

1920. Waller, Major A. G., I.A., c/o Cox & Co., Indian Dept., Charing Cross.

Digitized by Google

1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W. 1.
1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W., and Moystown House, Belmont, King's Co., Ireland.
370 †Walton, Sir Joseph, M.P., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Ward, Captain W. Kingdon, E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Ward, W. R., O.B.E., Union Club, Trafalgar Square, and c/o Imperial Bank of Persia, 25, Abchurch Lane, E.C.
1905. Watson, Lt. Col. John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.
1921. Watson-Armstrong, Captain W. J. M., The Thatched Cottage, Bushey Park, Hampton Wick.
1920. Watson, Sir Logie P., c/o Messrs. Cooper, Allen & Co., Cawnpore, India.
1921. Webb, Captain W. F., attd. Indian Political Dept., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Webb-Ware, Lieut.-Col., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., Fort Anne Hotel, Douglas, Isle of Man.
1921. Weir, Major J. L. R., Indian Political Dept., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Wellcome, Henry S., 6, Gloucester Gate, Regent's Park, N.W., and Khartoum.
380 1920. Wheatley, H., Govt. Quinine Factory, Naduvatam, India.
1920. Whitehorne, Captain Cecil, M.C., The Welch Regiment, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
†Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W. 1.
1920. Wigram, Rev. Dr. W. A., Watling House, St. Albans.
1920. Willingdon, H. E. Lord, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Government House, Madras.
1921. Willoughby, Brig.-Gen. M. E., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Wilkinson, Captain L. C. R., R.A., c/o Cox & Co. (R.A. Branch), Charing Cross, S.W.
1920. Wilson, Lieut.-Col. Sir Arnold T., K.C.I.E , C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., I.A., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Wilson, Major W. C. F., I.A., Mesopotamian C. S., c/o Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament St., S.W. 1.
1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Alban, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament St., S.W.
390 1919. Wilson, Johnstone, Lieut.-Colonel W. E., C.I.E., D.S.O., c/o War Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1920. Wingate, Sir Reginald, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., etc., Knockenhair, Dunbar. M. of C.
1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
1918. Worthington, A. B. Bayley, Town Thorns, Rugby.

Y

*†Yate, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal, Shropshire. Hon. Sec.

Digitized by Google

1905. *Yate, Colonel Sir Charles E., Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.L., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales Terrace, W. 8. M. of C.
1916. Yorke, Mrs. R. F., F.R.G.S., M.R.I., F.R.S.A. Ladies' Imperial Club, 17, Dover Street, W. 1, and Hotel Cecil, Western Parade, Southsea.
*†Younghusband, Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1. M. of C.
1918. Young, Mrs. Henry, Galgorm Castle, Ballymena, Co. Antrim, Ireland.
1921. Young, Rev. R. A., 20, Great Peter Street, Westminster.

The following sixteen ladies and gentlemen were elected Members of the Society on March 17th, 1921:

Mr. P. E. Bartlett.
Mr. R. W. Bulland, C.I.E., E.I.U.S. Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
Captain E. Castells, 6th Gurkha Rifles, c/o Cox and Co. (Indian Branch), Charing Cross.
Mr. George Colvin, 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon.
Mrs. George Colvin, 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon.
Mr. C. E. Duggan, South Persia Rifles.
Mr. J. A. Hughes, 19, Bedford Place, W.C. 1.
Mr. B. J. Hardman, 25, FitzGeorge Avenue, W. 14.
Captain R. K. Markant.
General Sir Charles Carmichael Monro, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G, A.D.C.Gen., 181, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
Major F. P. Norbury, D.S.O., I.A., c/o H. S. King and Co., Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
Mr. Algar Robertson, 26, Porchester Terrace, W. 2.
Miss V. Robertson, 26, Porchester Terrace, W. 2.
Miss R. Robertson, 26, Porchester Terrace, W. 2.
Lieut.-Col. R. C. F. Schomberg, D.S.O., Seaforth Highlanders, Caledonian Club, S.W.
Lieut.-Col. K. L. Stevenson, R.A.O.C., G.H.Q., Baghdad.

Digitized by Google

RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. The Central Asian Society was founded in 1901 for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his

Digitized by Google

membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Honorary President, (2) the Chairman of the Council, (3) six Vice-Presidents, (4) the Honorary Treasurer, and (5) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be an Assistant Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary President shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for five years, and shall be eligible for re-election. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for four years. Two shall retire annually by rotation, and not be eligible for re-election as such until after the expiration of one year. They are eligible on retirement for re-election on the Council.

13*a*. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Assistant Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence by any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman,

Digitized by Google

exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Assistant Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the latter is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of the Vice-Presidents and twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the

Digitized by Google

sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the third Thursday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Wednesday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION.

_____

_____

being desirous of becoming a Member of the CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, *we whose names are hereunto subscribed do hereby recommend to the Society as a Candidate.*

Proposer _____

Seconder _____

Digitized by Google

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. VIII.

1921

PART III.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

NOTICES

THE Assistant Secretary will be at 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, on Mondays and Wednesdays from 2.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m.; and on Thursdays from 10.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m, or till the end of the lectures.

Members of the Central Asian Society are recommended to correspond, except under special circumstances, about Lecture tickets, this Journal, and the election of new Members, direct with the Assistant Secretary at 74, Grosvenor Street, and not with Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Yate, who is mostly away in Shropshire. By doing this, both time and postage will be saved.

A. C. YATE, *Lieutenant-Colonel*
(*Hon. Sec., C.A.S.*)

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, Bond Street, W. 1, on Thursday, March 17, 1921, the principal business being to hear and discuss a paper by Mr. Robert Wilton entitled "The Outlook in Siberia." The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., etc., presided.

In opening the proceedings, the chairman said: Ladies and Gentlemen, there are sixteen new members since the last meeting, so the total number is now a little over four hundred. We hope no effort will be spared to secure as many more as possible to enable the finances to be put on a more stable footing. The next lecture, by Sir Arnold Wilson, will be held in the room of the Royal Society in Burlington House. I now beg leave to introduce Mr. Wilton, who has come to give us a lecture on the outlook in Siberia. A lengthy and very intimate acquaintance with Russia and the Russian people give him very full authority to speak on any subject connected with that country.

THE OUTLOOK IN SIBERIA

By ROBERT WILTON.

My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Current events lend an interest to the subject of my paper that seemed, only a few weeks ago, to be remote. The present revolt against Bolshevism and the Anglo-Soviet agreement must react upon the conditions prevailing in Siberia, and, indeed, upon the adjacent countries of Asia and of Europe.

I shall briefly relate my experiences under the Kolchak régime, and give you a glimpse of Siberian conditions before and after the Allied intervention. Many valuable lessons were to be learned then.

In the autumn of 1918 I left England on a journalistic mission to Siberia. It had been freed from Bolshevist rule by the combined action of the Czechs and the Whites. The Allied position in regard to Russia was dominated by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, whereby the Bolsheviks had recognized their subserviency to Berlin. The Allied task was (1) to close the White Sea to German submarines; (2) to place a barrier to Bolshevist propaganda in the south of Russia; and

Digitized by Google

(3) to hold the Trans-Siberian Railway open for supplies to the Czechs and Whites. Unfortunately this programme was not adhered to, but was in every case exceeded. The Armistice introduced a new issue. Had the Allied troops gone to Berlin, the Russian, and consequently the Siberian, situation would have been modified beyond recognition. Probably the Bolsheviks would have been overthrown. In any case, the task of the Allies would have been materially lightened. The Armistice both placed us in a false position in Russia and stimulated the Reds to turn on their German masters. But the old relationship was quickly readjusted. And so the Reds remained a German machine, used alternately to frighten or to entrap us. Will the agreement with Moscow help us or help the Germans and their Red agents?

Admiral Kolchak was made "Dictator" as a consequence of the signature of the Armistice. There appears to be no other explanation for it. This act was the beginning of the Siberian adventure. At that time (November, 1918) the anti-Red front in the Urals was being held by the Pinks and Russian Whites under the auspices of the Socialist Revolutionary (or Pink) Directorate at Omsk. The Allies had no proper justification for encouraging or supporting a *coup d'état* unless they were prepared to recognize the new Government. This they were not prepared to do. I had satisfied myself on this point while in Washington. But they also had to reckon with the uncompromising opposition of the Pink Czechs, who claimed with good reason to be the saviours of Siberia, and therefore entitled to a voice in the government. Moreover, the treasure of Kazan, over 600,000,000 gold roubles (at present rates worth about one hundred millions of pounds), had been taken from the Bolsheviks and removed to Omsk, largely thanks to the intervention of the Czechs. We shall see later how the Czechs sent Kolchak to his death and dealt with this same treasure. From the day when Kolchak overturned the Directorate the Czechs ceased to fight the Red Army or to recognize the authority of the Omsk Government. A Czech officer named Gaida, who had received an important command in the Russian service, helped the *coup d'état*. For this he was repudiated by his countrymen, and became reconciled with them only after he had betrayed Kolchak by heading a revolt, later on, in Vladivostok. The *coup d'état* was carried out by Siberian Cossacks and Monarchist officers with the concurrence of certain members of the Socialist Directorate. We did not oppose, but rather connived at the plot.

It was a bitterly cold day in January, 1919, when the volunteer fleet steamer landed me in Vladivostok. I had left Russian territory at the other extreme of the Empire in September, 1917. The flotsam and jetsam of the revolution had rolled from the Baltic to the Pacific. Vladivostok was so crowded with refugees and foreign troops and

Digitized by Google

missions that I could find no room. Mr. Hodgson, H.M. Consul, and Colonel Blair, of the British Military Mission, most kindly gave me hospitality till I could get a train westward. Mr. Hodgson was a perfect mine of information, as he had been at this post for many years and was most popular with all sections of the population.

The Soviet was still holding secret sittings in the town, while Red bands scoured the countryside. Kolchak's authority was a fiction. The only people who seemed to be thoroughly at home were the Chinese. Business in the Chinese quarter proceeded undisturbed. The market was thronged with Chinese pedlars and coolies. Japanese troops paraded the streets, muffled in furs.

I was favoured with a place in the express to Omsk. We covered the 3,000 miles in a week. It was a record. For a long period no express trains had travelled. The journey was unmarred by any incidents, except that near Krasnoiarsk we made ready to repel an attack. At this stage the line is bordered by heights and woods convenient for sniping, and both sides of the permanent way were then and long afterwards littered with wrecked carriages. A score of British officers going up the line as instructors or interpreters longed for the threatened attack to materialize, but we were disappointed. Many of the second-class passengers were Georgians, unmistakable cutthroats.

The dismal impression that I brought to Omsk was intensified by my visit to the capital. Kolchak's anti-Monarchist Ministers were an eyesore to the plotters who had placed him in power. Rumours of Monarchist plots against these Ministers kept the town in a constant panic. The presence of British troops alone held things together. Not long before my arrival the Reds had started an uprising across the river among the workmen at the Kulomzino flour-mill and the railway. Loyal troops had made short work of them. Nobody seemed satisfied or secure. I saw Kolchak. He appeared to be in a highly nervous state of mind, especially about the prospects of recognition by the Allies. He realized quite clearly that without recognition his task would be wellnigh hopeless.

Falling a victim to the prevailing epidemic of influenza, I hastened to return to Vladivostok, intending to seek warmth in Japan. The same express train conveyed me eastward. I found the same Georgians in the dining-car. They had smuggled saccharine. This time they were taking opium, brought from Turkestan, to be smuggled into Manchuria. Among the passengers was Rasputin's daughter, Matrena, whose husband, Soloviev, figures in the dossier of the Tsar's murder as a German agent. She was going to rejoin her husband in Vladivostok.

On arrival at the coast I found beautiful mild weather (end of March). My friend General Diterichs was there. He had brought

Digitized by Google

the relics of the imperial family for shipment to England. They were handed over to Commodore Edwards, of *H.M.S. Kent*. I returned with Diterichs. We travelled slowly, making frequent stoppages. Seldom have travellers such an opportunity to study Siberia and its people.

It was borne in upon me that between the Pacific and the Urals there are four countries, and if we include Manchuria five, each marked by such differences of altitude, soil, climate, and vegetation, and by ethnographical peculiarities, that it is entirely misleading to speak of Siberia as if it were in any way uniform.

We made a long halt at Harbin, while Generals and Atamans conferred with a view to joining hands to support Kolchak, with whom the Atamans had quarrelled. Here I saw the redoubtable Semenov, a semi-Mongol, and his humbler rival of Habarovsk, Kalmykof, whose name spoke of his origin. These Cossack chieftains had adopted the Japanese "orientation," because they could not get support from the other Allies. These conferences helped to bring about a reconciliation between Semenov and Kolchak, which bore fruit too late to save Siberia.

The curiously jagged hills of Eastern Manchuria, recalling those of Ussuri and of Japan, tell us that this part of the world has remained untouched by glaciers. They afford excellent cover for guerilla bands and for wild animals. After the broad sweep of the Manchurian plain, which contains the richest and thickest loam in the world, one re-enters the Hinghan Mountains, skirting the sandy dunes of Mongolia and climbing to the dismal tableland of Transbaikalia. Here Nature is in an ugly mood. In some parts veritable glaciers have been formed underground. During the summer heats water is squeezed up through the soil, flooding the country for miles. Cultivation is impossible. The railway-line has to be carefully watched. It is a sinister land, shunned by man, the haunt of wild pig and of tiger. The Cossack of the Ussuri had given place to swarms of Chinese farmers and coolies, then came the Mongols with their shaggy camels, and now we entered Dauria, the birthplace of Genghis, whence he began his career of world conquest, with the help of ancestors of the Mongolo-Buriat horsemen now serving under Semenov's General, Ungern-Sternberg. Past the holy lake Baikal, by the marvellous tunnelled railway we entered another domain, that of the Taiga or Siberian jungle, a mighty land of forest, of great rivers and mountains, ranging from the sun-kissed valleys of the Altai to the frozen wastes of the Lena, realms of gold and treasure, sparsely inhabited by a mixed population of Mongol and Aryan stock, Russian and Yakout, fast blending into one. Lastly, at Novo-Nikolaievk, on the mighty Ob, we entered the greatest prairie in the world, watered by the mighty tributaries of the Ob, extending a thousand miles towards

Digitized by Google

Cheliabinsk, and as far again north to south, from Tobolsk, past Petropavlovsk and Kurgan, to the Kirghiz steppe, the most wonderful granary and dairy-farm, a land literally flowing with milk and honey, a land already settled by Russians.

Before leaving Manchuria we laid in provisions of all sorts. Prices had risen enormously since the Reds had come and gone. For instance, 100 eggs cost 7s., whereas formerly they fetched about 1s. In Omsk they already cost 10s. per dozen. Siberian butter at Novo-Nikolaievsk cost then already 1s. per pound—*i.e.*, exactly what it used to fetch on the London market. The peasants had begun to curtail production, as there was no export. Had we known it, these prices would have seemed ridiculously small as compared with those of a few months later. We had not then learned that Siberia cannot be served by the Eastern gateway alone.

We had seen and spoken to a great many people on the way. We had with us some men who knew Siberia inside out. Diterichs himself was an inexhaustible fund of information. He had led the Czech echelons across Russia and Siberia, and had captured Vladivostok from the Reds, while the Czech rearguard, under the able guidance of Ushakov, repulsed an unprovoked attack by the Reds, officered by Germans and recruited from German prisoners and escaped convicts. Then the Czech politicians decided that the command should be exercised by a Czech, and selected Gaida. Ushakov having been murdered, his exploits were attributed to Gaida. Diterichs marched his Czechs to the relief of the rearguard, then handed over to Gaida. He was summoned to take the command in the Urals under the Directorate. He did not approve the *coup d'état* of November 18, 1918, and lost his command. He was certainly not a reactionary, but neither was he a Socialist or an ally of the Jews, nor did he speak or act against his conscience. He was the only soldier of experience in important commands, yet at such a critical stage of affairs he had been superseded by mere amateurs and adventurers.

I saw Kolchak for the second time. He seemed more and more depressed. He said literally: "Yes, I am badly served, but I cannot help it. I have to choose between honest incompetents or rogues who can do the work!" The quip was an exaggeration. The fact was he could not find decent people to work with the gang that had got him in its toils. He was not a free agent.

April came. The White armies were advancing rapidly towards the Volga. Nobody cared very much what happened in Omsk or in Siberia, let alone Vladivostok. The hundreds of thousands of refugees who crowded Omsk and other towns, and the huge bureaucratic army that far outnumbered the army at the front, were preparing to go soon to Moscow.

One of Kolchak's Ministers had arranged to provide his particular

Digitized by Google

party—the S.R.*—with a propaganda fund. He did it very simply. The grain requisitioned from the peasants was handed over to the co-operatives and resold for many times the price paid to the villagers. Some of the difference, a trifle of 65 million roubles (then worth £1,500,000), found its way into the S.R. treasure-chest, and enabled them to organize a propaganda against Kolchak. This led to a scandalous exposure and dismissal of the Minister, and to an equal expenditure of money for counter-propaganda, the upshot of this incident being that the Pink influence in the Government waned, while the Germanophile element acquired strength.

It was not safe to discuss these matters openly. A Russian friend who naively imagined that he could venture to do so was summarily arrested by Kolchak's agents or masters and expelled from the country, glad to escape with his life.

Before Nemesis overtook the Siberian adventure I had spent some eventful months in the Urals, watching the unravelling of the inquiry into the murder of the Romanofs. That the truth about this awful crime has come to light we owe largely to Kolchak. I think that it was the only positive gain of the Dictatorship, but that is saying much, for in the searching investigation of that and other Bolshevist crimes Kolchak rendered a great service to Russia and to humanity.

On arrival at Ekaterinburg I called on General Gaida at the Staff of the Siberian army. He struck me as being an amiable overgrown schoolboy, who was trying to pose as a Napoleon. He had just returned from the front. Three horses had sunk in the snow under him. His men were going to take Glazov, and then go on to Viatka. Thence it would be easy, after junction with the Archangel force, to get Moscow. He offered me a ticket for Moscow. The Red army no longer existed. Such was Gaida's view in April, 1919. Yet in May the position was already desperate. Diterichs was reinstated, and urged evacuation.

The truth about conditions at the front was obviously unobtainable, but much interesting information reached me from the Staff regarding Red rule in the Urals. The advance of the Whites—too late to save the hapless Tsar and his family—had given the Reds no time to remove all compromising evidence. I thus received photographs of the Red chieftains and of their handiwork. I will spare your feelings. Most of these pictures are too horrible. A characteristic snapshot shows the interior of the Cheka† at Perm, decorated with inscriptions in Hebrew characters, hailing the Third International and bidding the Proletariat of all countries joyfully unite. Under this inspiring motto, cheered by the revered presentments of Leiba Trotsky, Mordecai Marx, and Yankel Sverdlov, and the shabesgoy

* Socialist Revolutionary.
† Extraordinary Commission (the Red Inquisition).

Digitized by Google

Lenin, framed above the inquisition-table, innumerable citizens of Perm and its environs had been done to death. The instruments of torture—thumb-screws and nail-extractors—were found in the room. A group of the Red army Staff was also found. Among them is Isai Goloshchekin, the Jew who superintended the murder of the Romanovs. At the time of the murder he was military commissary at Ekaterinburg and confidential representative of the Moscow Central Executive, in the person of Sverdlov, its president. A portrait of this amiable person also came to light. He is wearing the red pentagramme, the emblem of Sovietdom and of Jewry. After he had arranged the murder by order from Moscow through another Jew named Yurovsky, he continued to represent the Moscow Executive on the Staff of the Red army—an additional proof, if any be needed, that the Moscow Soviet thoroughly approved of the crime.

Accompanying the new Commander-in-Chief, I went to the Volga front, going almost within sight of Ufa. The condition of the troops was pitiable in the extreme. They had just the clothes in which they stood. No change of linen, no spare boots, no overcoats. The nights were cold and rainy. In the absence of tents or blankets it was almost impossible to live out of doors. So the front so-called was merely a line of villages, which changed with the fortune of war. Thus, while a goodly part of the town-dwellers in the distant rear were clothed in comfortable garments or uniforms supplied by the Allies, the men who were fighting had been forgotten. They had not even any soap; they had food, because there was plenty in this wonderfully rich province, the old home of the Bashkirs and other Tatar tribes. But these men were real soldiers. They scorned the raw recruits sent to them and drove them home as a useless encumbrance. They perished, not at the hands of the Reds, but by typhus, the awful disease—due to lack of linen and soap—that was to sweep through Siberia in the autumn.

Travelling on the railways within the fighting zone had its exciting points. One was never quite sure whence the Reds might turn up. Twice within my experience the enemy appeared almost in our midst. The Staffs had to live in railway carriages, ready to move at a moment's notice. Accidents, often deliberately caused, were of daily occurrence. Our horses naturally travelled with us, so did the motor-cars.

On July 14, 1919, we evacuated Ekaterinburg. We had already bidden good-bye to Perm, where the Russian sailors, aided by a party from *H.M.S. Kent* and *Suffolk*, had striven valiantly to stem the Red tide. It was sad to witness the departure of British troops from Ekaterinburg. They had done so much to help, and they were forbidden to do more.

Midway to Omsk the Staff halted at Ishim, the heart of Siberia's

Digitized by Google

granary. It was the glorious summer in the steppe. We used to ride to the Kirghiz camps in the early morning through the flower-covered prairies to drink koumiss. Strange people, these descendants of the former owners of the land, who still wield a very far-reaching influence. They are up-to-date nomads, passing the winter in towns, and going with their herd of sorry horses into camp in summer. The peasants of Western Siberia use the Kirghiz shepherds as a protection against Kirghiz cattle thieves. The Kirghiz have an uncanny way of communicating with each other by signals passed across the boundless prairies, where nothing escapes their eagle eyes. I always suspected them of being in touch with the Reds. They disappeared one day, having, no doubt, ascertained from Bolshevist agents that the Red army was advancing. Events have proved that they had accepted a Red bribe. It cost nothing to the Bolsheviks to sacrifice the bourgeois peasant in favour of the Kirghiz horseman. The Kirghiz republic holds temporary sway over the southern steppe and provides cavalry for the Reds. The Bashkirs, another nomad Tatar tribe, have been similarly bribed for service.

Myriads of wild-fowl were already migrating over this sportsman's paradise when we abandoned Ishim and the exhausted Whites to the north and south began to retire upon the Irtysh. Meanwhile Kolchak's hopes hung upon the Cossacks, the same Cossacks who had placed him in power. The Orenburg Cossacks had been overwhelmed. Doutof, their leader, had reached Omsk. A grand mobilization of the Siberian Cossacks was agreed. They were to put 8,000 horsemen in the field and ride the Reds back beyond the Urals. Everything was done to please the Cossacks. All the cloth, leather, fur, and munitions that remained in Omsk were handed over to them. Each man received Rs. 10,000.

I visited the Cossack villages during the mobilization. They appeared to be more concerned over their differences with the Russian newcomers settled in their vicinity than with fighting the Reds. Visits to Cossack and other villages—they look alike as two peas—revealed an acute enmity between three different sections of Siberian farmers—the Cossacks, the old settlers, and the newcomers. The Cossacks, being first—they came three centuries ago—had taken the best places, including the banks of the great river. The old settlers had gradually taken up the lands on the lesser streams. The newcomers, swarming into this fertile region in later and quite recent times, had found the Cossacks and old settlers unwilling to take them in or share the riverside with them. The fact that other unsettled lands were extremely fertile did not reconcile them to their lot. Moreover, many of these later arrivals were Little Russians, a proverbially obstinate and pugnacious lot. Unbeknown to the wiseacres in Omsk or Vladivostok, the rural population of the most thickly

Digitized by Google

inhabited portion of Siberia were engaged in a lively feud, which the Red propaganda easily fanned into flames. Thus, although there were no landlords in Siberia and few industries, the Socialist mischief-maker had combustible material to work upon.

An old Cossack, who was evidently the orator of his stanitsa, said to me: "Supposing we go to fight the Reds, who is going to defend us from the Hohol?" Hohol is a nickname for Little Russian. "Why, they are preparing to rush our stanitsas the moment our men leave!" Soon afterwards the Cossack council insisted that only 5,000 horsemen could be spared. But even they had their minds more on the stanitsa than on the Reds. With the greatest difficulty they were persuaded to take the field. It would have been easy for them to ride all round the enemy and go to Moscow if they had so chosen. The Reds could not have stopped them. But they rode out and rode home again without firing a shot, stampeded by the rumour that their stanitsas were being raided. Thus went the last hope of saving Omsk.

Before the end came, one of our officers died. I refer to Colonel Steel, R.A., who was in charge of the British guns supplied to a special artillery brigade. He contracted typhus, which was rife at Omsk, being constantly introduced by refugees and wounded. The whole garrison turned out to bury him. It was a remarkable expression of the public appreciation of what our soldiers had done to help them. The Middlesex battalion, under Colonel Ward, and the Hampshire battalion, under Colonel Johnson, will ever evoke a grateful remembrance among all who passed through the Siberian adventure. Refugees from the Urals and West were crossing the Irtysh in August.

Diterichs had urged Kolchak to begin the evacuation of Omsk then and there. The "Dictator's" entourage preferred to enjoy the delights of their "capital." Even after the Cossack débâcle they insisted on remaining. Diterichs had to resign. The evacuation broke down completely. One hundred and forty trains blocked the eastward track, their occupants doomed to freeze or starve. Official trains used the westward track. We sped past the doomed echelons. Death and desolation were abroad. I saw hundreds of refugees travelling along the high road back to the Urals. They had covered thousands of miles back and forth. Their splendid horses were still fit, but how long would they and their masters endure under the gathering blizzards of a Siberian winter? I will not enlarge upon the horror of that retreat. It requires a book to itself. And assuredly the winter march of Kapel's troops—the remnant of Kolchak's armies—through Siberia to Chita is an exploit worthy of Suvorov's campaign in the Alps.

Kolchak would not be parted from his gold, the sinews of war. But he had left Omsk too late. The Czechs settled their score with him near Irkutsk. He was handed over to the Reds, the order being

Digitized by Google

signed by General Janin, who combined in his person the offices of chief of the French military mission and of Commander-in-Chief of the Czechs, Poles, and other levies in Siberia. This act of treachery was accounted for on the ground that the Reds would have cut off the coal-supply to the Allied trains. Kolchak was shot and the treasure was ransacked. As Semenov's troops who had tried to rescue Kolchak had slaughtered a number of Red prisoners, an equal number of Kolchak's followers were despatched by the Reds.

Transbaikalia is the real eastern gateway into Siberia. The Amur, the Manchurian, and the Mongolian avenues converge in the valley of the Selenga. An American regiment was quartered at Verkhneudinsk, to make sure the free exit of the Czechs. Transbaikalia afforded an ideal ground for intercepting communications. Semenov, a Cossack officer, here began to fight the Reds. The natural advantages of the country enabled him to continue the struggle even after Kolchak's downfall. He held Chita till last July. Then his Mongol troops went to Urga, while the Kolchak remnant crossed into Ussuri, where they remain, waiting, like Wrangel's men, for a chance to return to Russia.

Within the past two years the Russian territories east of Baikal have been passing through a succession of political changes, largely due to the influence of foreign Powers. First the Reds were in the ascendant. They had the support of German prisoners of war. The local reaction under the Atamans could not cope with this combination. Then the Czechs appeared and drove out the Reds. A Pink Directorate was accepted in Siberia, but did not please the Cossacks or the Monarchist refugees. Allied intervention initiated during the war to facilitate the transfer of the Czechs to France assumed conflicting aspects after the Armistice. The intervening Powers were at odds with each other and often with themselves. Japan supported the Atamans because they were regarded as a reliable screen against the Reds. The United States favoured the Pinks, but occasionally did not discriminate between the Pinks and the Reds. At that time the Americans had not been awakened to the real character of Bolshevism, and in the train of American organizations had come a host of revolutionary Russian Jews.

Gaida's attempt to capture Vladivostok for the Pinks in November, 1919, failed because the Japanese interfered. In January, 1920, I witnessed a reversal of the process. The Pinks came in with the help of the Americans. Then, the Czechs having been evacuated, the Americans went away and the Pinks again retired.

Two important events had intervened. The Reds organized a strike among the Russian railway workers in Harbin. The Chinese took advantage of it to evict the Russian management and to disband the remnants of the Russian railway guard. Russian influence

Digitized by Google

in Manchuria disappeared. The Reds formally surrendered all Russia's rights and all the rights of Russians throughout China. The Harbin strike and its consequences showed very clearly that the Red Government was anti-Russian. However, their poor dupes in the Far East actually believed that the strike was an act of patriotic protest against Horvat and the bourgeois exploiters of the Chinese eastern railway. The Chinese inhabitants remained indifferent. They celebrated their new year and went about their business. The banging of huge Chinese fire-crackers lent a sarcastic accompaniment to this latest Russian revolution.

From Irkutsk the Reds had stirred up trouble on the Amur, which had remained a favourite haunt of the bands of escaped convicts officered by Germans. They concentrated upon Nikolaievsk, at the mouth of the river. This fishing town had a population of about 6,000 Russians and 500 Japanese. The Reds represented their movement as a patriotic attempt to rid the soil of the Fatherland of the Japanese "invader." Exactly a twelvemonth ago they suddenly swooped down on defenceless Nikolaievsk, burned and sacked the town, murdered every Japanese, including the Consul and his family, who were roasted alive in their house, and murdered four or five thousand Russians. The ringleaders of this atrocity are depicted in a photograph of which a copy has reached me. The heroine boasted that she had at different times shot with her own hand 400 Russian officers. News of the massacre aroused great indignation in Japan. A military demonstration was made in Vladivostok in April, and the Pink troops were disbanded.

The Japanese were heartily tired of intervention. Siberian to them is not a promised land. It is unsuitable for Japanese colonization. It is important only for its fisheries and for its opportunities for trade or mining investments. But of course, as it is, so to speak, next door to them by its proximity to Corea, they cannot be indifferent to Siberian politics. So, after firing off their big guns in Vladivostok, as a salute for their dead as well as a menace to the Reds, they agreed to recognize a Pink Government at Chita, on the condition that no Reds were admitted. The Pinks have not been able to keep their word. The Japanese did not imagine they would. A respectable force of Japanese troops guards the railway between Harbin and Vladivostok, to prevent the ingress of Red propaganda. The trains are running once more from Harbin to Chita and beyond.

It would seem, then, that the reopening of trade with Siberia were already feasible. Yes and no. Trade with the Baikal region and perhaps a little beyond is unquestionably possible, and I have no doubt is actually proceeding. The Chita Government—in reality Red, not Pink—has even invited American banks to open branches there. The invitation explains that Communism cannot—so experi-

Digitized by Google

ence has shown—be introduced all at once, and meanwhile the services of American banks would be welcomed. The agreement accepted by the Reds—objectionable though it be—serves to emphasize the downfall of Communism.

But I have endeavoured to show in this paper that Siberia must be dealt with as a consumer or exporter through its western approaches. It is west of Baikal that the bulk of the population and the wealth of Siberia lie, and it is into Europe and not into Asia that her principal trade routes must trend.

The population of Siberia does not exceed 15 millions, of whom roughly one-third are non-Aryan; one-half the remainder are Cossacks and old settlers. The recent immigration is thus equal to the influx of the preceding three centuries. Western Siberia is either pure Slav or Kirghiz; Central Siberia, on the other hand, is pure Slav in the recently settled Altai, but largely half-breed in the north, with a marked tendency to Yakout type. In Transbaikalia the Cossacks and older settlers are strongly permeated with Mongol-Buriat blood. The Amur and Ussuri population is more recent and more Aryan. As the Chinese do not intermarry, it is probable that, owing to the rapid decline of the Buriats and other native tribes east of Baikal, the Russian strain will not be much diluted. But owing to the tremendous growth of Chinese settlement in the valleys of the Amur and its tributaries, it is doubtful if the Russian settlers will be able to do more than hold their own; certainly not unless Russia is able in the future to exercise a countervailing pressure, which appears to be doubtful and unprofitable.

She will prefer to concentrate her energies, not upon Vladivostok, which is not the real gate of Siberia, but upon the approaches to the Baikal region. The redoubtable mountain barrier south and southwest of the great lake will keep out the Yellow tide should it sweep north through Mongolia.

There has been much talk of a railway connecting the Sea of Okhotsk at Port Ayan with the valley of the Lena and circling Baikal from the north. It is even spoken of as the nucleus of an all-land route between Asia and America. I think that if and when built it will justify itself simply and solely as a means of developing the Siberian Klondyke.

A very much more important project is the linking up of the Siberian, or rather the Altai, line with Central Asia (Semipalatinsk-Vernoie). This extension will have an enormous effect upon the economics of the Empire. Altai wheat will enable Turkestan to grow more cotton. Siberia will receive fruit from Central Asia, which had to come from enormous distances. The dearest thing in Omsk is an apple.

In the olden times trade with Siberia followed the track of the

Digitized by Google

precious sable and silver fox. At present only Kamtchatka retains that primitive condition. In Siberia the trapper is still an important person, but he has to give precedence to the husbandman and even to the miner. Agriculture represents the potential and actual wealth of the country. The great question is, How can Siberia export this wealth? It has been established by experience that the existing railway is insufficient to cope with normal traffic. There is only one method of solving the problem—to develop rail and waterways between Western Siberia and the White and Black Seas. One of the great enterprises in Russia will be to dig the Volga-Don Canal. Waterborne trade will then be carried to and from the Urals. The northern Kara Sea route to the Ob and Enisei is a valuable adjunct, but is only open fitfully during a few weeks in the year, and can never replace traffic to ports west of the Kara gates.

The outlook in Siberia depends, of course, upon the situation in European Russia, politically as well as economically. Communism is on its last legs. Siberia is not and will not be for a long time to come a manufacturing country. It must depend upon Russia for manufactured goods, Russian or imported, and depends upon Russia also for an outlet to its wealth. To talk of the independence of Siberia is absurd.

Siberia interests us directly in a variety of ways. We require cheap dairy produce. Formerly it came to us from Western Siberia through Danish hands. The Danish agents in Siberia, of course, helped Danish trade. There is no reason why we should not do this ourselves. There is also the enormous mineral wealth of Siberia. British capital is largely interested in copper and coal mines in the Kirghiz steppes and other mines in the Altai. The large number of Britishers who served in Siberia or Russia during the war should be called upon to extend our commercial relations there in the peaceful times that are bound to follow. Siberia will be a good customer, and it will be a long time before Russian industries can satisfy all requirements. The co-operatives have been ruined by the Reds, but they will yet play a part in the new Siberia, though, speaking from personal observation, I should say to the British business man: "Do your own business through your own people!" We must not forget that the Americans were there in large numbers both before and during the war; also that tens of thousands of German prisoners thoroughly spied out the land. Let us not neglect our opportunities.

The Far Eastern problem, as it is called, compelled my personal notice. I left the car that had been my home—it had reached Siberia from Central Asia—after a bewildering succession of "allied" revolutions. At Mukden I heard much of the redoubtable Chantsolin, ex-leader of brigands and still illiterate, but Commander-in-Chief and virtual ruler of Manchuria. This astute genius managed to be on the

Digitized by Google

best of terms with the Japanese and do what he liked with the Peking Government. At Harbin I had seen the Chinese farmers meeting their wives and families from Shantung, and joyously escorting them to their new homes in the villages. My impression was and is that no Power can oust the Chinese where they have once settled down. Certainly the Japanese cannot hope to do so, even if they could stand the climate. To my mind the Far Eastern problem is one of Chinese immigration, and it seems to me, for a variety of reasons, that the wave of Chinese settlement will not go beyond the Amur and Mongolia. The rivalry between Japan and the United States cannot go beyond a commercial one. Japanese railway influence stops short at Chan-chung, and may easily be counterbalanced by American banks and the Chinese boycott. Then there is the Kalgan Railway, another aid to Chinese emigration, and a diversion of the Manchurian route into Siberia. So, it seems to me, conflict in the Far East cannot go beyond peaceful methods without danger to all concerned. For this reason I consider the outlook in Siberia with no small measure of hope and confidence.

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to an interesting paper, and we are grateful to Mr. Wilton for having given us an opportunity this evening to enjoy the fruits of his observations and experiences.

Brigadier-General C. D. BRUCE: Lord Carnock, Ladies and Gentlemen, my friend Mr. Wilton covered such an extraordinarily wide area in his most interesting lecture this evening that I find it very difficult to concentrate on a particular part of it. There are, of course, the military, the economic, the geographical, and other side-issues; and I think to most of us perhaps the most poignant part of the lecture was what he told us about the late Tsar. Again, I think many of us would prefer to leave that side of life for the moment and turn to the future—the more happy aspect of the economic resources of Siberia and Manchuria. There are those, I have no doubt many in this room, who have been over the ground, as I have myself; and to them the lecture will bring back memories of the peaceful days before the dreadful world-war took place. Mr. Wilton talked of Moscow and Tomsk in the present war. For myself, I came in there seven or eight years ago for the first time, having travelled from Tashkend and Baku, then up the Irtish River into Tomsk, where nobody could imagine that in six years' time hell would be let loose. There are many questions I would like to ask the lecturer. One is why the Czechs—if one may be political for a moment—why the Czechs should have taken up the attitude they did? Mr. Wilton explained it in a way, but not enough, to my mind, to make it quite clear. Perhaps I might ask him, with your approval, why did they turn against Kolchak like that?

The LECTURER: They considered that the Directorate which they were supporting, which was a Socialist Directorate—it must be remem-

Digitized by Google

bered that the Czechs were Socialists—was loyally combating the Reds, and they regarded this *coup d'état* which brought Kolchak into the Dictatorship as quite uncalled for. It was indeed, from their point of view, nothing more nor less than a reactionary plot. They declared their unqualified opposition to it. They never recognized it. They immediately withdrew from the front, and they were slacking all the time and even encouraging opposition to Kolchak. That is to my mind the only palliation to the terrible, the awful treachery to which Kolchak fell a victim. In other words, they regarded Kolchak as a traitor, and they blamed him not only for the breakdown of the resistance to the Bolshevists, but also for the loss of the treasure which they had helped to save.

Colonel JOHN WARD, M.P.: Mr. Chairman, unfortunately I was not able to hear the whole of the lecture, but the part I listened to revived many memories of the time when I was in Siberia. The last statement which the lecturer has made in answer to the question is interesting to me, because I remember the whole of the circumstances of the *coup d'état* which placed Kolchak in supreme authority. I do not think the Czech soldiers themselves—I am certain that General Guiada and the military people had no intention whatever of withholding their support from Admiral Kolchak. I believe they saw, so far as the military side was concerned, the absolute necessity of the change from the Directorate to a more centralized condition of military action, if there was to be any effective combating of the Red propaganda and the Red military power whose guns were then thundering along the Urals. But it was unfortunate for the Czechs that at this critical moment they were not guided by their military chiefs—perhaps now I am treading on very controversial ground, but I may as well say what I think, because if I do not say it now I shall most likely say it at some time when it will be just as much criticized as now—it is a fatal mistake for an army or military chiefs on the actual field of battle to be controlled by politicians, either near or far. (Applause.) They are all very well in the council chamber, and they are all very well for their purpose—for either diplomacy, politics, or administration—but when it comes to the actual military situation in a great war and in a great contest like that, politics are not only in the way, but they are a positive nuisance to everybody concerned. The Czech army was unfortunately controlled by a political committee which sat at Ekaterinburg, and this political committee was entirely Socialist, as the lecturer has said; and it was this political committee that directed the army against the efforts of Admiral Kolchak to reconstruct what I do not describe as the White line as against the Reds, but the Constitutionalists as against the Terrorist forces. Guiada was so certain of the necessity of the *coup d'état* which put Kolchak at the head of Russian affairs, that, in spite of the

Digitized by Google

Czech's political committee, he, with his guard, arrested the members of the political council of Ekaterinburg. These may be interesting secrets connected with the affair, but of course I was there, and personally interested in almost every one of the movements. I do not agree with the lecturer on two or three things, but those are speculative things. Where he has described the situation and the facts I absolutely agree with every statement he has made; but where he ventures opinions I also have opinions on the subject. I do not believe the Japanese would have ever entered the country unless they went with the deliberate intention of taking over the Transbaikal provinces. I believe they are holding as much as they can at the present time, that they have no intention whatever to allow those provinces to go back into a great Russian community—when Russia has settled down as a great nation, as it must sooner or later—unless that new Russia is capable of driving Japan out by force. That is my positive opinion. I think also that the American politicals and military men on the spot and Government generally understood that that was the situation, and that was largely the reason why they would not allow their troops to go forward beyond the Baikal, because their lines of communication, and the whole position of their forces, depended on the amount of confidence they had in the Japanese forces behind. They went just as far as the Japanese—no farther. When the Japanese retired, they retired. Eventually they retired altogether, leaving the Japanese in practical possession, and, so far as the situation in Siberia is concerned, already the Japanese have their outposts as far north as Kamtchatka. They have got partial possession of the country between Alaska and North-Eastern Siberia. They have got absolute possession practically to-day of the Ossurie Provinces, and I should think that it is stretching one's imagination and knowledge of the world generally if one does not see in the circumstances that prevail in the North Pacific Ocean at the present moment the germ of very severe friction between the two Great Powers whose interests are predominant in that part of the world. I think a few years will show that, unless Japan modifies her demands —unless she is more considerate and less active in continuing the difficulty that she has created there by her policy. My friend the lecturer has referred to Semianov—there may be friends of Semianov here. When Admiral Kolchak was appointed supreme Governor; when General Dutoff, the Commander of the Orenburg Cossacks, sent in his submission and agreement to work with the Government at Omsk; when General Denekin sent in a similar message; when the Murmansk Government on the north also sent their message; when the whole body of Russian opinion outside the Soviet power at Moscow had become concentrated and agreed on Admiral Kolchak being the man to represent their authority; when there was every prospect of

Digitized by Google

our success, the Japanese subsidized General Semianov, placed him in position at Chita, and absolutely refused to allow Admiral Kolchak's orders to proceed farther east than Chita. There was a long delay caused to army supplies and goods going forward, so that it was only possible to get goods forward on condition that there was a British or other Allied guard on the train, often with a Union Jack painted on the waggon, so that it could not be touched without possible international complications. Semianov was generally assisting the Japanese in their policy of making it impossible for the Russians under the Kolchak Government to pull themselves together in that part of the world; hence, when I saw in the newspaper the other day that he was marching with some considerable body of men from Siberia towards the Urals to take part in what I hope is the final struggle, I wondered whether he was still doing it under Japanese auspices and in Japanese pay, or whether he was really working for Russia at last. Gentlemen, all I have to say in conclusion is this: Siberia is a wonderful country. Its possibilities are illimitable. No one who has not been there and travelled far can even contemplate for a moment the wonderful possibilities of that country. I should think myself it is so enormous geographically that it could be self-contained; that it might make itself into an independent empire if it had the genius necessary for administration applied to the problem. It is extensive enough. It could house, I should think, almost all the people in the the world if fully and properly developed. It is enormous in territory, and has possibilities, I should say, quite illimitable. But all I wish to say in conclusion as to the ups and down of this Russian business is that I was in the country a very long time, and got to be intimate friends with them and to sympathize with them; and I am as certain as that the sun will rise to-morrow that sooner or later Russia is bound to secure her sanity again and become a great nation. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure we are most grateful to the two last speakers for the very interesting and instructive observations they have made—especially Colonel Ward. (Applause.) We know the great service he rendered, but I think at this hour I will not call for any further observations, but will ask you all to tender a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for the very interesting paper he has been good enough to read to us. (Applause.)

Digitized by Google

MESOPOTAMIA, 1914–1921

LECTURE BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR ARNOLD WILSON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O.

Recently Acting Civil Commissioner in Mesopotamia, and Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, April 15, 1921

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held in the rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House, London, W., on Friday, April 15, for the purpose of hearing a paper read entitled "Mesopotamia, 1914-1921," by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson, K.C.I.E., late Civil Commissioner at Baghdad. The lecture was well illustrated by photographic views, many of which were taken from the air. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., presided.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings by calling on the Hon. Secretary (Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Yate) to make a report to the meeting of the members recently admitted, and of gifts presented to the Society.

Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. YATE: I have to announce first of all that at the last meeting we elected sixteen members, among them being the late Commander-in-Chief in India, General Sir Charles Monro, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. The present Commander-in-Chief in India, Lord Rawlinson, is also a member, and it is with pride that the Central Asian Society sees the name of Rawlinson on its books.

To-day we have elected nineteen new members: The Dowager Lady Forbes, Mr. Ian Colvin, Captain T. Denis Daly, Royal Welch Fusiliers, Mr. J. A. L. Duncan, Mrs. Duncan, Captain H. I. Lloyd, Mr. H. C. Minchin, Captain R. L. O'Connor, Sir Wilfred Peek, Bart., D.S.O., Colonel Sir W. M. Thomson, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.C., Seaforth Highlanders, the Hon. C. C. Farrer, Mr. O. Allen Harker, Mr. J. B. L. Harris, O.B.E., Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, Mr. H. J. Coleridge Mackarness, Captain J. H. Moore, Mr. H. G. Warburton, I.C.S. (ret.), Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Tainsh, and Captain S. W. Weldon. We are specially indebted to Mrs. Waller-Sawyer for her recent success in adding new members to the roll of the Society.

I have further to announce a most generous and valuable contribution to the library which, since the commencement of the current session, we have begun to form. This contribution appeals to all of us, and especially to the older members of the Society, who knew the late Colonel Sir Henry Trotter as a traveller and able soldier and

Digitized by Google

administrator, and later as Member and Chairman of Council of the Society. Lady Trotter makes to us this gift of her husband's Asiatic library in the conviction that such a disposal of it would be entirely in harmony with what would have been his own wish. He took the keenest interest, as I and others well know, in the progress and welfare of this Society. The books which thus come into our possession are most valuable, and, indeed, form the nucleus of a library of which our Society may one day hope to be proud. The gift for which we are indebted to Sir Henry and Lady Trotter numbers from one hundred and fifty to two hundred volumes, if not more, and among them are numbered some of the really standard works on Central Asia, and all in excellent condition. (Applause.) Lady Trotter has given us a book-case capable of holding most of these volumes. The difficulty we have at this moment is, in our very limited accommodation at Grosvenor Street, to find a place to put them in; but we shall, I trust, be able to do so later. We are also indebted to Sir Percy Sykes, who has presented us with several most valuable books, including some volumes of Sir Henry Howorth's "History of the Mongols"; again, to Colonel Woolrych Perowne, who has sent us his own book entitled "Russian Hosts and English Guests in Central Asia," and a particularly interesting copy of Dr. Joseph Wolff's "A Mission to Bokhara, 1843-45," which bears the author's own autograph. I may mention, for the information of those who have not got Central Asian history at their fingers' ends, that after the grievous death of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Arthur Conolly at Bokhara, Dr. Wolff (the father of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff) went out at great risk of his own life to Bokhara and endeavoured by every possible means to ascertain the nature of their imprisonment and death. That story, one of the saddest, has never been cleared up.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now ask Sir Arnold Wilson to read the paper which he has kindly promised for to-day. During the period it covers very considerable events have occurred, and I am sure we shall all be very anxious to hear what Sir Arnold has to say in connection with them.

LECTURE.

AN enterprising London paper recently offered a prize of £1,000 for the best exposition of the Einstein theory, limited to 3,000 words.

In undertaking to lecture for an hour on Mesopotamia, I have undertaken a scarcely less difficult task.

The Einstein theory is a logical deduction from ascertained facts, and from theories which have been tested by the best brains of the world. Our policy in the Middle East is exactly the opposite in every respect, and is consequently less easy to define and more difficult to understand.

Digitized by Google

In awarding the prize for the best essay on the Einstein theory, the editor was careful to explain that he was guided less by what the competitors wrote than by what they omitted; I would ask you to judge me by this test this afternoon.

From the welter of conflicting announcements, promises, and agreements which disfigure the diplomatic record of the Allies in the Middle East and have hung like a millstone round the neck of its representatives abroad, there emerged Article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles, whereby we virtually undertook to create and maintain an independent Arab Government in Mesopotamia.

Neither the Versailles Treaty nor the already obsolescent Treaty of Sèvres says this in so many words, but, stripped of their internal contradictions and of their almost meaningless reserves, this is what the Treaties imply, and H.M. Government have repeatedly reaffirmed this to be our intention.

I do not propose to ask you to consider whether or not such a policy is practicable.

My object is to assist you in forming your own opinions on the problem, and to suggest ways in which the British people collectively can assist in making our present policy a success. Euclid, not content with demonstrating the truth of a proposition, was at pains to show that the converse was absurd, and for this reason I will conclude by a brief reference to the probable effect of an abandonment of the mandate or of failure on our part to give effect to it thoroughly.

Population.—I will begin by describing briefly the population of Mesopotamia, according to a very rough census made in 1919.

The table on p. 147 gives the main figures in a convenient form.

It will be seen that there are a quarter of a million Kurds to consider, and nearly as many Jews and Christians.

There are more Jews in Mesopotamia than in Palestine, and they are, moreover, a more prosperous and more contented community.

Jews and Christians alike have some reason to fear that under a full-blooded Arab administration they will receive from minor Arab officials less tolerant treatment than they received from the Turks, who, whatever they did elsewhere, refrained from massacres in Mesopotamia. As in Palestine, so in Mesopotamia, it is one of our responsibilities under the mandate to provide safeguards against this tendency.

The division of Mohammedans in the above table into Shiahs and Sunnis requires some explanation. This religious line of cleavage is so deep as to be almost like a racial difference in its effect. The problem of government in Mesopotamia is mainly the problem of bringing the two together. Rather more than half the rural population, nomads and cultivators alike, are Shiah. Kadhimain, Karbala, and Najaf, with an exclusively Shiah population, are the strongholds

Digitized by Google

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF MESOPOTAMIA (EXCLUDING SULAIMANIYAH).

Division.	Sunni.	Shiah.	Jewish.	Christian.	Other Religions.	Total.	Wilayat.
Baghdad ...	130,000	54,000	50,000	15,000	1,000	250,000	
Samarra ...	66,455	14,215	300	—	—	80,970	
Diyalah ...	54,953	46,097	1,689	397	900	104,036	
Kut-al-Amarah	8,578	98,712	381	127	—	107,798	Baghdad
Diwaniyah ...	1,000	192,300	6,000	5,000	200	204,500	1,360,304
Shamiyah ...	445	189,000	530	20	5	190,000	
Hillah ...	15,983	155,897	1,065	27	28	173,000	
Dulaim ...	247,000	200	2,600	200	—	250,000	
	524,414	**750,421**	**62,565**	**20,771**	**2,133**	**1,360,304**	
Basrah ...	24,408	130,494	6,928	2,221	1,549	165,600	Basrah
Amarah ...	7,000	284,700	3,000	300	5,000	300,000	785,600
Muntafiq ...	11,150	306,220	160	30	2,440	320,000	
	42,558	**721,414**	**10,088**	**2,551**	**8,989**	**785,600**	
Mosul ...	244,713	17,180	7,635	50,670	30,180	350,378	Mosul
Arbil	96,100	—	4,800	4,100	1,000	106,000	548,378
Kirkuk ...	85,000	5,000	1,400	600	—	92,000	
	425,813	**22,180**	**13,835**	**55,370**	**31,180**	**548,378**	
Total ...	992,785	1,494,015	86,488	78,692	42,302	2,694,282	

of their faith. Samarrah, though a place of pilgrimage for Shiahs, is in Sunni hands, a source of constant complaint from Shiah pilgrims, who suffer many indignities at the hands of the Sunni guardians.

At Najaf and Karbala the mujtahids hold sway. They are the high-priests of the faith, in whom alone, according to Shiah law, is vested spiritual power. The chief mujtahid is the representative of God on earth; the other mujtahids are "proofs of Islam," alone empowered to give final decisions under Mohammedan law, for which reason they also claim a large measure of temporal power. Even when H.I.M. the Shah visited Karbala the chief mujtahid would not go forward to receive him, and efforts were made by a trick to induce the Shah to call on the chief mujtahid.

These mujtahids are very old men, who have seldom left the four holy cities, except, in one or two cases, to go to Mecca. They are arch-conservatives, their views and methods those of the early Middle Ages. They exercise great influence, and those whose principal concern is the maintenance of law and order may be pardoned if they reflect on the difficulties experienced, with, perhaps, less justification, by a certain English King in his dealings with Thomas à Becket.

The Shiah population is much more homogeneous than the Sunni, owing to the habit of pilgrimages to the Holy-Places several times a

Digitized by Google

year. Townsmen hate to leave the towns, but the tribesmen go up often several times yearly to the Sacred Places, and are easily influenced then by extratribal agencies.

The Shiahs took the lead in recent disturbances. They alone declared that the rising was a "jihad," and in their action they had the support, sometimes passive, sometimes active, of their religious leaders.

Psychologically they differ from Arabs elsewhere; gloomily they reflect on their age-long wrongs at the hands of the majority of Sunnis, and annually, in real distress of mind, they commemorate by self-inflicted blows, and even wounds, the martyrdom of their saints, Ali and Husain, who died by treachery at the hands of men of the same fickle race and faith as those who now inhabit the Euphrates Valley. "The curse of Husain is still on us," said one of them to me, as his sole explanation of certain acts of his compatriots in the recent rising.

Not for the past fifty years has the Shiah religion in Mesopotamia experienced such a revival as it has during the past three. Freed from Sunni domination, Shiah tribesmen flocked to the Holy Places in unparalleled numbers, and, forgetting what they had suffered at the hands of their former masters, turned, at a favourable moment, against their liberators, against whom, as is now generally admitted, the people at large had but one grievance—viz., that they were "Christians."

The Sunni is very different. The supreme secular and spiritual authority to him has always been vested in the State. There is no priesthood; religious officials are appointed and paid by the State, in whom vests all religious property; no man can intercede with his Maker for another; crimes cannot be condoned by the payment of money to priests or to shrines.

The difference between Sunni and Shiah is thus profound, and it extends to every activity of their lives, and it has induced an hereditary difference of outlook which it is impossible to ignore. It is from the Sunnis that the vast bulk of Government officials were drawn by the Turks, and are necessarily still drawn; it is they who fill the schools and the courts of law, as teachers and pupils, litigants and judges. The Shiah, warned by his priests that it is unlawful to serve a foreign Government, and that secular Governments, mandated or otherwise, lack Divine authority, has hitherto held aloof, and no Shiah holds high office in the present Arab Government. They are as a class peculiarly prone to be led astray by cross-currents of thought, and are in Mesopotamia, as always, promising soil for antisocial and revolutionary ideas, owing to their tendency to question the validity of secular authority.

I have not yet referred to the Kurds, of whom we have about a quarter of a million in Mesopotamia; dwellers in the hills, a few

Digitized by Google

nomadic but the great majority settled cultivators, with their own language and customs, they are members of a race which differs as much from Arabs as do the latter from Indians, and they seldom intermarry except with Persians or Turks. Representative institutions on Western lines are wholly foreign to them, as, indeed, they are to Arabs. Small isolated communities more easily fall a prey to individual tyranny than large groups, and in Kurdistan, more than in Mesopotamia, the social organization is little able to resist the tyranny of a powerful and unscrupulous individual, who, with armed men in his pay and sometimes, but not always, with the added prestige of a saintly ancestry, can force a whole countryside to do his bidding and commit atrocities as great as those of historic tyrants. For this reason Kurds, even more than Arabs, require an external Government, such as that, bad as it was, provided by the Turks.

Lastly, we have the Turkish-speaking populations of Mosul, Arbil, and Kirkuk, the offspring of early Turkish colonists and of generations of Turkish officials from Seljuk times onwards. They are a valuable element in the population. They are on the whole pro-Turkish in sympathies, as is natural, but it is to be hoped that the Arab State will be able in the future to draw extensively on them for its official needs.

Pre-War Government.—All these discordant and irreconcilable elements were loosely governed and prevented from falling into more serious and extensive forms of anarchy by the Turks—an alien Government, but Islamic in structure and in traditions, with the prestige and authority of 200 years behind it in Mesopotamia, and a continuous military record in Asia of much greater antiquity.

It was a bureaucratic Government by design and necessity (there is, indeed, no other possible form of Government for a community which has any pretence to civilization), but it was an Oriental bureaucracy. It was a national Government, but the nationality was Turkish. Turkish was the official language, and the officials were nearly all Turks. It was a bad Government from many points of view, and it was on its last legs when the war broke out; but my belief is that were a plebiscite to be taken to-day in Iraq on the issue of Turkish *v.* Arab Government there would be a large majority in favour of the return of the Turk. Black as their record is, it has already been forgotten by the crowd, in whom Arab national feeling exists, but not yet as a unifying factor.

But the Turks will not come back, and we must foster the new Arab Government, however difficult the task. When we realize the difficulties before us we shall be less disappointed at our preliminary failures.

Economic Aspects.—I have already shown you how the total of $2\frac{3}{4}$ million population for Mesopotamia is reached. To this total may

Digitized by Google

be added another quarter of a million who reside beyond our administrative boundaries, but trade with or through Iraq.

This population of 3 millions is scattered over 125,000 square miles, but resides for the most part within ten miles of the two great rivers and their major tributaries, the Diala, the Greater and Lesser Zab, and the Gharraf, a cross-channel running from Kut to near Nasiriyah.

The country has no manufactures; its exports are agricultural and pastoral produce, the figures for 1919 being—Imports, 18 million, exports, 11 million pounds sterling.

The principal exports were—Dates, 2 million pounds; grain, ¼ million pounds; wool, ¼ million pounds; gum, carpets, etc., from Persia, ½ million pounds sterling.

Land revenue for 1919 was, at the present price of the rupee, about 10 shillings a head, a low figure considering the high current values of agricultural produce.

The value of the dates exported from Basrah is from 1½ million to 2 million pounds sterling annually, one-half to the United Kingdom, one-quarter to India, and one-quarter to the United States. This figure could be doubled in ten years. The water and the land are there, and for this purpose, once the canals have been made with the assistance of dredgers, labour for the rest of the work can be obtained. But we must find fresh markets for dates; we must teach the Arab to grow them better, and we must ourselves learn to pack them better. This is a great chance for British enterprise, on which those firms who have specialized in the past can concentrate with the assurance that skill and energy wisely applied will in due course bear fruit.

The average quantity of cereals exported before the war in a good year was about 100,000 tons from an annually cultivated area of about half a million acres; but it was a poor class of cereal that was exported, and had a bad name on the market—the barley because it was mixed with dirt, and the wheat because it was mixed with barley. I do not doubt that the Agricultural Department, which has already done much, could double the value of the output of existing acreage if given a free hand, by selecting the best local varieties, importing and acclimatizing others.

And we must encourage other crops. Oranges, I fear, we cannot export till the railway reaches the Persian highlands, when the two countries, whose inhabitants are fond of fruit, will exchange large quantities of fruit and vegetables. Cotton has made a very good beginning; flax has been proved to do well; the silkworm formerly flourished, and sugar-beet is a possibility. The Agricultural Department deserves all support; it is to the country's produce, animal and vegetable, what the Public Health Department is to its people.

Wool to the value of 250,000 pounds sterling is exported. This,

Digitized by Google

too, can be improved, as also hides, but the better plan will be to start a local leather and woollen industry, and I hope that this may come to pass before long.

Oil I have not referred to. There is oil in Mesopotamia, at Hit, near Mosul, and near Khaniqin: the difficulty is to get it out. It is at present almost inaccesible from the coast. A 500-mile pipe-line will be needed, and that requires stable conditions and the certainty of large amounts of oil, and these are things for which we must wait, perhaps a long time. So it will be wise for all concerned not to bank too much on oil as the solution of Mesopotamia's financial difficulties.

Mesopotamia will progress in material comfort only by the hard work of its inhabitants, wisely directed by skilled advice into channels for which international commerce will have to find outlets. Unfortunately, in this world of ours people do not work as hard as they can, but as hard as they care to, and the Mesopotamian will have to be furnished with a fresh set of ideals—he will have, in fact, to be imbued with the idea of progress—before he can be induced to work much harder or more intelligently than he does.

This, again, is one of the tasks before us as mandatory Power. British commercial enterprise must create new wants, in order that the Arab, in his desire to meet them, may voluntarily work harder and better than he does now. That way lies progress, as we conceive it.

Why not immigration? you may ask. I see no solution, but only fresh problems in such a policy. The people of Central Asia and Persia, Turkey, and Syria, will not forsake their present way of life to labour in the plains of Mesopotamia, swept in alternate seasons by bitterly cold and scorching winds. They belong to other races, and the traditions of thousands of years against such a change.

As for immigration from India, I believe that India itself offers greater attractions to the stalwart Mohammedan cultivator, who alone could make a successful settler. There is a national prejudice in the minds of Arabs in Mesopotamia, as in Palestine, against any alien who seeks to settle in his ancestral acres, and it is only the best land that would attract Indians. Immigration might have been possible before the war, but not now. There are also other objections, to which I need not allude here.

Given a large, industrious, and peaceable population, Mesopotamia could become the granary of Asia; but without law and order and communications and some measure of Western civilization the population cannot increase much beyond its present limit, which is all that the country will sustain in a state of disorder, without an organized Government, without canals, railways, hospitals, etc.

To provide these is our duty under the mandate, and we have admitted as much in the Anglo-French Declaration of November,

Digitized by Google

1918. It would have been relatively easy to do so before the war, but now it is difficult.

The great length of vital lines of communication by river, rail, and road in Mesopotamia is the bane of the soldier and a source of constant anxiety to the local Government. In 1919 we had some 900 miles of railway-line, of which 525 represented the main Basrah-Baghdad-Khaniqin line. River communications fit for cargo steamers total another 800 miles, and vital trade routes fit for lorries, connecting the main towns with rail and river, come to 1,200 miles or so. All these lines have to be protected against raiders from without and robbers from within, and this obligation is, perhaps, the heaviest that the new Government must assume; it cannot contract out of its obligations by paying "blackmail" to tribes in the form of subsidies. The ridiculously lavish scale on which we bribed tribes on the other side of Arabia with hard gold during the war has spoiled the market for many years to come.

The lesson that the Arabs and some others have learnt from the war is that violence pays, if you use enough of it, and for long enough. This doctrine accords well with what some of them believe to be the teaching of the Koran and with their national characteristics for thousands of years.

The boundaries of Mesopotamia are almost as difficult to guard as its communications. The boundary-line totals almost 2,000 miles—nowhere does it follow a natural frontier. The high hills and the stony rocks of the desert are a refuge, not an obstacle, to their inhabitants. To the forces of law and order, be they Arab or British, they form an almost impassable barrier. The aeroplane alone can and does rise triumphant to the occasion, and enables us to attack the denizens of the desert and the hills in their lairs.

To the east of us lies Persia, to the north Kurdistan, to the north-west Syria, to the west and south Arabia, each of them a historic home of disorder, each tenanted by a more virile people than are the plains of Iraq, and by people whose custom it has been from time immemorial to raid their neighbours in the plains; whereas the Mesopotamian Arab has, with rare exceptions, been content to raid his fellow-countrymen; they will seldom wander far from their beloved rivers.

National Defence.—On the question of boundaries depends that of national defence. It will be readily agreed that external armed aggression is a less serious menace to the new State than internal dissension. The smaller the country, the more dangerous are intrigues. The religious racial differences already described offer unequalled facilities to foreign intrigue to get a footing within the body politic, and the natural addiction of large sections of the people to internecine feuds makes such intrigues especially dangerous. Many

Digitized by Google

are the proverbs, which are always on the Arabs' lips, as to the addiction to intrigue of Mesopotamians.

The Turks never applied compulsory service to Mesopotamia before the war, and even during the war they applied it sparingly with a view rather to obtaining cash in lieu of service from town-dwellers than recruits. Nevertheless, they raised some 20,000 men in all from Mesopotamia. They were not good material; they deserted freely and were captured willingly. "Safely captured," one of them telegraphed his friends soon after he reached the prisoners of war camp at Basrah, and that was typical of many. The Turks would not trust the Arabs, whether Sunni or Shiah, and Shiahs in particular they distrusted.

We have reversed their policy; we have trusted our Arab levies, and we have not been disappointed. Those Arab officers who were promoted from the ranks stood firm, along with their men, against every form of religious and other argument, so long as they had with them their British officers, whom they knew and trusted; with them they fought and died.

I am sorry to say that the "Effendi," the ex-Turkish officer of Arab race, of good birth, had a much less satisfactory record than his more humble-minded compatriot.

Whilst, therefore, there is no ground to be pessimistic as to the future of the Arab Army, it is necessary to sound a note of caution. A national force cannot be created at short notice. Compulsory service may be necessary in order to obtain the number of men needed, and this may not be easily applied, even by a "national Government," and such a force may, owing to racial and religious difficulties, be a broken reed in time of internal strife.

Some external force will therefore, in my judgment, be needed for years to come to keep the Arab Government in its seat and to support its authority, and that force should, in my opinion, be mainly supplied by the R.A.F., who alone can reinforce Mesopotamia rapidly, and afford adequate support to local forces at a distance from the centre in case of need.

Foreign Relations.—From national defence we are led by a natural sequence of thought to foreign relations. If the Arab Government is to be "independent," as the Treaty declares it to be, then it must have charge of its own foreign relations; but until it can exist without the assistance of armed force supplied by the mandatory Power, it must be content to entrust foreign relations to that mandatory Power, and it can scarcely be doubted that this is the best in the interest of peace and economy.

What will be the status of a Mesopotamian abroad? The point is of great importance, for the Mesopotamian is a great traveller. Is he to have the good offices, as of right or of courtesy, of our consulates

Digitized by Google

and embassies abroad? I hope so. It is well that those who travel —and they are an influential section of the community—should realize that the mandate has other advantages than those that appear to the eye in the country itself, but the matter will need delicate handling, particularly in Mohammedan countries.

I have, I think, said enough to show you the difficulty of the task before us—that there is a solution I do not doubt, but I fear that many blind alleys must be explored before we find a way out of the maze.

I have purposely said nothing as to the choice of a ruler for Mesopotamia, but I feel bound to record my belief that both in Syria and in Mesopotamia, and to some extent even amongst the different divisions of the people in Mesopotamia, the desire is rather for a local and indigenous Government and ruler than for a ruler, however well qualified, who is not one of themselves. If a ruler is set up, he must have force behind him, and that force for some time to come must be supplied by us.

What alternative is there to such a policy? There is now but one—namely, to abandon the mandate, and this is virtually the policy which by inference is favoured by the greater part of the English Press to-day.

What would the result be? Admittedly, I think, both in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and therefore in Syria, anarchy in the Arab-speaking countries on a scale which has not been witnessed for some centuries; and this anarchy, which would spread rapidly, would before long need greater forces to prevent its spread to India and Egypt than are now required in Mesopotamia and Palestine.

Never was there a time when the maintenance of adequate force at the disposal of the civil power was more necessary in the interest of internal and international peace than now; no easy gift of independence or autonomy or the rights of self-determination will absolve us from the necessity of maintaining force to secure peace.

No Government can be formed in the Middle East in these days without our support and assistance. Were we to abandon the mandate, the Arabic-speaking world, already suspicious, would finally, perhaps for a century, turn definitely against us, and we should deserve it. With anarchy would come loss of trade; and in a short time civilization in these regions would be submerged, as it was in the Sudan when the British Government abandoned that country in deference to much the same complaints as we hear now. We went back to the Sudan ten years or so later to find the population reduced by two-thirds by famine and the sword.

However much we may be tempted to do so, we cannot ignore the obligation that lies on us to promote civilization and progress in these lands; we cannot neglect the needs and interests of the inhabitants, who still trust us, and abandon our liabilities, holding on only to those

Digitized by Google

portions, such as Basrah, which we vainly imagine we can hold without much expense, though without honour or justification. Such a policy would sap the very foundation on which we base our claim to exercise power, and on which actually depends our ability to do so.

I assume, therefore, that Parliament will ratify the acceptance of the mandate for Mesopotamia by Great Britain; it remains for me to suggest ways in which those outside Government can help in making the mandate a success.

First and foremost I put commercial enterprise. The duty which we, above all other people, owe to Mesopotamia, as we have accepted the mandate, is to promote trade—not merely the exchange of goods, though that is in itself good, but to raise the standard of living and material comfort, to encourage the spread of education, which is possible only if the standard of living is raised, and to foster the growth of individual freedom and of aspiration to "succeed" in life which is a product of the first two. This is what we understand as civilization, and progress lies in the changes of structure in the social organism which entail such consequences; a belief in the existence of such a thing is our secular creed, and to promote it all over the world is our secular mission.*

The Oriental doubts the existence of possibility of progress, but we have, I believe, gone far towards concerting him. We must persevere. The Arab State will not for long wish to be burdened with State-managed railways and State electrical supply, which Mesopotamia now has; nor will it wish to start State woollen mills, State tanneries, and State factories. Yet all these things are essential to progress; statesmen, thinkers, and officials will labour in vain unless commerce assists in this way. We must provide public needs by commercial enterprise on a fair basis. Money thus spent will never yield a large profit, but it should be possible to secure that there will be no loss. The "profit" will simply be dividends to persons, many of them, I hope, Mesopotamians, who lend their accumulated savings to build railways and factories, and expect a return. The rate will vary as the risk, and there is some risk.

Next I would place restraint on public utterance, written or spoken —in the Lords and the Commons, in the Press and in periodicals. Our task was made far more difficult than it need have been in Mesopotamia last year by the orgy of ill-informed criticism that poured on us from the United Kingdom, much of which was duly reproduced in the Arabic papers.

At this point, ladies and gentlemen, what I have to say diverges from my manuscript notes. When preparing this lecture I had amused myself by making some comments on this subject, which you also might have been amused to hear, but on further reflection I came

* See "The Idea of Progress." J. B. Bury.

Digitized by Google

to the conclusion that it was incumbent upon me to practise what I preach, and that I could not suitably urge restraint in public utterances on others, and myself indulge in recrimination or repartee at the expense of those whose activities I have just deprecated, so I will pass over this subject in silence, and trust that you will realize that it is not because there is nothing to be said on the other side.

Before I leave this topic I should like to mention, in case you are not aware of it, that since the Armistice until a few weeks ago not a single newspaper has thought it worth while to depute a special correspondent to study conditions in Mesopotamia. *The Times* correspondent in the Middle East once spared us a week from the more congenial climate of Persia, but that was on his way to Teheran. If public opinion is to be guided by the Press rather than by Government, and Government has done but little to guide it, the Press have on them, it seems to me, an added obligation to explore a subject thoroughly before committing itself to an extreme view or to extreme criticism.

Ladies and gentlemen, before the discussion, which I hope will be more interesting than this lecture has been, begins, I would ask your permission to make a personal explanation regarding the motives which have induced me to apply for permission to retire, with a view to taking up employment of another, but I hope not less useful, sort in Persia, the Persian Gulf, and Mesopotamia. I should not trouble you with this statement were it not for the fact that the question of the propriety of the action I have taken has been raised in Parliament. A point of public policy is involved, and the matter is of perhaps more than personal interest.

I should like to explain that it is not the prospect of earning higher pay, but the prospect of responsible constructive work in a region to which I have devoted the best years of my life, that attracts me.

I hold that it is the duty of us all to serve civilization in general and our country in particular as best we can, and if a man believes he can do more useful work for the community in some other sphere than Government service he should be free to do so, unless for grave reasons of public policy or in a national emergency.

I believe that, owing to circumstances beyond my control, Government cannot offer me continued responsible employment of the kind for which my previous training and experience fits me, and for this reason, and for this reason only, I look elsewhere for employment. I go where I can be of most use. I hope to play a humble part in assisting in the development of these countries, by the creation of wealth, either from fresh or existing sources, which can, I believe, best be done on commercial lines by commercial firms. Governments have tried to undertake this, and have failed, because the machinery of Government has been designed for an entirely different purpose.

Digitized by Google

I go to join an all-British Company with a record of enterprise, of industry, and tenacity, of which Great Britain and Persia may well be proud. I believe that I am serving my country and the countries in which I shall be working better thus than as a Government official. I am not ashamed of my motives, and I do not think that they will be misunderstood in the countries in which I have served.

The CHAIRMAN said the meeting would be happy to have any observations from gentlemen in the room, some of whom had considerable experience of the regions of which Sir Arnold had treated.

General Sir EDMUND BARROW, G.C.B., etc.: As the Chairman has called upon me to address a few remarks, I suppose I must comply; not that I am at all attracted by that blessed word "Mesopotamia," as it is one which has some unpleasant recollections for me, for both I and the lecturer have suffered in connection with Mesopotamia at the hands of the Press. I am sure that all here fully sympathize with him regarding the attacks that have recently been made upon him in the chief organs of this country. (Hear, hear.) I really cannot venture to address you at all on the subject of Mesopotamia, because I am perfectly certain there are other people here—I can see one or two—who have been intimately connected with the history of our operations in Mesopotamia in recent years, and they will no doubt be able to give you more interesting matter than I could possibly do, but there is one remark I would like to make. It is that the lecturer is, if he will permit me to say so, a really notable example of a great characteristic of our race. He has shown by his own actions, and by the history of the last few years, that the habit of leading and ruling—I will not say inferior races, because somebody here might be hurt by that description—but of leading and ruling people not on the same plane of civilization as ourselves with the greatest success. (Applause.) I only regret that that attribute which he possesses to such a marked degree can no longer be utilized in Government service, although he has given us in his final remarks some sound reasons for transferring his energies elsewhere. It is also a great satisfaction, it must be to all of us, to think that the present generation of young men—young administrators and soldiers—are so capable and energetic, and show by the feats they have performed that the British race has not lost the power of governing and ruling. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said that Sir Edmund Barrow had alluded to two or three gentlemen present as being intimately acquainted with Mesopotamia. The meeting would be very happy if those gentlemen would say a few words.

Sir FREDERIC G. KENYON, K.C.B., etc.: I do not think I ought to say anything after so many eminent people have practically refused your mandate. I am the least appropriate person in the room to

Digitized by Google

speak in general with reference to this paper. The Mesopotamia we have been hearing about this evening is the Mesopotamia of the last few years and the coming years; the Mesopotamia in which I am particularly interested is, say, two thousand to six thousand years older. (Laughter.) At the same time, it is not wholly out of place, because I should like to add to Sir Arnold Wilson's paper this, that during his service in Mesopotamia he rendered very considerable help to the service of antiquities. He realized, as some others in Mesopotamia have, and some have not, the responsibilities of, first, our army, and then our civil administration, for the care of antiquities in that province. That is the one point to which I should like to allude. There is a great deal that might be said if this were the time to say it. I should like to say that if we take up the responsibility for a country like Mesopotamia or Palestine, we assume a responsibility for its past history as well as its present and future. We have heard sometimes in the past of the difficulties of pursuing the study of history, archæology, and antiquities in those countries under Turkish dominion. Well, it is our business now to see that conditions are made better, and that we do introduce a civilized administration of antiquities in those countries. We are responsible, as I have said, for their history, for their past as well as the present, and that is what we hope to do. When the British Army advanced up the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, we at the British Museum got permission to send out an archæologist to be attached to the military forces, to give any advice that might be wanted with regard to the care of antiquities and the avoidance of damage to them, and, incidentally, see what possibilities there were of pursuing inquiries there. I should like to say we always had the fullest possible assistance from the army, and also from Sir Arnold Wilson when he was responsible for the civil administration; and I may say that, so far as our work was concerned, in actual investigation and excavation we achieved some very interesting results, dealing with this period of about six thousand years ago which lies at the back of the history of Mesopotamia. During the last year or two, naturally, conditions in the country have not made it possible to pursue that work; but I hope the arrangements that may now be come to for the government of Mesopotamia will allow of resumed work this next autumn, or as soon as possible after that. I want to say this: We museums are sometimes considered by individuals, even by Government departments, to be purely predatory organizations; it is supposed that our sole motive in going to a country like Mesopotamia is to take away any antiquities and treasures which belong to the natives of the country. As far as the natives are concerned—and I believe Sir Arnold Wilson will bear me out—their main wish is to be allowed to exploit and sell the antiquities. But if you are looking at the higher interest of the natives, and

Digitized by Google

the desirability of making them understand their own history and antiquities, I am quite sure there are enough antiquities in Mesopotamia to furnish every museum that may be established out there; to educate every Arab or person of other nationality in the antiquities of the country to the fullest extent to which he is capable; and, at the same time, to allow the export of antiquities to Europe and America, to allow the progress of science, the study of past history, and the advance of scholarship—and that is the enlightened way of dealing with the matter. Have a Department of Antiquities which will consider the interest of the country up to the fullest extent; keep there all that can profitably be kept there; but don't go beyond that and say nothing is to be taken away from the country. If you do you encourage smuggling, lead to the destruction of great quantities of antiquities, and obstruct the progress of science and knowledge. (Applause.) I must apologize for having taken up so much time on a subject rather alien to the main purpose of the paper. As an ordinary member of the public I thank Sir Arnold most heartily for his paper, and express the appreciation which, at any rate, some members of the British public have for the work he has done. (Applause.)

Major Edward Warren, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.: I should like to say a word or two. When I was in Baghdad in the early days of last year, I constantly owed to Sir Arnold Wilson a debt of gratitude for his assistance, his direction as to things I wanted to see—books and information about the country. I strongly endorse what Sir Frederic Kenyon said as to the extreme desirability of local museums in Mesopotamia; but, further, as to the legalized exportation to centres of civilization like London, Paris, and New York, I thoroughly endorse what Sir Arnold said that only one-tenth or so of the valuable, fruitful exploration and excavation possible has been undertaken in Mesopotamia. The surface has been merely scratched. Layard, Rawlinson and the Germans have left an enormous lot untouched. My avocations in Mesopotamia did not allow me very much time for research, but a good deal for observation; and I was astonished at the amount of what I seriously consider fine architecture still existing in Mesopotamia—a great deal in a ruinous condition. I trust one of the cares of the British-Arab administration of the future will be to guard the monuments of Mesopotamia from the ruin and demolition which is rapidly overtaking one after the other, sweeping away remains of such enormous interest. I take this opportunity publicly to express my gratitude to Sir Arnold Wilson for what he did at Baghdad, and for his charming lecture this afternoon.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., etc.: I know little of Mesopotamia, and I would like to add my tribute of praise to the lecturer for what he has done to enlighten us on this thorny subject. A lec-

Digitized by Google

ture has been defined as excellent if it complies with the following definition: Somebody said it should be like a lady's dress, long enough to cover the subject and short enough to interest and attract. (Laughter.) I am sure everyone here will agree with me that the lecture we have just listened to has admirably fulfilled those conditions. Most of us have hitherto gathered such information as we have about Mesopotamia from the vague and conflicting accounts of certain sections of the Press; we have had very little first-hand enlightenment on the subject. At one time we were told Mesopotamia was an El Dorado, which would revive the ancient glories of Babylon and Baghdad; a few years more and the cold fit comes on, and we are told that Mesopotamia is a millstone round our necks, and that we must clear out at the first moment. Sir Arnold has indicated the *via media* which the Government should pursue; that is to say, we have taken up obligations, and it would be cowardly and mean to renounce those obligations. We have, as a mandatory Power, taken certain races under our protection; we have assumed certain obligations to civilization; and it would be unworthy of our traditions as an imperial race—particularly unworthy of our traditions in the East —now to repudiate those obligations. Speaking as one who has some knowledge of India, I know that our policy in Mesopotamia has been followed very closely by the people of India. If they see we are false to our trust there, and try to shake off the burden which we have solemnly undertaken, their opinion of us will be very considerably lowered. We cannot afford at the present day to have our prestige in the East lowered. I was therefore particularly glad to hear from Sir Arnold that he at least had not thrown off the white man's burden; that though he has renounced the service of Government he has assumed responsibilities in Mesopotamia and the East, the discharge of which we know from his past record will confer further benefits, both on Mesopotamia, for which he has already done so much, and on the Empire of which he is so distinguished a servant. (Applause.)

The Lecturer: I have to thank Sir Michael O'Dwyer for what he said, and to say that the best proof of my confidence in Mesopotamia and the Middle East is the fact that I am prepared to assume fresh responsibilities and liabilities in the same sphere, though in a new capacity. Nowhere else would I have done so. Otherwise it might be said that I was leaving a sinking ship. Far from that, I am going back to the ship as a passenger; that is the best possible proof I can give of my confidence. As regards the remarks of Sir Edmund Barrow with regard to the quality of junior administrative officers abroad, I can say of my own officers, as was said of the Golden Bough: *Uno avulso non deficit alter aureus.** Out of an average strength of from 100 to 200 executive officers, between thirty and forty have been

* When one was torn away, there was not lacking yet another, also gold.

Digitized by Google

killed during the last six years, or died by disease, and fifteen or sixteen were killed during the twelve months ending in September, 1920; never once did I find anything but eagerness on the part of others to take the place of those killed. No man ever left his post until he was summarily ordered to do so, or forced back by actual hostilities. On one occasion, when an aeroplane was sent to take away two officers whose lives were undoubtedly in jeopardy, I learned from the pilot, who carried a peremptory order from me to them to leave, that they spent some time discussing whether they should obey it before finally complying. That indicates their spirit.

I thank the speakers for their kind reference to myself, and you, ladies and gentlemen, for the patience with which you have listened to me.

The CHAIRMAN: Before we separate I should like your permission to pass a very hearty motion of thanks to Sir Arnold Wilson for the most interesting lecture which he has given us; also to thank him for the very beautiful photographs with which his paper was illustrated. I think we should all be grateful to those gentlemen who have kindly taken part in the all too short discussion. I had hoped we should have had one or two others here, but I suppose the Parliamentary duties of Major Ormsby Gore and others have prevented them. I hope you will allow me to convey to Sir Arnold Wilson our most sincere thanks. (Applause.)

This ended the meeting.

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1920

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions—						
To 265 at £1	265	0	0			
,, 18 at £1 in advance	18	0	0			
,, 9 at 16s.	7	4	0			
,, 5 at 16s. in advance	5	12	0			
				295	16	0
,, 2 Journal subscriptions at 16s. ...	1	12	0			
,, 4 Journal subscriptions at 10s. 6d. ...	2	2	0			
,, 1 Journal subscription at 10s. 6d. in advance	0	10	6			
,, 3 Journal subscriptions at 10s. 6d. in arrears	1	11	6			
,, 1 half year's Journal subscription at 12s.	0	6	0			
				6	2	0
Journal sales				19	15	6
Donations				1	10	0
Miscellaneous receipts				3	13	3
				326	16	9
Balance at bank, January 1, 1920 ...	52	2	2			
Petty cash, January 1, 1920	1	18	3			
				54	0	5
				£380	17	2

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By rent	19	0	0			
,, general rate	29	9	0			
,, water rate	0	15	9			
,, salary	25	0	0			
,, returned income-tax on salary, 1919-20 ...	5	12	6			
				79	17	3
Journal—						
By printing	108	3	11			
,, reporting	27	2	6			
,, lantern operator	6	0	0			
				141	6	5
By stationery and printing	19	16	7			
,, refund of subscriptions	2	7	4			
,, dinner expenses	7	3	0			
,, furnishing office	17	7	4			
,, Sir A. Stein's lecture	3	0	9			
,, Royal Society and Royal Astronomical Society (lighting and lantern) ...	3	12	0			
,, Refund dinner ticket	0	10	6			
,, Stamping and agreement with R.A.S. ...	0	15	0			
,, petty cash (stamps, teas, etc.)	37	14	8			
,, bank charges	0	8	4			
				92	15	6
				313	19	2
,, balance at bank, December 31, 1920 ...	66	12	8			
,, balance petty cash, December 31, 1920 ...	0	5	4			
				66	18	0
				£380	17	2

Audited and found correct, *April* 15, 1921.

REGINALD WINGATE.
G. C. STEPHENSON.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX

SLAVE TRADE BETWEEN THE SUDAN AND ARABIA

THE Governor of the Sudan, Colonel Sir Lee Stack, in a letter dated "The Palace, Khartoum, April 9, 1921," has drawn attention to a passage (p. 119) in Mr. Philby's article in Vol. VII., Part IV., of the Central Asian Society's *Journal* for 1920, which touches upon the question of slave-kidnapping in the Sudan. Under cover of that letter Sir Lee Stack forwards a "Note" which states very clearly the careful measures adopted to check the slave traffic. The Chairman of the Council has directed that Sir Lee Stack's "Note" should be inserted in the next number of the *Journal*. It is accordingly here published.

NOTE.

1. All pilgrims from the Sudan embark for Arabia at Suakin by steamer or dhow. Each pilgrim has to have a passport made out giving thereon his description, etc., and in the case of a family a description of each member of the family, wives, children, servants, etc., is entered on the passport.

No one is allowed to embark without such a passport, and the procedure is checked by the British Inspector at Suakin, assisted by his officials and the Province and the Customs Police.

On the return of a pilgrim he is checked with the passport record, and in the case of his having left with a family and returned with less than the number he embarked with, he is subjected to a close cross-examination as to the reason of the deficiency. The invariable reason is given as death, and other pilgrims are examined as to whether they can corroborate the statement of the pilgrim concerned. Suspicious cases are retained for further investigation.

At Port Sudan, Suakin, and Tokar, there are trustworthy and responsible Fellata Sheikhs who are paid Government servants, and who quickly report any suspicious case.

The Suakin Sheikh is present when the passports are issued, and he is constantly moving among the West African pilgrims waiting to embark. These Fellata form the great majority of pilgrims from the Sudan.

Digitized by Google

In cases where an Arab pilgrim has any black servants or small children with him, careful inquiries are made from all the latter before a passport is issued.

It is extraordinarily difficult for an Arab to take a native man or child away against his will. Each person embarking is seen by competent officials. It would be exceedingly difficult for a slave to be hidden in Suakin and smuggled on board a dhow or steamer; also the unwilling slave would, even if only a small child, inform the official who examines him if anything was wrong.

2. As regards Arabs smuggling natives across to Arabia for sale as slaves.

The check against this is a system of Mounted Camel Police patrols along the coast, which is patrolled from the Egyptian to the Eritrean frontier; in addition there are permanent Mounted Police posts on the main wells.

It is not possible to state that these patrols absolutely prevent anyone being smuggled on board a dhow lying off the coast, but they make it very difficult; the places on the coast where dhows can come close in are known and watched. A dhow, owing to the flat nature of the coast, can be seen from a long distance by the Police patrols, and any anchored dhow is carefully watched. There are also secret agents who work in connection with the police.

In the opinion of the Governor of the Red Sea Province, there is, as a result of these measures, very little slave-trading indeed, either by pilgrims or otherwise.

N.B.—This "Note" was received so late that it could only be inserted as an Appendix.—A. C. Y.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER.

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. VIII.

1921

PART IV.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

NOTICES.

THE Assistant Secretary will be at 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday mornings, and on Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday afternoons. The office will be shut for August and September.

Members of the Central Asian Society are recommended to correspond, except under special circumstances, about Lecture tickets, this Journal, and the election of new Members, direct with the Assistant Secretary at 74, Grosvenor Street, and not with Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Yate, who is mostly away in Shropshire. By doing this, both time and postage will be saved.

All Members home from abroad are asked to notify the Assistant Secretary of their change of address.

The telephone number of the Society is *Mayfair*, 4025.

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held in the rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W., on Wednesday, May 18, 1921, the Rt. Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., etc., presiding. A paper was read by Mrs. Rosita Forbes on "The Senussi as a Factor in North African Development."

The CHAIRMAN: Before we begin I should like to remind the members of the Central Asian Society that the general meeting will be held at the Royal Astronomical Society's rooms, just across the court-yard, at three o'clock on June 15; that a lecture by Sir Michael O'Dwyer will take place at 4.15, and that the annual dinner will take place in the evening at a quarter to eight. Those Members of the Society who wish to attend the dinner are earnestly requested to send in an application for tickets to the Secretary at 74, Grosvenor Street. I will now ask Colonel Yate to read the list of members who have been elected since our last meeting.

The HON. SECRETARY (Colonel Yate): Twenty members have been elected since our last meeting: The Right Honourable Winston Spencer Churchill, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies; as you know he is the head of the new Middle East Department of the Colonial Office. I may mention that on his return from Cairo he was invited to join the Society and accepted. Field-Marshal Sir A. A. Barrett, G.C.B., Major A. B. W. Bentinck, Coldstream Guards, Captain F. W. Chardin, Mrs. Carver, Captain Leslie L. Bright, Mr. Allan Cheeseman, Mr. M. Courtier Forster, Mr. Rea Davies, Mr. K. H. C. Badger, Captain H. M. J. MacIntyre, R.A., Captain J. H. Moore, Major H. C. Pulley, Captain H. G. Rivett-Carnac, Mr. P. H. J. Tozer, Captain H. I. Todd, Mr. A. J. Tomlinson, Mr. Douglas W. Gumbly, Mr. J. Horridge, and Captain D'Arcy Bingham.

The CHAIRMAN: I omitted to say that the principal guest at the dinner on June 15 will be Lord Chelmsford, late Viceroy of India. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure I am expressing the wishes of all those present in offering a very warm welcome to that intrepid traveller Mrs. Rosita Forbes (applause) on her safe return to this country. I think we should all have been glad to have heard from her own lips the narrative of that adventurous journey which she undertook to Kufra, in which, if I may be permitted to say so, she displayed

Digitized by Google

most magnificent fortitude and endurance. But, unfortunately, another Society had already obtained her consent to give the history of her journey; and so, naturally, we were precluded from having that great advantage. At the same time, I think that the subject on which she has been kind enough to say she will address us this afternoon is one of great importance to our interests, not only in North Africa and Egypt, but I daresay still farther afield, as I do not think it possible to predict with any precision the limits to which the influence of this Moslem Confraternity may subtly and gradually extend. I have no doubt that from the knowledge which she has derived from her recent experiences, Mrs. Rosita Forbes will be able to give us this afternoon some very valuable views, and also much useful information in regard to the subject which she has kindly undertaken to deal with. I will now ask Mrs. Rosita Forbes if she will kindly read her lecture. (Applause.)

THE SENUSSI AS A FACTOR IN NORTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

By Mrs. Rosita Forbes.

The present political position in Tripoli and Cyrenaica appears to mark a definite stage in the history of the Senussi confraternity and to offer a point from which may be examined the past history of that curious brotherhood, its present situation, and future prospects with which, more especially in Cyrenaica, are bound up the fortunes of Italian colonization.

The order is of comparatively recent inauguration. Sidi Mohammed ben Ali es Senussi was born in Algeria in 1787, of a Berber tribe, yet a descendant of the Prophet through Idris, founder of the Moroccan dynasty.

He studied at Fez at the Karuim university at a time when Morocco was the nursery of many religious confraternities. During the seven or eight years he spent in that most beautiful city of the world, he won some renown as an ascetic who wished to amalgamate every Moslem sect on a basis of pure and simple Islam, in strict conformance with the teaching of the Koran, but shorn of every modern digression and addition.

It appears to have been during his course of study at this university that his doctrine, based on the strictest interpretation of the letter of the Koran, took the definite form of opposition to all innovation, whether by Mohammedans or Christians.

Except in his teaching against Turk and Christian alike, there was no striking novelty in his ideas, which appear to have gained their

Digitized by Google

force rather from the earnestness of his preaching than from any generally felt desire for improvement, or any public expression of dissatisfaction with the current affairs in Islam.

They consequently found a readier audience amongst the uncontrolled Beduins, to whom Turk and Christians were equally hateful, than among the town dwellers of settled occupation.

To clear the religion of all scholastic accretions, to rid it of all sophistical interpretations, and to secure a return to the pure theocracy of Mohammed's days was his fundamental teaching, to which he added a mysticism in his personal conduct and a resolute detachment from the daily routine of life.

No exalted or historical ritual was then, or later, imposed on his disciples, nor was any outward or visible sign denoting membership of the order insisted on, either by him or by his successors.

Sidi ben Ali returned to Algeria in 1829, and taught grammar and jurisprudence at Laquat. He left the country on the eve of the French occupation and, undoubtedly, his fanaticism was strengthened by the sight of his native land in the hands of unbelievers.

Having wandered along North Africa preaching his mystic doctrine of a purer Islam till he reached Cairo, he proposed to continue his studies at the El Azhar university. Here, however, his asceticism, intolerance and hatred of innovation made him many enemies among the Ulema and his teachings were condemned by one of the most famous Sheikhs. He therefore went on to Mecca, where he became the pupil of a famous theologian, Sidi Ahmed ibn Idris el Fasi, head of the confraternity of El Khadria, of much influence in Morocco. Here at last he found a mind akin to his own.

Master and pupil travelled together to the Yemen, during which missionary journey the former died, having left instructions to his followers to transfer their allegiance to his favourite pupil, who thus found himself the head of a definite group of fervent ascetics.

Therefore, when the opposition of the older Sheikhs, who expressed a doubt as to his orthodoxy, forced him to leave Mecca in 1838, he definitely formulated the Senussi policy of keeping away from all centres of civilization and, thus, avoiding contact with those countries which were under European rule or protection, while uniting the various Beduin tribes in an immense religious organization, which should eventually include the Negroid races of the South and stretch in an unbroken line from the Hejaz to the Tuat Oases.

The Senussi are sometimes wrongly spoken of as a sect, but at no time have they been other than an ascetic confraternity, opposed to all form of luxury or of ceremonial, intolerant of any intercourse with Jew, Christian, or infidel.

Since spiritual and temporal power in Islam are inevitably synonymous, Sidi ben Ali towards the end of his life was looked upon

Digitized by Google

as the actual ruler of the Cyrenaican hinterland, but his aim probably did not go further than a Moslem freemasonry, primarily religious, but depending for its wealth and political power on the mercantile organization of the ancient Saharan trade routes by which the commerce of the Sudan came north to the Mediterranean Ports.

Thus his Zawias were always built at strategic points where passing caravans must stop at the wells. While camels were watered, the merchants were entertained by the Senussi Sheikh, who was thus afforded the best possible opportunity for propaganda. The Zawias, which were colleges and marts at the same time, gave three days' hospitality free to any traveller and, gradually, as the fame of the Senussi spread among the tribes, Ekhwan were appointed to accompany the more important caravans to prevent attacks from Beduins.

Thus the doctrine of Sidi ben Ali was eventually carried to Kanem and Borku, to the Comalis and Senegambia without the existence of any written dogma. There is, in fact, no special Senussi ritual, nor have I heard any unusual prayer or rite used in their mosques. The use of gold or jewels or any form of luxury was forbidden, as was tobacco and any alcoholic stimulant.

Women were allowed to adorn themselves in order to retain the affection of their lords, thus ensuring a large progeny to Islam, but the only other exception was made in favour of the sword hilt, which could be studded with gems, as it might serve in a holy war against the infidel. Coffee was forbidden and also sugar, because the latter might have been refined with substances containing the bones of animals killed by non-Moslems.

In 1856, Sidi ben Ali retired to Jaghabub. Doubtless this was a precautionary measure, in accordance with his habitual policy of avoiding any open conflict with existing governments, for Turkey was growing nervous with regard to the Senussi power in Africa. At first she had supported the order, according it important privileges, such as grants of land and exemption of the Zawias from taxation.

Sidi ben Ali, however, was not to be won over from his condemnation of Turkish unorthodoxy and, in 1852, he had excommunicated the Sultan. It was, therefore, obviously necessary for him to remove his headquarters from the territory nominally under Ottoman jurisdiction.

Undoubtedly while Sidi ben Ali was in residence at Jaghabub, he made the little oasis on the edge of the Libyan Desert into a centre of political propaganda and mercantile activity, but it is hard to believe that it ever had the importance ascribed to it by Henri Duveyrier, who, in 1880, described it as arsenal, factory and barracks, as well as college and court.

About 1857, a deputation of Zouias visited the Senussi Sheikh at Jaghabub, and offered him the allegiance of their tribe, which had recently conquered the Tebu in the desert oases of Kufara, then

Digitized by Google

known as Tazerr. Sidi ben Ali must have realized the strategical importance of Kufara as a basis of propaganda from the Sudan to Lake Chad, for he instantly despatched Ekhwan to disseminate his doctrine through the four oases.

It is probable that he contemplated a further withdrawal from the zone of Turkish activity, but his death occurred suddenly in 1859, before he had been able to realize his project.

He was succeeded by his son, Mohammed el Mahdi, then a boy of fourteen. At this time there were thirty-eight Zawias in Cyrenaica and Sirte and eighteen in Tripolitania. Others were sown broadcast through Algeria, Tunis and the Fezzan, but in Morocco there were only five, probably due to the opposition of other great religious orders.

By way of the Western Sahara and Timbuctoo, the Senussi Ekhwan had penetrated Senegal, where they must have found fertile soil for their doctrine, as in 1879 Senegalese pilgrims travelled 4,500 kilometres across Africa to visit the Mahdi at Jaghabub and returned to their own country without troubling to continue the pilgrimage to Mecca.

From Air to Gonda, from Lake Chad to Wajanga, as well as among the three millions in Wadai, it may be supposed that the Senussi influence was preponderant.

The Sultan of Wadai had been wont to entrust his north-bound caravans to the care of his brother and "fellow-ruler," Sidi ben Ali, and immense gifts of slaves and ivory cemented the friendship between the two potentates.

In Egypt the influence of the confraternity was never very strong, though in 1882 there were fifteen Zawias within its borders exclusive of the mother house of Jaghabub. At the same date there were Zawias at Jedda, Mecca and Taif and, at least, nine others in the Hejaz and Yemen. Duveyrier estimates the number of brothers of the order as anything between one and a half and three millions at the time when the Mahdi's minority was ended.

Each of these Ekhwan was a more or less active missionary agent, and each was ready at the bidding of his superiors to turn himself into a soldier to fight the hated infidel. Thus the power given into the hands of the young Mohammed el Mahdi was great.

An ancient prophecy foretold that the Mahdi, who would reconquer the world for Islam, would attain his majority on the first day of Moharram in 1300 Hegire, November 12, 1882. The son of Sidi ben Ali, having fulfilled this condition, might have declared a holy war and had as amazing and meteoric a career as the humble carpenter of Abba Island in the Nile, but he preferred to strengthen his position at Jaghabub, and to carry on his father's policy of holding aloof from centres of civilization and avoiding open rupture with European Powers.

Two opposing and mutually destructive forces faced Mohammed el

Digitized by Google

Mahdi throughout his life—the one the pull away from civilization, the Khalifat and its traditions; the other the push towards civilization, to which, by the extension of his domain, he was slowly but inevitably forced.

As his career proceeded, it will be seen how, on more than one occasion, the guiding rules of his father influenced his actions, but, consciously or not, from the day of his accession, he began to destroy the basic elements of the foundation of the order. The selection of Jaghabub as the mother Zawia was emblematical of the founder's desire for detachment from the affairs of the world, and even if it be true that he so far abandoned his standpoint of opposition to the Ottoman Sultan and all that he stood for as to secure the grant of this territory by political intrigue at the "Sublime Porte," the intrigue was only employed to secure a refuge far removed from all contact with civilization, whether Islam or Christian, and the excommunication of the Sultan in 1852 may have well rehabilitated the founder in his own eyes and those of his followers.

The Senussi organization was obviously capable of indefinite expansion and, for the peculiar circumstances in which this order was working, admirably designed to give the best and quickest results. The missionaries who were despatched amongst the Beduin tribes first made good their ground on a purely religious footing, and then swiftly acquired the temporal power, which, in a Mohammedan community, must accrue to the dispenser of the law.

Doubtless Sidi ben Ali had been responsible for the stubborn resistance of Laghuat in Algeria in 1852, when the French were obliged to fight their way, literally from tree to tree, among the palm gardens of the oases, as well as for much of the opposition to the French occupation of Nigeria and Senegambia, but it is doubtful whether he would ever have cared to come into open conflict with European Powers.

In this his son followed his example.

It is possible that the Mahdi had in view, if not an empire, at least a sphere of influence among the Negroid races between Wadai and Lake Chad, for which reason he was prepared secretly to oppose the French advance into Borku, but in his withdrawal to Kufara in 1894 is seen his determination to avoid any declared hostility.

Mohammed el Mahdi was the great figure of the confraternity, and under his rule the Senussi attained the zenith of their power. Since the acceptance of his tenets meant the payment of tithes, the leader of the confraternity had by this time considerable wealth at his disposal.

Having established a profitable trade in slaves and arms between South and North Africa, he also possessed the nucleus of a Negroid army, yet the Mahdi aimed at peaceful penetration rather than

Digitized by Google

military occupation. His Zawias were neutral meeting-places, where difficulties—tribal, commercial, legal, or religious—could be settled by unbiassed authority. His Ekhwan were judges as well as missionaries. They defined tribal areas, settled water and grazing rights, as well as meting out the justice of the Koran to those who infringed the stern code of Islam.

In view of the undoubted influence and prestige of such a confraternity, it is not to be wondered at that wholly exaggerated ideas of its importance were brought to Europe by rare travellers, who, impressed by the dangers they had escaped from, overlooked the fact that the order must necessarily lack cohesion, disseminated as it was through countries differing in race, tongue, custom, and form of government, and hemmed in on every side by gradually encroaching European Powers.

This gospel of fear is the prevailing note of all travellers' reports between the years 1850-1890 and colour was lent to these by the successful revolt of the Sudan Mahdi, with which the son of Sidi ben Ali refused to have anything to do, though approached on more than one occasion by envoys from the Sudan. It is to be remarked, however, that the writers of this period can seldom have been in a position to inform themselves exactly on the situation, being dependent for their facts either upon the ignorant intolerance of the Turks or the fanatical arrogance of those in whose domain they were such unwelcome and suspected wayfarers.

It is only of recent years that opportunities of studying undisturbed the problem at first hand, and in the light of recent developments of modern warfare, have enabled a more exact and proportionate estimate to be made of this supposed threat to the world's peace, and of the future prospects in the general scheme of things of a most extraordinary confraternity.

The second period of Senussi history is initiated by the move of the Mahdi to Kufara, which isolated him in an almost impregnable position, where he could command the trade routes of half a continent. From this date the growth of the mercantile power of the order was assured. Kufara, under the rule of the Zouias, a noted warrior tribe coming originally from the Fezzan, had been the most formidable centre of brigandage in the Sahara. Mohammed el Mahdi substituted a regular system of customs duty on all merchandise passing through. He built the towns of Jof and Taj, each with a large Zawia and, in the course of a few years, developed the oasis into an entirely self-supporting centre of civilization and the headquarters of the confraternity, visited by large numbers of "brethren" from all parts of Africa. Nevertheless, he had to acknowledge that temporarily the North offered no further field of expansion for his teachings. Any open trial of strength with France, Turkey, or Egypt could have but one issue. Therefore,

Digitized by Google

he concentrated his energies on Borku, Wadai, Kanem, and the Western Sudan. He sent his Ekhwan throughout these districts with instructions to settle disputes between the tribes, thus inducing them to acknowledge Senussi authority, and to build Zawias in such places as would control the wells and markets.

In 1899 he himself went south to Ghiru, from where he directed the opposition to the French advance from Lake Chad. This step was notable, because it was in direct contravention of the policy initiated by Sidi ben Ali and previously adhered to by the Mahdi.

At no time a military power, the Senussi depended for their wealth and influence upon the stability of their mercantile organization. The French were the first Europeans who seriously imperilled their profitable trade in slaves and arms. The latter merchandise came from Constantinople and was disembarked at Tobruk or Benghazi. Since its principal markets were between Darfur and Kanem it was essential that France should not advance further towards Wadai. Tuareg rebels, flying North from Nigeria, came in touch with the Senussi at Kanem, were converted to their tenets, and joined with Arabs from Kufara in opposing French penetration, while the Zawia at Bir Allahi became a definite centre of opposition until it was taken in January, 1902.

By this open aggression, Mohammed el Mahdi apparently pledged himself to a definite campaign against the French, yet he had no regular army. His policy was to unite the tribes against the Christian, himself supplying arms, money, and ammunition. Borku was virtually under his rule. He had a Wazir in Wadai and Zawias in Nigeria and the Cameroons.

Mohammed es Sunni, one of the most famous Senussi Ekhwan, was adviser to the Sultan of Wadai, for whom he had obtained the financial support of the Tripolitanian merchants. The extent, therefore, of the confraternity's influence in the South can hardly be overestimated.

The sudden death of the Mahdi, in 1902, removed the motive force of the order.

From all that can be learned, this great leader of the Senussi was a man of considerable ability, who is entitled to full credit of the progress made by the confraternity under his guidance. He used to the full the fanatical devotion of his followers, while at the same time he guided them wisely according to his policy. He wrapped his personality in a cloak of mystery, which appealed to the ignorant, but he was none the less accessible to those who required his direction. It must be counted to his judgment and restraint that he trusted so largely to the religious hold he had over his people, and until the last year of his life did not force the issue by seeking a verdict through the trial of arms.

Digitized by Google

He is reported by Sidi Ahmed Tahiati, whom we met at Taj, to have warned his successor never to enter a contest against the English, who would beat him with their machines.

As his sons were minors at school at the time of his death, he was succeeded by his nephew, the famous Sayed Ahmed es Sherif. The new Sheikh of the Senussi remained at Ghiru, from where he continued to oppose the French advance, until a bad defeat, in December, 1902, decided him to retire.

For some years he moved his headquarters between Jaghabub and Kufara, so that he was able to keep in touch with his northern Zawias without relinquishing the hold gained by the Mahdi on the Negroid races in the South.

Since the Anglo-French Treaty of 1904 ceded the Zinder-Chad route to France, the advance of the latter Power has inevitably involved the ebb of Senussi influence throughout the occupied districts.

The years preceding the winter of 1913–1914 were notable for a series of defeats, eventually culminating in the occupation of Abeshe, while Senussi propaganda was finally put an end to by the French advance into Tibesti and Borku in the spring of 1914.

Meanwhile, Cyrenaica and Tripoli having been acknowledged an Italian sphere of influence, Sayed Ahmed was fully occupied in the North. When the Italians landed in Libia in 1911, there existed a kingdom within a kingdom and the Turks were only masters in name. They were almost as much despised as the Christians, by the ascetic confraternity of Sidi ben Ali, who held themselves entirely aloof from the Ottoman Government. Therefore, when Sayed Ahmed definitely allied himself with Turkey, he departed from the fundamental principle of his order. The personal influence of a clever and unscrupulous Turk in a few months swept away what remained to him of prudence, principle, and devotion to his original tenets. From this day the confraternity came out into the light of day, submitted its cause to the judgment of the world, and stood to win or lose on its merits as a fighting machine.

As a religious community, by amalgamation with the Turks, whose Calif had been excommunicated as an unbeliever in 1852 by their own chief, the Senussi withdrew at once from the standpoint that Turks and Christians were alike "outside the pale."

Sayed Ahmed was persuaded by Enver Pasha to allow the tribes of the Interior to take part, under Turkish leadership, in the long-drawn-out guerrilla warfare, which was so successfully carried out, that in 1914 Italy was left in possession of the coast towns of Tripoli and Cyrenaica only, while the Interior was in the hands of the Senussi.

The principle of religious detachment, for which the order had originally stood, had disappeared, and the confraternity had resolved itself into a political weapon in the hands of Turkey.

Digitized by Google

From this standpoint it was but a short step to the declaration of war on Egypt.

At no period was Sayed Ahmed really anti-British, because he knew that Britain had no interests to serve in Libia. Moreover, she facilitated his trade with Egypt, a vital point for the welfare of the Beduin, for the Cyrenaican ports were already closed to them. Bribed by Germany, Sayed Ahmed's most trusted counsellors built upon his fanaticism and his superstitions. His principal confidant went so far as to relate a dream, in which he had met the prophet Mohammed, who offered only his left hand, saying that his right was with Germany and Turkey.

Mannisman and Nouri Pasha, German and Turkish agents respectively, provided arms, ammunition, and money, while holding before the Senussi Sheikh the idea that the Egyptian Beduins would all join him and that he would be the ruler of Egypt.

Yet in spite of Teuton organization and of a widely preached Jehad, it is doubtful if the Senussi could ever have put in the field more than 4,000 men.

The history of the war is well known, but it may be briefly recapitulated. Sayed Ahmed established his headquarters at Bir Waer and the Egyptian coastguards were persuaded by religious fanaticism to join him. Jaafer Pasha, a keen and capable soldier, an Arab from Baghdad, trained in German methods, was in command of his troops. On Christmas Eve at Medwa began a series of defeats, which resulted in the reoccupation of Sollum on March 14. The following day the Duke of Westminster made his famous dash to Bir Hakim on the Tobruk-Jaghabub route, some sixty miles inland, and 120 miles from Sollum, to rescue the heroic Tara prisoners.

Sayed Ahmed retired through Siwa to Dakhla, while the remaining portion of his force went to Baharia. Kharga was immediately evacuated by the British, and then, with a successful army occupying the coast, a beaten enemy practically cut off from all supplies in two isolated desert oases, a disaffected and half-starved Cyrenaica heartily tired of its ruler's policy and already turning to Mohammed Idris, whose pro-British attitude was obvious from the beginning—then was continued the scheme for fortifying Egypt at an expense of many million sterling against an enemy which possibly numbered 2,000 men.

The whole of the summer of 1916 was spent in fortifying the line of the Nile Valley and, in October, the Senussi were driven out of Dakhla and Baharia by camel corps and light car patrols and Sayed Ahmed retired to Siwa. In February, 1917, after a sharp engagement at Girba, where, east of Munasib Pass, some twenty armoured cars performed the amazing feat of sustaining a twenty-four hours enfilade from 800 of the enemy hidden in the rocks above them, the Senussi were finally driven out of Egyptian territory.

Digitized by Google

For eighteen months Sayed Ahmed spent a precarious existence in the hinterland of Cyrenaica and, in August, 1918, retired to Constantinople by submarine.

Meanwhile, in 1916, an Italo-British Mission under General (then Colonel) the Marchese di Vita and Colonel Talbot had approached Sidi Mohammed Idris es Senussi at Tobruk and Zuetina with a view to arranging a *modus vivendi* in Cyrenaica.

Sayed Idris had taken no part in his cousin's campaign against Egypt. On the contrary, he threw all his influence as the son of the Mahdi into the opposing scale.

As soon as Sayed Ahmed decided to attack, the younger Senussi retired to Jedabia with his brother Sayed Rida, writing to General Maxwell to say that he did not support his cousin's policy.

He continued firmly in this course, though when Sayed Ahmed was defeated, Mannisman came West, with some Turks and Egyptian coastguards, to try and persuade him to continue the war. Sayed Idris refused and Mannisman was killed on his way to Tripoli, a journey he had undertaken in direct opposition to the Senussi's advice.

It was thus natural that both Cyrenaica and Italy should turn to the eldest son of the Mahdi for help in the work of reorganization, necessitated by Sayed Ahmed's disastrous policy.

A dual agreement was drawn up in 1917 between the British and Italian Governments on the one side and Sayed Mohammed Idris as the head of the confraternity on the other, by which it was agreed that:

A. The Italian Government will retain the coast towns, and certain already occupied posts a short distance inland but will create no new posts.

B. Commerce is to be unrestricted between the Interior and Bengazi, Tobruk, and Derna.

C. Courts according to Sharia Law and schools for the education of natives will be built and maintained by the Italians, who will also restore Zawias and Zawia property not still required for military purposes, and be responsible for the salaries of Sheikhs el Zawia appointed by Sidi Idris.

D. Material assistance will be rendered to Mohammed Idris by the Italian Government supplying him with arms, ammunition, equipment, and food for a limited number of men. For the moment 4,000 is the number fixed. These are to be used partly against the enemy and partly for the purpose of maintaining public security in the interior of Cyrenaica.

E. Personal allowances to certain members of the Senussi family are to be paid monthly.

F. In return for this Mohammed Idris will make himself responsible for the maintenance of peace in the Interior, but will

Digitized by Google

> form no new posts, will gradually disarm the population, will place no obstacles in the way of the Italian Government for the forcible disarmament of hostile groups, will allow Italian delegates to enter the Interior for the settlement of affairs with his local representative, while the Italian Government may at any time send a representative to discuss matters with him in person.

Since then an excellent understanding has been arrived at, chiefly owing to the personal influences of H. E. the Governor of Cyrenaica, Senator de Martino and Sayed Mohammed Idris, and Cyrenaica bids fair to have a prosperous commercial and agricultural future.

By the accord of Regima in November, 1920, Italy and the Senussi ratified the Italo-British Agreement before quoted.

Sayed Idris was given the hereditary title of Emir with jurisdiction as "an independent ruler on behalf of Italy" over the oases of Kufara, Jaghabub, Jalo, Aujela and Jedabia. He is to disband his karakols and armed camps in Cyrenaica and the Italians are to find employment, in a regular police force, for the men thus left unemployed. The terms of the new constitution granted to Cyrenaica provide that five members out of the forty-four constituting the legislative assembly shall be elected from the oases of the Interior. It is expected that a port will be built at Zuetina and that the Trans-Saharan trade from Wadai and Darfur will pass through Kufara, Jalo and Jedabia on its way to this Mediterranean outlet.

It will not be difficult to realize the problems inherent in such an agreement, which relies for its success not only on the mutual goodwill of the two parties, but also on Mohammed Idris having a commanding position in the eyes of his followers. In Cyrenaica, to a large extent, mutual goodwill is present and confidence exists, but if the new Emir becomes strong and sure of himself, he is regarded with apprehension by the Italians. If he remains weak and dependent upon them, he can never acquire a predominant position among the Beduins. For the Italian people the situation is a diminution of their sovereign rights. For the Senussi confraternity it is the complete negation of that for which it originally stood.

It is idle now to wonder whether any other solution of the problem could have been found, but the future provides interesting ground for speculation.

In the Senussi War our victory was decisive, but the ease with which it was won perhaps blinded us to the fact that at no time were we fighting an organized revolt of the whole, shall we say, Senussi sphere of influence. To begin with, as Sayed Ahmed was not the son of the Senussi saint, Sidi el Mahdi, he had much less influence than was generally believed, and he still further diminished his prestige when he allied himself with the hitherto despised Ottoman Govern-

Digitized by Google

ment. Moreover, the wealthy merchants of the Interior refused to countenance a war which must of necessity annihilate their trade. Thus the Senussi campaign really resolved itself into a series of encounters with those lawless elements among the tribes who looked upon any fighting as an excellent chance of looting, and who ran away when it was obvious that they could not benefit their greed.

Nevertheless the war did prove that as a serious military peril the Senussi do not exist. From that standpoint, however, it is a very long step to the idea that they have no political influence. With the destruction of their Egyptian Zawias, officialdom is inclined to believe that it has uprooted the power of the confraternity. If you destroyed the masonic halls in England would you put an end to freemasonry? On the contrary, would you not merely force it to act secretly in channels where its activities could not be observed, rather than openly, where a watch could be kept on its movements? I first came in contact with the Senussi Tarika in Fez, and next in El Oued in the French Sahara, yet I have repeatedly been assured that it does not exist west of Tripoli to-day. I made exhaustive enquiries in the Sudan, and found that the number of "brothers" there was considerable. When I reached Egypt on my return from Kufara, there was no need to enquire. The news that I had been to their sacred oasis made many Ekhwan come to me. At first they used merely to ask for news of friends and relatives, but very soon out came the Senussi oath, "By the truth of Sidi el Mahdi," changing now to "By the faith of Idris," and I learned that the Senussi influence still exists in Western Egypt. I am convinced that the confraternity has also a considerable following in the Hejaz.

Up to the time of the war we overestimated its power. Now I think we are likely to underestimate it.

We have said that, as a military force, the Senussi do not exist. At no time could they put more than a few thousand men in the field—the whole population of the Kufara group of oases is not more than three or four thousand Zouias, exclusive of the negro slaves.

In Cyrenaica the tribes have had their lesson. It is exceedingly doubtful if they would ever care to engage in another struggle with Egypt, the last one having resulted in their almost complete starvation, for the hinterland is not self-supporting and the Beduins must depend for many of their stores on the Egyptian market.

On the other hand, as a mercantile and political influence, the Senussi undoubtedly rank among the most powerful in North Africa. Kufara is the spider at the heart of the web of the trans-Saharan trade routes. South to Wadai and Durfur, east across the dunes to Faraffra, north by the new route which we discovered to Jaghabub, north-west to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, west to the Fezzan, the caravan routes go forth. On all these routes the Zouias, the most fanatical Senussi

Digitized by Google

tribe, are the only trusted guides. It is undoubted that these guides and camel-drivers spread the doctrines of their leader throughout the countries they visit.

Before the war the chief product of Cyrenaica was hides, and the greater part of those hides came via Kufara from the Western Sudan. There was also a large trade in ivory, feathers, and sandalwood. When it is remembered that ivory costs 10 francs a pound in Darfur and that a completely tanned and scarlet-dyed goatskin can be bought for 14s. in Kufara, the possibility of trade in these goods will be easily understood.

Kufara is likely to remain long in the hands of the Senussi. With the existing means of modern warfare it would be almost impossible to organize a military expedition capable of taking it. The group of oases is practically self-supporting. It is protected by a barrier of immense dunes, roughly 100 miles wide, which would prevent the approach of light car patrols. Beyond this, again, is a stretch of waterless desert, varying from 200 to 350 miles in length. Without reliable guides, it would be impossible to discover the few wells which exist at the edge of this appalling waste, and these guides would of necessity be Zouias, whose loathing of the stranger is an inherent part of their religion.

At the same time much might be done to develop the trade routes of the region. At the moment the sentiment of the confraternity is entirely pro-British.

They deprecate Sayed Ahmed's action in making war on England and enthusiastically support the modern and enlightened policy of the present Emir, who is known to be an enthusiastic friend of the British.

The Senussi are typically merchants. Their livelihood depends upon their trade. At Jalo we used to spend hours sitting on mats, drinking coffee and discussing the possibility of new routes to Egypt. Before the war all European stores and stuffs came direct by camel through Siwa and the cost was infinitesimal compared to the freight and customs duties which must now be paid on Egyptian goods travelling by sea to Bengazi and thence inland.

It is natural, therefore, that all the more progressive Sheikhs look with enthusiasm to the resumption of overland trade with Egypt. The destruction, however, of all the Senussi Zawias within Egyptian territory has made this very difficult. The Zawia was not only a college, remember, it was a resting-place for the merchants, a mart and a general meeting-ground. In view of this drastic policy, it is not to be wondered at that the Senussi traders view with doubt and some distrust any incursion on their part into the country through which they used to travel so freely.

It will be interesting to observe in what direction the confraternity

Digitized by Google

will develop in the future. Beginning as an isolated religious confraternity, it has expanded by way of mercantile and political influence into a dynastic entity, whose desire for civilization must necessarily force it along lines widely divergent from those contemplated by its founder.

It is certain that the Emir Idris will have the whole-hearted support of the country in whatever course he chooses to pursue and, with the present sympathetic co-operation of the Italian Government, it is probable that he will lead the van of Arab progress in North Africa. How far are we likely to be concerned with this progress?

At present England is like the bad tailor who cuts his cloth without regard to the shape of his coat, so that at the last moment he has to snip off a little bit here and add on a little bit there till his original conception of the garment is entirely lost.

England was the first to conceive the possibility of helping the development of the smaller nations and peoples until they could stand alone. Eight years ago, England's name throughout the Middle East stood for the highest qualities that the minds of its races could grasp. To-day, owing to the disastrous policy of the last few years, we, and the world in general, have lost sight of our original attitude. We talk of reducing our liabilities, but the little bit we have tried to add on in Mesopotamia is costing us dear and the little bit we have cut off in Libia may cost us even more! The Senussi influence is felt from the Western Sudan to the Mediterranean, but it is strongest in Libia, and Libia lies on the borders of an Egypt anxious for self-expression and self-determination. Not all the Beduin tribes of the Western deserts would be in favour of submission to a national government in Cairo and never, since the days of Mohammed Ali, who subsidized the tribe of the Aulad Ali for that purpose, has Egypt guarded her own frontiers. Beyond the Western deserts is Italy, whose eyes must ever be turned to Egypt. In Alexandria more Italian is spoken than Arabic. Intermarriage between the two races is the rule, not the exception. Commercially and socially Italy has already penetrated, if not permeated, Egypt. When Cairo can dictate her own foreign policy it is not difficult to prophecy an Italo-Egyptian alliance which might be awkward to British interests in the Middle East. The present political situation, therefore, affords infinite possibilities for expansion on the part of the Senussi, and surely it behoves England to keep on friendly terms with the Emir Idris, a neighbour who is paramount in Libia, whose sentiments are notably pro-British, and whose interests must always be bound up with the commercial prosperity of Egypt. We talk of the lack of unity in Islam, and insist on considering every part of it as a separate problem, yet Kufara takes as much interest in the doings of Damascus as London does in those of Melbourne or Ottawa and, unlike the British Empire, Islam

Digitized by Google

has one common meeting-ground where, for several uninterrupted weeks, delegates from every Continent and every people discuss in a secrecy beyond the possibility of being betrayed or overheard, the affairs of its world—I mean the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, the one window that must ever remain blind in our house of knowledge.

NOTE.—A considerable portion of the information given in this paper is quoted from Egyptian Government files dealing with the subject, and I am particularly indebted to officials of the Frontier District Administration for the loan of their documents. To the generous assistance of H.E. Senator de Martina, Governor of Cyrenaica, are due the details concerning the Italo-British and Italian treaties with the Senussi.—R. F.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, we have the pleasure of having among the audience Captain Gwatkin-Williams, who was, as I daresay some of you know, a captive in the hands of that confraternity in regard to which Mrs. Rosita Forbes has given us so interesting an account. If he will kindly give us a few of his experiences, we shall be very glad.

Captain R. S. GWATKIN-WILLIAMS, R.N.: Ladies and Gentlemen, if you had asked me about seven years ago what the Senussi were I am afraid I should not have known whether they were a patent medicine, a new disease, or what they were. Fools rush in where angels fear to tread. In this case we have already had the angel who did not fear to tread—Mrs. Rosita Forbes—but we have not had any of her adventures. I was one of the unfortunate fools pitchforked amongst the Senussi. I was in 1914 in command of a little warship called the *Tara*. We were torpedoed, and the submarine made us prisoners, and took us into a secret base he had got there in the Senussi territory, and turned us over to the Senussi. I and another hundred British sailors spent five months of terrible captivity amongst the Senussi. They marched us about 130 miles into the Libyan desert. I will tell you some of my adventures, it will help you to realize what Mrs. Rosita Forbes has gone through. To start with, we were very hungry; I know some of the things we have eaten. I know we had to live on a camel once that had been dead three or four days down a well. We had had no meat for three or four weeks. We had a great craving for meat. I went down the well and swam round in the dark until I found the camel's foot sticking up. We pulled it to the top—a hundred prisoners standing around hoping for a feed. We stuck a knife in, and such an aroma came out that we realized the camel had been dead for three or four days. At first we buried the camel, but, later on, at night, we thought better of it, and dug up the camel and lived on it for four days. We had it fried and boiled; we had camel soup and camel liver. If anyone has not tasted camel and wonders what it is like, he should go to the Zoo and smell the live animal, and that will give him an idea.

Digitized by Google

We were marched in by an Egyptian traitor called Achmed—a hundred unfortunate sailors. The sailor is not a very great walker as a rule; you see him in London in a taxicab or a 'bus, he is not a great walker. We had a hundred men, some of them sixty, and one of them nearly seventy years old. Others were boys of sixteen or seventeen. We suddenly found we had to march thirty or forty miles a day across the desert. One man ran away, and because of this the Egyptian traitor who was marching us in resolved to punish us all. He soon found an excuse. He found one of the sailors trying to destroy his rice because he did not want to carry it with him all day—he foolishly tried to burn it. So we were marched two days and two nights without food or water—that was under a blazing sun, but what we suffered from most was the cold at night. Everywhere in the North African desert in the winter months it is most bitterly cold at night; the temperature comes down to freezing-point, and we had nothing to cover us. There were sea fogs and bitter winds. The first day we managed to get along somehow without food or water; the second day we were beaten or flogged along. They had a ready way when anyone fainted; a Senussi guard would come up and jab him so hard in the ribs with a rifle that the pain was so exquisite that unless the man was at death's door he would stagger on again. At the end of the second evening, when we fell down in the mass, and none could go farther, Achmed let us have some food. We had some water. If you had a bucket of water and washed your potatoes and scrubbed your house out and so on with it, that would be a good bit cleaner than the water we had to drink in the desert. It came out of a stinking mud hole to start with. It was bright green, half salt, and full of hair and dirt. It had been carried about a hundred miles on a camel's back. We had one wineglassful each, but I have never had anything so nice as that water. In the same way with the rice which we had rather despised. We had had nothing for two days, and had been eating snails to keep us alive. At last they gave us a half cupful of rice each. I have had excellent dinners. I once dined with our late friend the Kaiser, but I never had anything so nice as the rice. For the first time for some weeks we sang and were absolutely happy. When you have heard Mrs. Forbes' story you will realize the awful discomfort of living among the Senussi. They are like children in some ways. Children are apt to be cruel at first; you know they cut off caterpillars' and insects' heads. The Senussi are cruel at first, but no one can be kinder to you than they are in their own way after they have got used to you. I had unfortunately got a gold tooth, and they are such a poverty-stricken race that several times they seriously threatened to cut off my head as being the easiest way to get this valuable gold. The only way I could persuade them that it was not worth while doing so was by telling them that it was not gold but brass. They believed that; for

Digitized by Google

they could not believe that anyone was so wealthy as to have gold in his head. We were marched to an awful place called Bir Hakkim Abbyat. It is in a desert of rock and stone called the Red Desert; there is no sand there at all. For fourteen days we were marched into the interior of this Red Desert; there we were put to a kind of well at a place called Bir Hakkim Abbyat—one of those old Roman wells they have got dug all over the country. There we were under the Egyptian traitor and an old priest in charge of the well called Osman. We knew him as Holy Joe. He had a whip of rhinoceros hide in his hand. We were a kind of slaves, and he used to drive us out to work excavating other wells. That was in 1915, when the Senussi had started to invade Egypt and the country was blockaded.

The Senussi are used to privations; at any time what would starve your cat at home the Beduin would get fat on. Those were the people keeping us, and I am certain we did not get nearly so much food as they—for the first two months a little more than half a pound of rice a day, and nothing else at all. We managed to keep alive to a certain extent because there were a great many snails about. There are snails in the desert who can go a year without water. We used to eat great quantities. In the ordinary way we would throw them into the fire. As soon as the snail got hot enough a steam would escape and it would whistle—it was like a patent egg-boiler. When the whistling stopped the snail was cooked. Later on we got much more epicures and used to boil them. We had an old kind of baking-tin that would accommodate a thousand snails. We used to call them Libyan "Lilywhites" because of their colour. The recipe was—boil brilliantly for twenty minutes, but if hard-boiled snail is preferred a shorter time will suffice. We put the snails in a pan in some water on the fire. The first ten minutes was an anxious time because the snail would spend most of his time trying to walk out; but after the first ten minutes they were very quiet, and after twenty minutes you poured away the water—green and slimy it was then—and you had your 500 or 600 green, horrible, grisly snails lying at the bottom of the pan. That was the dinner we most of us had, and on Christmas Day most of the men had nothing else. Some of the men got quite fond of the snails, and one, who was called the Snail King, was supposed to eat 500 a day. We ate every snail within ten miles of the camp and every root there was. Then I managed to make my escape. I had made a little, rough map of the country, and had to go about a hundred miles across the desert. I got away quite easily from the Senussi—they were not great at guarding us—and got half way to the Egyptian frontier, but ran into a Beduin camp at dawn and was recaptured. Their ways are very drastic—I think Mrs. Forbes told you their punishments are exceedingly drastic. For mere smoking or drinking you get the amputation of the hand. Any casual stranger found in

Digitized by Google

the country, they usually kill him instantly. They intended to kill me; but there were so many robbers about that they took to fighting among themselves as to who should possess me, until I fell in with two Turkish soldiers. With them I was marched two hundred miles across the desert and taken back once more to our hideous prison camp of Bir Hakkim. We lived in the orthodox Beduin way; we had no food for our two hundred miles journey, but we robbed passing travellers of their sheep. We generally gave them a receipt for the sheep and drove them off with the guns that my two Turkish guards had. I had not had any meat myself at all for three months then; but the Turkish soldiers and myself—there were five of us altogether—ate three complete sheep within thirty-six hours. Anyway, I got back to the camp, and there I was met by Holy Joe, the old black priest, who flogged me into camp on Leap Year's Day, 1916. On that day the last of us gave up our hope of life. We were getting very weak. The last of the rice had run out, the last of the snails had been eaten, and we were living on a quarter-pound of goat's flesh a day. Four men had already died of starvation, and it seemed in two or three weeks more we should all die in the same way as they. If the Senussi had wished to help us, they could not have done it, because we were so weak that we could not cover five miles a day as a body. At that time the British, quite unknown to us, were having a campaign with the Senussi in the west of Egypt, and had two or three hard fought fights. Of these the most dramatic was the Duke of Westminster's action at Azais on March 14. He had only nine armoured cars, with thirty-two officers and men. That was his complete force; but he fell on the whole Turko-Senussi army of five thousand armed with artillery, machine-guns, and everything complete. He took them completely by surprise, wiped them off the face of the desert, scattered them in every direction, and captured the whole of their artillery and everything they had got. (Applause.) That was not helping us really, because nobody at that time knew where the unfortunate *Tara's* crew was. We had disappeared from the face of the earth. But on the way to the battle one of the Duke of Westminster's cars, under Major Amphlett, broke down; and at the very spot where it broke down he found a broken-down Turkish car within twenty yards of him. Major Amphlett took the opportunity to search the Turkish car. At first he could not find anything, but as he was about to start, his repairs having been made good, he saw a bit of paper. He pulled it out, and to his great astonishment found it was a letter written in the French language. It was a letter that I myself had written nearly six weeks before to the Turkish Colonel, and that was the first news the British got that the *Tara's* crew was still alive. But also note a very remarkable thing: that letter was the only one ever written which gave the name of our camp.

Digitized by Google

The country west of Egypt had, however, not been visited by white men practically since the last Romans were turned out in the year 609. Nobody had any idea where our camp was, it was marked on no map, and none of the seventy or eighty prisoners they had taken had any idea at all; and then luck followed the British once more, because two Senussi came and gave themselves up. One of them was a one-eyed man, and the one-eyed man said that thirty years before, when he was a little boy, he thought he had been to a place called Bir Hakkim, the name of our camp. He did not think that he could remember the way after all those thirty years; he had been there only as a boy. But he volunteered to try and guide the British, and with that guide only the Duke of Westminster took his armoured motor-car and all the other motor vehicles available. They went 120 miles into the trackless desert without sighting a single landmark, and were half-way through the petrol; everybody had given up hope. They could not find the one landmark they were looking for—a fig-tree growing by itself—the only tree for hundreds of miles. They were off the map, absolutely lost, but the Duke of Westminster determined not to give up as long as the guide would give him the least hope of ever getting through. Then, at the critical moment, when they had given up all hope, the guide threw himself off the car—they were going full speed—and rolled in the sand. At first people thought he was a treacherous Senussi who had led them into an ambush, and were going to fire on him; but the guide got up and began to point. With his one eye the guide had seen what no one else had seen, he had sighted the landmark of the fig-tree. He went up to the fig-tree, fell on his knees there, and gave thanks to Allah, the giver of all good. Then he scraped away the sand below the tree where he was kneeling, and exposed the stone coping of one of those ancient Roman wells. That well, he said, was the "well of sweet waters" where he used to water his father's flocks as a little boy thirty years before. He said, "It is all choked now and useless, but it tells me exactly where we are. We are no longer lost, and are quite close to the prisoners' camp at Bir Hakkim." That was St. Patrick's Day, 1916. We prisoners were crawling about on our hands and knees from weakness, and thought we had at best but three or four days to live, when suddenly one of our men came in and said, "There is a motor-car in sight." We did not believe him—a motor-car a hundred and thirty miles from anywhere in the Red Desert! We used very unparliamentary language, and were just going to throw stones at him when I looked up, and there was no question about it; there *was* a motor-car. We were all mad. It was a car the Duke had sent ahead; they had sighted our camp and it looked in the mirage like a fortified place. We were very excited, those who could only crawl about before managed to stand up, and we gave the best kind of cheer we could—a

Digitized by Google

feeble weak thing, but it reached the leading car. Even then we never for a second guessed it was a British car. We all thought it was a Turkish car, but that at any rate it meant good news. When the car heard that cheer, the people in it for the first time realized that we were British. Until then they thought we were Arabs; for we had long hair, black faces, were in rags and covered from head to foot with vermin. Nobody could possibly have recognized us as Englishmen. But they heard the cheer and passed it back to the other cars, and in a few minutes, not one car only but forty-three came rushing forward at the highest speed. (Applause.) We were fed, and were soon very happily on our way back. I do not want to tell you more of my own story, but I want you to realize the terrible times that Mrs. Forbes has gone through. I had five months with the Senussi, and had a hundred men with me who had the same experiences; and I am absolutely positive there is not one of us in our senses who would for one second have attempted to go through and do what Mrs. Forbes did. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, we have had, perhaps, the most enjoyable and instructive afternoon at which it has been my lot to be present at the meetings of this Society. (Applause.) We have had the admirable lecture which Mrs. Rosita Forbes was good enough to give us, which I think from every point of view was worthy of the reputation which she has already achieved, both as a traveller, and I may say also an author, and very nearly, I think, as a statesman too. Captain Gwatkin-Williams has thrilled us, I am quite sure, with that simple graphic narrative which he has given us of those dreadful sufferings which he and his companions passed through when they were captured by the Senussi. I suggest we pass a very warm tribute of thanks to both of them for having given us an opportunity of spending such very interesting and enjoyable hours.

Digitized by Google

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W., on Wednesday, June 15, 1921, the Right Hon. Lord Carnock presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: I will first call upon Colonel Yate to read his report for the past session.

REPORT FOR 1920-1921.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate): Before I read the report I will just mention that we have to-day elected twenty-five additional new members. I do not think it is necessary to read out the names, unless you particularly so desire. They will all be incorporated in the Roll of Members in due course.

Although the report laid before the Anniversary Meeting of June 23, 1920, showed satisfactory signs of progress, the concluding paragraph indicated that the Council of the Society was still face to face with no small anxieties. Even our very successes have had their own drawbacks. With a tiny room which we share with another Society, our Assistant Secretary has no adequate space for records, and as for housing the rich contribution towards a Middle Eastern Library, for which we are indebted to Lady Trotter's munificence, it is useless at present to think of it. Again, the rapidly increasing membership of the Society and the growing popularity of our Lectures have forced us to look abroad for larger lecture halls. From the Dunsterville and Bailey lectures scores went away, unable to squeeze in anywhere, and the comparatively spacious hall of the Royal Society in Burlington House was crowded to hear Sir Arnold Wilson and Mrs. Rosita Forbes. Last year, when I made my report, I paid my humble tribute to the admirable way in which Miss Phillips carried out her duties, and the same sense impels me to now record what Miss Kennedy has done during the past six months to keep pace with the steadily growing demands upon her time and energies. Very few members of this Society have visited that little box on the third floor of 74, Grosvenor Street, immured in which she sends out hundreds of journals, cards, notices, *et hoc genus omne*. Occasional intimations of cards and journals not being received have reached me. I can only say that I personally am very thankful that it is not my destiny to send out all that she does, and that if proof of her devotion to the

Digitized by Google

interests of the Society be sought, it is to be found in the work which she silently and unobtrusively performs there.

For some years past the Central Asian Society has been steadily advancing into its Middle Eastern stage, and to-day the "Middle East" with which we deal extends from the eastern frontiers of Europe to the confines of China, and from the land-line of the Trans-Siberian Railway on the north to the Great Ocean Route—nay! and beyond it—on the south which connects the *Near* with the *Far* East. This extension and the responsibility which it entailed the Society was bound to justify; and I think that, on the whole, its justification may be sought in the record of the past. We have not yet shaken off anxieties about finance, but we have held them at arm's length, and that without raising one penny of that subscription of £1 a year which was fixed twenty-one years ago, and though printing and every other expense has been trebled or quadrupled.

The Society owes more than it knows to its Honorary Treasurers. In my opinion, now that the Society has clearly before it a great career, now that it counts amongst its members two Secretaries of State and what I may almost call the pick of the great administrators and soldiers of the Empire, and also the élite of that younger generation which holds the future destinies of that Empire in its hands, the Society owes it to itself to require a higher subscription at any rate from its new members, and clearly more commodious quarters are needed.

It was before this Society that, eighteen months ago, Mr. Ormsby Gore outlined his scheme of a Middle East Department. It has pleased His Majesty's Government to assign that department to the Colonial Office, and recently, on his return from Cairo, the Secretary of State for the Colonies joined this Society.

I think it most desirable at this juncture to repeat what our Honorary President, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, said in his speech at the Society's Annual dinner on October 12, 1920, viz.:

"I hope that this Society will regard itself as existing not only to read papers, examine problems, and display knowledge, but also as a Society which trains men and inspires men with the ardour and ambition to support the interests of our Empire in Central Asia, and to help its countries to a peaceful solution of the very intricate problems with which they are confronted. It has been a great pleasure to me to see some of the younger members of this Society justifying its existence by work of this kind. Lord Ronaldshay in Bengal, Sir George Lloyd in Bombay: these are men who have been brought up in the spirit and under the inspiration of this Society, and their careers provide an example and incentive to others. Long may this Society flourish to carry on the great work which assuredly lies before it." So far Lord Curzon.

Digitized by Google

It is as well, I think, that we should assure our Honorary President that we realize the truth of his counsel. We have ambitions and we will work for them. The Middle East is an essential link in the union of our Empire, and we will work to strengthen and maintain that link which at present is threatened by many and serious dangers. Our Journals record the ability, prowess, courage, resource and endurance of men, and occasionally of women, who are an example and incentive to those who will come after them. We are proud, and with good reason, of those who have placed at our disposal the results of their travels, studies, and adventurous exploits—exploits which have, some of them, been perilous in the extreme.

The list of lectures, during the session which terminates to-day, is as follows:

1920.

October 21.—"Some Military Aspects of the Mesopotamian Problem," by Captain E. Shepherd.

November 10.—"Federation of the Central Asian States under the Kabul Government," by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah.

November 18.—"Turkestan under the Bolshevists," by Major F. M. Bailey, C.I.E.

December 16.—"The Military Mission to North-West Persia in 1918," by Major-General L. C. Dunsterville, C.B.

1921.

January 20.—"Communications in the East: Their Expansion by Means of Aircraft," by Captain P. D. Acland.

February 17.—"Saracenic Architecture and the Crusaders," by Mr. Martin Briggs.

March 17.—"The Siberian Outlook," by Mr. Robert Wilton.

April 15.—"Mesopotamia, 1914–1921," by Sir Arnold T. Wilson, K.C.I.E.

May 16.—"The Senussi as a Factor in North African Development," by Mrs. Rosita Forbes.

June 15.—"India's Influence on her Mohammedan Neighbours," by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

These lectures have spoken for themselves, and those who did not hear them are the losers. Major Bailey's life among the Bolshevists of Russian Turkestan is still a mystery to us. The very night before General Dunsterville gave us his lecture, the Prime Minister in the House of Commons spoke of the performances of "Dunsterforce" as "one of the finest bits of work in the War." It was magnificent, marvellous bluff, and some of us, I think, feel that the cool humour which animated that bluff was reproduced in the lecture to which we listened.

Digitized by Google

Captain Shepherd showed us the value of Mesopotamia as a strategical base, while Sir Arnold Wilson demonstrated that, although hurried evacuation was not to be thought of, the prolonged British occupation of that base would suit neither the British taxpayer nor the indigenous Arab. Captain Acland reminded us that the point of junction of the Asian and African Continents is the aeronautical centre of the Eastern World, and thus it may possibly strike us as curious that, when in the autumn of last year an English lady sought her way from the Mediterranean coast to Kufra, it was a camel and not an aeroplane that was her instrument of travel. Circumstances deprived us of two valuable lectures, one by Sir Charles Greenway on "The Oil Resources of Mesopotamia and Persia," owing to ill-health, and the other by Colonel Claud Stokes on "Transcaucasia" under the Foreign Office veto. I am myself of opinion that the practical aims of this Society call upon it to associate itself with the industrial, commercial, and financial interests of the Middle East. I hope, therefore, that we shall still hear Sir Charles Greenway.

Since the last Annual General Meeting we have added 250 new members to the Society. We have lost by death two members: Sir Arthur Trevor, K.C.S.I., and Captain J. S. Mann, who was killed in Mesopotamia on July 21, 1920. We have also lost by resignation five members—viz.: Sir Louis Dane, Mr. and Mrs. R. N. Fraser, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Footman.

Captain J. C. Stephenson has this year, even more than last, merited the Society's gratitude for the deftness with which he has piloted new members into the "Central Asian" fold, and with his name I wish also to couple those of Mrs. Waller-Sawyer and Brigadier-General Sir Gilbert Clayton. Mrs. Waller-Sawyer, taking a fortnight's holiday from that distressful country, Ireland, in that brief time spent in London added ten members. I have only had two letters in the year from Sir Gilbert Clayton. In each he gave seven names, and almost all have now become members. *The upshot is that in the year we have more than doubled the membership.*

The CHAIRMAN: I think we can thank Colonel Yate for the very comprehensive and interesting report he has laid before us. I am sure I heartily endorse for my part all that he has said as to Miss Kennedy's valuable services. (Applause.) It is very inconvenient to have to work under such conditions, but this I hope we shall be able to ameliorate in the near future. I also endorse what he said as to what Captain Stephenson and Mrs. Waller-Sawyer have done. (Applause.) He omitted to state that we very largely owe this most satisfactory increase in the number of our members to Colonel Yate's own action; and not only as regards increased members, but for having taken immense pains to find out and discover lecturers who, as you know, during the past session have read to us such interesting papers. I

Digitized by Google

think we all owe a great debt of gratitude to Colonel Yate for his activities. (Applause.) I now propose an amendment to Rule 11. Rule 11 says the officers of the Society shall be the Honorary President, the Chairman of the Council, six vice-presidents, and so on. I think Colonel Yate has explained to you the reasons why the Council are going to submit to you that instead of "six vice-presidents" it should read "eight vice-presidents." They are elected for four years, two retiring annually. I think it will be a little more symmetrical to have eight instead of six; also I think the very large increase in the number of members fully justifies the amendment I venture to put before the meeting. Will any gentleman second the motion that instead of six vice-presidents it should be eight?

Sir FREDERIC FRYER: I will second that.

The CHAIRMAN: If anybody has any objections to raise will they kindly raise their hands? As nobody does, I think we can say that it is carried unanimously.

The alteration of the rule was thus agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN: Then I would submit, as we are now entitled to elect four, Colonel Sir Charles Yate and Sir Hugh Barnes—long connected with the Society and retiring from the post of Member of Council. I think we owe it also to Colonel A. C. Yate to appoint him vice-president in some recognition of his services; and Sir Edward Penton, who has been our most admirable Treasurer, and has taken enormous pains in regard to our accounts, and also, I may add, in organizing this evening's dinner. I think we cannot do less than show some appreciation of his services by proposing he should be the fourth vice-president.

The four gentlemen recommended were adopted without dissent.

The CHAIRMAN: There are also the Honorary Secretaries, as Colonel Yate reminds me. Colonel A. C. Yate and Captain Stephenson are proposed as Joint Hon. Secretaries, as Colonel Yate has kindly stated that he would continue his work, but that as he lives in the country he would find it more convenient if he could get some able coadjutor living in London. I do not think he could find a better one than Captain Stephenson, and although Colonel Yate's activity is almost ubiquitous I think it would assist him if he had someone in London to help him in the work. I therefore propose as Joint Hon. Secretaries Colonel Yate and Captain Stephenson.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: Colonel Yate has read out to you the names of the three gentlemen and one lady whom we recommend as Members of the Council. I think it is right, especially considering the number of ladies we have as members, that we should have one of them, at any rate, to represent the Society on the Council. (Applause.) And I do not think we can make a better choice than that very competent traveller, Miss

Digitized by Google

Ella Sykes. (Renewed applause.) Then I take it the meeting approves these nominations.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know that I ought to say anything about myself. I must say that I find with increasing years and diminishing activity that I hardly make as vigorous a Chairman as I ought to be, but I will do my best for you during the coming year. (Applause.) I think that terminates our proceedings. There is the lecture at four o'clock. I am sorry I cannot be present; Sir Frederic Fryer is kindly going to take the chair.

Digitized by Google

THE MOHAMMEDANS OF INDIA AND INDIA'S MOHAMMEDAN NEIGHBOURS.

By Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

The anniversary meeting was followed by a lecture by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., the subject being "The Mohammedans of India and India's Mohammedan Neighbours." The chair was occupied by Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen, in the absence of Lord Carnock, who much regrets that he is unable to take the chair this afternoon, I have been asked to take his place; and it is my pleasing duty to introduce to you Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the distinguished ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. (Applause.) He has kindly undertaken to read a paper on "Mohammedan India and their Influence on neighbouring Mohammedans." I am sure there is no one better qualified than he is to deal with such a subject, and any remarks of mine are quite uncalled for. I will therefore ask Sir Michael O'Dwyer to read his paper.

The Lecturer: I wish I did possess the qualifications which the Chairman, in his kindness of heart, has credited me with. I should then be able to face the subject, and you, with more confidence. I cannot lay claim to any inner knowledge of the great issues which are now agitating the minds of the Mohammedans in many countries, or of the policy of our Government in regard to them. But twenty years' service in the Mohammedan Provinces of the Punjab (including the period of war) and the North-West Frontier, and two years in the premier Mohammedan State of Hyderabad, brought me into close relation with Mohammedans of all classes, and may help me to throw some sidelights on the attitude of Indian Mohammedans in recent years, and the manner in which it has influenced and been influenced by India's Moslem neighbours. The first point to note is, that though in India the Mohammedans form only one-fifth of the population, their number is between sixty and seventy millions, and far exceeds that under any other Mohammedan Power. The Indian Mohammedans, though as a rule behind their Hindu neighbours in wealth and education, still preserve the traditions of the great Islamic Empires which dominated all or most of India from the twelfth to the eighteenth century; and they are probably not inferior morally or materially to their co-religionists in any other country. Their connec-

Digitized by Google

tion with the Moslem countries of the Middle East is many-sided—historical and racial, as well as religious and cultural. The successive invasions of the conquering Arabs, Turks, Afghans, Moghuls, and Persians, have all left a distinct impress on India—very marked on the north-west, where the invading hordes after pouring in through the mountain passes spread themselves over the fertile plains, but less marked towards the south, where the Hindu races were but little affected by the tide of invasion.

Each of these invasions left behind it a very strong racial residuum. To one or other of them may be traced not only the great dynasties which have passed away, but also the Mohammedan States, with a population of about twenty millions, still in existence; a few like Maler Kotla in the Punjab date back to the Afghan conquest of Northern India before the Moghul era; many, like Hyderabad and Bhopal, arose during the decline of the Moghul Empire, when the great feudatories gradually assumed independent power though obtaining confirmation of their titles from Delhi; while others were carved out by Arab marauders or Biluch and Afghan freebooters when the Moghul Empire was tottering to its fall. Most of these States still pride themselves on their extra-Indian origin, and endeavour to maintain some connection with the parent stock. When in Peshawar fifteen years ago, I was asked by the Ruler of a State in Central India to find a suitable wife for one of the sons from a high Afghan family, and believe I succeeded in discharging that delicate commission to the satisfaction of all parties.

Again, the aristocracy, both in the Native States and in British India, is largely of foreign origin, Persian, Arab, Afghan, or Moghul, and many of the literary and priestly classes, the Saiyida, Kazis, Maulvis, also lay claim to an origin outside India. It is natural therefore that political events in Moslem countries should be followed with keen interest by educated Indian Mohammedans.

I remember an after-dinner discussion thirteen years ago with the late Nizam of Hyderabad and his nobles on the newly established Majlis or Parliament in Persia. His Highness summed up the discussion by saying "the Persian Majlis will be a Majlis of 'minas' (chattering birds)." A few years later, when I asked him his opinion of the newly formed Committee of Union and Progress in Turkey, his comment was, "They will begin by ruining the power of the Sultan and end by ruining the Turkish Empire." In both cases His Highness showed remarkable prescience.

The Mohammedan masses, small landowners, cultivators, artisans, and menial classes, are usually converts from Hinduism. Their conversion, whether voluntary or forced, has been proceeding from the seventh century up to the present day, when Islam is still receiving a steady flow of recruits from the Lower Hindu castes and the aborigines.

Digitized by Google

But, just as in England it is the fashion to claim descent from an ancestor who came over with William of Normandy, so in India there is a marked tendency among well-to-do Mohammedans to trace back their ancestry to an extra-Indian source.

This tendency is ridiculed in the Punjabi proverb, "Last year I was a Mochi; this year I am a Sheikh; next year, if the crops are good, please God, I shall be a Saiyid."

The Ghakhars of the North Punjab are perhaps the most famous of the martial Indian Rajput tribes that barred the way of many a Mohammedan invader. They became converts to Islam centuries ago, but they still retain some Hindu customs, and their leading men style themselves Rajas. And yet the late head of the tribe, Raja Jahandad Khan, a most cultured gentleman, would spend hours in persuading me that his tribe was of Arab origin and had reached the North Punjab nine centuries ago, after circuitous marches through Central Asia, Kashmir, etc., in comparison with which the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert were but a pleasant week-end trip.

The historical and racial ties with the centres of Islam were further strengthened by the close religious connections that unite the various branches of Islam into one brotherhood. Every sect and form of Islam known in Islamic countries—Sunni, Shiah, Wahabi—is found flourishing in India (besides some forms, *e.g.*, the Kadianis peculiar to India itself), and its Indian adherents maintain, by pilgrimage and religious offerings, close relations with the Holy Places outside India—the Sunnis with Mecca, Medina, and the tomb of Abdul Kadir at Baghdad; the Shiahs with Kerbela, Najaf, and Kazimain. In fact, the Indian Mohammedans, perhaps owing to their being a minority among unbelievers, have often shown themselves more uncompromising, more rigidly orthodox, and more exclusive than their brethren in purely Islamic countries. This tendency has often been, and even now is being, exploited by unscrupulous men to arouse the fanaticism of the ignorant masses against the British Government and in favour of Islamic countries when at war with us, such as Afghanistan and Turkey.

Pride of race and religious feeling are the two emotions that can be, and are, most successfully appealed to in the case of the Indian Moslems. While the weak descendants of the Great Moghul could lay claim even to the shadow of sovereignty, the seat of Empire at Delhi satisfied both those feelings. For, in Mohammedan eyes, from Delhi the native rulers, and even the British Government, had derived their titles. The Mutiny of 1857 failed to restore the substance, and thereafter even the shadow of the Moghul Empire passed away, and the Mohammedans, whether responsible for the Mutiny or not, suffered most by it. Muslim India was then left without a visible head or rallying-point, and for a generation sank into sullen apathy, while

Digitized by Google

Hindu India was quick to take advantage of the growing opportunities offered by a stable and enlightened rule. The progress of the once subject Hindu, under the new régime, made it no more acceptable to the sterner Mussulmans who were still imbued with the old spirit of racial and religious ascendancy. They brooded in silence; but their thoughts in regard to those who had wrought the change are well expressed in Sir Alfred Lyall's description of a Maulvi looking on at a game of badminton played by a few English people, close to the garden where Nicholson sleeps outside the historic Mori Gate at Delhi.

> Near me a Mussulman, civil and mild,
> Watched as the shuttlecocks rose and fell;
> And he said, as he counted his beads and smiled,
> "God smite their souls to the depths of hell."

This period of isolation and lethargy lasted for about a generation. Moslem India was aroused from it by that great patriot and statesman Sir Saiyid Ahmad, who convinced his co-religionists that the path to progress lay, not in isolation, but in close co-operation with the British Government. His work was crowned by the opening, in 1882, of the great Aligarh College, which united the Islamic and Western cultures. Under his wise guidance Mussulman India began to realize that its future was linked with the British Empire; and the British Government in India, in its turn, showed its desire to assist the community to make up the ground that they had lost. Among the measures to promote its progress may be instanced the aid given to the Aligarh College and special educational facilities to Mohammedans in backward areas, the passing in 1901 of the Punjab Land Alienation Act to prevent the further exploitation of the Punjab peasantry, and especially the Mohammedans, by the Hindu Urban classes, and finally, the partition in 1905 of the unwieldy province of Bengal in which Hindu influence was dominant, and the creation of a separate province of Eastern Bengal in which the Mohammedans formed the great majority. Those measures, which were carried out by Lord Curzon's Government, went far to satisfy reasonable Mohammedan aspirations. But they aroused fierce resentment among the more advanced Hindus, especially in Bengal. A violent agitation to revoke the partition was at once set on foot, under cover of which revolutionary propaganda and methods soon came into operation. Meantime Mohammedan feeling was being organized by the new Moslem League, established in 1907, to defend Mohammedan interests. But since the death of Sir Saiyid Ahmad in 1897, the community has had no capable or recognized leader, and disruptive tendencies began to make themselves felt as one ambitious aspirant succeeded another, each endeavouring to gain popularity by appeals to racial or religious feeling rather than to the sober sense of the community.

Digitized by Google

The spread of the new Pan-Islamic doctrines from Constantinople, which was so cleverly initiated by the late Sultan Abdul Hamid to strengthen his shaky throne, appealed to the megalomania of only a small section of Islam in India. Many Mohammedans, even among the Sunnis, hesitated to accept a theory of the Khalifat, which had never been recognized by the most orthodox Moghul Emperors; and the deposition of the legitimate Turkish sovereign, Abdul Hamid, in 1909 by the Committee of Union and Progress, a body naturally suspect to orthodox Mohammedans, made it more difficult to press any such claim on behalf of his successor.

But the steady decline of many historic Mohammedan States, Morocco, Tunis, Persia, under the pressure of the European Powers, and the peril to Turkey from the Tripoli and Balkan wars (1909-12), made the Indian Moslems realize that the kingdoms of Islam were crumbling, and aroused a natural sentiment of sympathy and Islamic brotherhood. Some of the Mohammedan agitators were quick to take advantage of this feeling. They proceeded under cover of the Red Crescent Fund, opened in 1912 by Dr. Ansari of Delhi, ostensibly to afford medical aid to the Turkish forces, and the society of Servants of the Kaaba (Holy places of Mecca) founded a few months later by one of the Ali brothers, to start an anti-Christian movement in parts of India, and even to hint at a Jahad or Holy War. Certain indiscreet utterances of British Ministers at the time, in regard to the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, played into their hands. But the confidence of the great mass of Mohammedans in the British Government remained unshaken till the annulment of the partition of Bengal at the end of 1911. That revocation, in deference to Hindu agitation, of what the Secretary of State had solemnly declared to be a "settled fact," fell upon them as a thunderbolt, and drove them to the conclusion that if they were not to become a depressed minority in India, they must resort to political agitation on the Congress lines. Thenceforward the advanced wing became even more hostile to the British Government than the extremist Hindus, and every incident, such as the Cawnpore Mosque case of 1913, which could be utilized to arouse an anti-British spirit, was quickly seized upon. The protagonists in this campaign were, and are, the Ali brothers, Abu Kalam, Zaffar Ali Khan, editor of the *Zemindar*, and certain so-called religious leaders who were in close touch with the Pan-Islamic movement in Turkey and elsewhere. But in 1913 their influence for evil, though already apparent, was much less than it is to-day. In that year the politically minded Mohammedans got control of the Moslem League, and following closely the Congress model adopted a new constitution of which the objects were thus defined, "the promotion among Indians of loyalty to the British Crown, the protection of the rights of the Mohammedans, and without detriment to the foregoing objects, the

Digitized by Google

attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India." The self-government clause which, read with the context, embodied a quite legitimate aspiration, excited heated discussion, as many were apprehensive that it would involve Hindu domination, and it led to the withdrawal from the League of several of its most influential members. Such was in brief the Mohammedan situation at the outburst of the war in 1914. On the surface it appeared threatening enough, but those who understand Indian conditions realize the truth of the saying, "The shallows murmur, but the deeps are dumb."

They knew that the rural Mohammedans, including the fighting races, were little, if at all, affected by the clamour of a few noisy agitators, whose pretensions to represent Islam were then not accepted; and they had observed that up to 1915 not a single Indian Mohammedan had been convicted of complicity in any of the revolutionary plots which were tarnishing the fair name of Hindu India.

The outbreak of the war found the great mass of Indian Mohammedans loyal to the King-Emperor and his cause. The long-studied pose of the German Emperor as the champion of Islam deceived but few; and after the Allies had declared that the integrity of Turkey, if she remained neutral, would be maintained, many influential Mohammedans endeavoured to dissuade Turkey from taking up arms, under German pressure, against her traditional ally and friend. The Sultan's declarations of Jahad, even when they became known in India, fell flat; for all honest Mussulmans realized that the issue was not a religious one. To this fact the Nizam of Hyderabad gave timely and valuable testimony in the public declaration he issued on Turkey's entrance into the war; while the declaration of the British Government that the Holy places of Islam would be scrupulously respected further reassured Mohammedan feeling.

The matters which caused anxiety to those of us who had to deal with the situation in India after Turkey had joined our foes were these: Firstly, there was a comparatively small but well-organized section eager to take advantage of the situation to overthrow the British Government, and for that purpose to ally itself with our enemies within and without India—namely, the Hindu revolutionaries, Turkey, Afghanistan, the Frontier Tribes, with all of which it was already in, or in a position to establish, close relations. Secondly, though the great mass of Mohammedans were loyal, and actively so in the Punjab, where their political and military importance is most marked, there was some doubt as to their willingness to participate in a war, which for them would be waged mainly against Turkey and in lands hitherto Turkish.

To the second question the Mohammedans soon gave a reassuring answer. Though forming only one-fifth of the population of India, they furnished over one-third of the 700,000 combatants raised in India

Digitized by Google

during the war. The Mohammedans of the Punjab, though numbering less than 4 per cent. of the population of India, furnished 170,000 recruits or 25 per cent. of India's total; and the tribes of the North-West Frontier, forming only 1 per cent. of the population, furnished over 30,000 men. These two Provinces, containing one-fifth of the Mohammedan population, supplied five-sixths of the Mohammedan recruits. In spite of many insidious attempts to sap their loyalty, the Mohammedan troops from British India remained true to their salt. They played a great part, not only on the Western Front in 1914-15, but later in the expulsion of the Turks from Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Such cases of desertion or treachery as came to light were nearly all among the Mohammedans recruited from the untrustworthy transfrontier Tribes.

It is noteworthy that the strictly orthodox Mohammedans of the Punjab and North-West Frontier who are closest to the anti-British movements emanating from Turkey, Persia, and Kabul, and most exposed to the seditious influences operating from within and without India, remained throughout the war our firmest supporters. The tens of thousands who fought in Mesopotamia and Palestine realized that the Turks were not fighting for the Faith; many were, indeed, shocked by the Turkish laxity in religious matters, and the Mohammedans who had been taken prisoners by the Turks in Kut and elsewhere were full of resentment at the barbarous treatment they had received. A striking contrast is furnished by the history of the thousands of Turkish prisoners brought to Burmah and India. Those were so contented with their lot, that before repatriation many of them begged to be allowed to stay on in India.

But while the war strengthened the loyalty of the Mohammedan fighting races, it furnished the opportunity to the small seditious section in India, and the Mohammedan revolutionaries working abroad in league with our enemies, to stir up trouble by appeals to ignorance and fanaticism.

The intrigues of declared Indian rebels such as Barkat Ullah, Obeid Ullah, Hafiz and others in Berlin and Kabul, where they joined forces with the Hindu revolutionaries, Mahendra Partab, Herdyal, and the Ghadr agents, were linked up with the more covert anti-British movements in India. At the end of 1915 a strong mission of Germans, Turks, and revolutionary Indians arrived in Kabul. They brought the Sultan's Jahad proclamations and endeavoured to induce the late Amir Habibullah to join in a Holy War against the Allies, promising German help and a cession of North-West India in the event of success. Mahendra Partab and Barkat Ullah were also the bearers of letters, some of which I have seen, signed by the German Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, which made similar overtures to the Princes of India; but these letters never reached their destination.

Digitized by Google

The then Amir, though staunch to his alliance with us, found it advisable to temporize with the mission; and, if rumour is true, he put them off by saying he would consider their offer when he saw 100,000 German and Turkish troops on his frontier. After some fruitless negotiations the German officers quarrelled with the Afghans and left Kabul in 1916. The Turks and Indian revolutionaries remained and took, and are still taking, an active part in fomenting anti-British risings among the frontier tribes, and in stirring up rebellion in India. They found useful auxiliaries in a body of some twenty Mohammedan students, many of them sons of loyal men of good position, from the Lahore Colleges and frontier schools, who in 1915, as the result of the visit of the Ali brothers and Abu Kalam to the Punjab, had fled to Kabul to offer their services to our enemies there.

The arch-conspirators at Kabul, Barkat Ullah and Mahendra Partab, in 1916 concocted a series of operations against the British Government in India. When the German mission left, they despatched messages to the Russian Governor of Turkestan and to the Tzar himself, urging the latter to join with Germany and Turkey (with the Rulers and Government of both which Mahendra Partab professed to be in close relations) in overthrowing the British Empire in India, and thereby gain the friendship of Afghanistan and liberated India. It may be noted here that similar overtures were made in 1919, and are now being repeated by the Ali brothers to Kabul.

The mission to Russia was turned back by the Russian authorities in Turkestan, and the conspirators then made their next move. This was embodied in the far-reaching Pan-Islamic conspiracy, better known as "the Silk Letter plot," as some of the documents which fell into our hands had been written by Obeidullah at Kabul on yellow silk. The object was to combine all the forces of Islam in a great effort against the British Empire in India. Among others, the Sharif of Mecca was expected to play a big part in the scheme, and certain influential Indian Mohammedans had been sent to the Hejaz to win him over. But the Sharif, like another distinguished statesman nearer home, was thinking of making a career of his own, and his revolt against Turkey in the summer of 1916 upset the plans. By a happy series of accidents, the silk letters fell into the hands of the Punjab Government, and gave a clue to the leading conspirators. It was interesting to find that their scheme for the Provisional Government of India divided the authority between the Mohammedan Barket Ullah and the Hindu Mahendra Partab. But the latter when questioned in Bokhara in 1920 by a British officer, disguised as a hostile agent, as to the reasons for the failure of the enterprise, said that at the last moment the Hindu revolutionary party took alarm at the risk of establishing Mohammedan dominion in India. It is significant to find a close analogy at the present time, when a leading Hindu

Digitized by Google

extremist (not Gandhi) has taken alarm at the prospect of an Afghan invasion, ostensibly for the liberation of India, and has been good enough, he assures us, to remonstrate with the Afghan emissaries against any such project.

The Sharif's revolt, the adherence of the late Amir to his treaty obligations, and the early disclosure of the plot, prevented the Silk Letter conspiracy from becoming a serious menace at a critical period of the war. It never passed into the stage of action, and, by the time it was exposed, had acquired but few adherents in India. No action, beyond mild preventive measures, was taken against the promoters in India. It now appears probable that the movement, which no doubt had its ridiculous side, was treated too lightly.

For subsequent events show that the central organization, with its combination of Bolshevists, Turks, Afghans, and Indians, hostile to the British Government, has been maintained intact in Kabul, and, especially since the murder of our staunch ally, the late Amir, has been dangerously active.

The Sharif's revolt was most opportune in preventing a Mohammedan combination against Great Britain and her Allies in 1916. But at the time it caused considerable, and perhaps undue, anxiety to the authorities in India. No doubt the Sharif's action was unpopular with the small section of Pan-Islamist Indians. But these had, and perhaps still have, but little influence outside the towns, and a plain announcement that Government would not tolerate any attacks on our Arab ally soon silenced their agitation. The great mass of the Sunnis, whatever they may have thought of the Sharif's action, accepted the *fait accompli* with characteristic Oriental fatalism; while the Shiahs, as a body, showed cordial approval.

Thereafter, though anti-British intrigues were steadily carried on by some Mohammedan revolutionaries, they were only successful in keeping alive the ferment among the small circle of Mohammedan seditionists and also among the unruly Frontier tribes; they obtained no serious results in India itself. The fall of Baghdad in March, 1917, and the capture of Jerusalem in the following December, in both of which campaigns our Indian Mohammedan troops played a prominent part, impressed the Oriental imagination, always ready to worship success, with the might of the British Empire; and the fact that both those Holy Cities were captured without bloodshed reassured genuine Mohammedan feeling. The brilliant success of our arms in Asia more than counterbalanced the set-back on the Western Front in the spring of 1918, and the feeling of Indian Mohammedans, as a body, was never more active on our side than in the closing year of the war.

The suddenness and completeness of the Allied triumph in November, 1918, aroused genuine enthusiasm in the loyal majority, but determined the anti-British minority to make another rebellious

Digitized by Google

effort. Germany having for the time collapsed, they now turned to Bolshevist Russia which was rapidly overrunning Asia and had its agents in Persia and Kabul, where they at once joined forces with the Indian revolutionaries established there since 1915. Bolshevist Russia, since its rise has realized that the British Empire in India is the most serious obstacle to its domination of Asia, and has, therefore, set itself to combine all the forces hostile to that Empire throughout Asia to compass its downfall. This furnishes the explanation of most of our troubles with revolutionary India, with the Frontier Tribes, Afghanistan, Angora and Turkey, and perhaps in Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt to a lesser extent. But in 1919, without the active help of Afghanistan, rebellion in India and a general rising of the Frontier Tribes were out of the question. While the Amir Habibullah was in power, Afghan help would not be forthcoming. The Amir was murdered at Jalalabad in February, 1919, many think at Bolshevist instigation. His successor, the present Amir, soon came under the Bolshevist and anti-British influences, which were now so firmly established in Kabul, and which his father-in-law, the Turcophile Mahmud Tarzi, now Foreign Minister, had throughout the war sedulously fostered by his paper, the *Siraj-ul-Akbar*.

The Amir's murder was the signal for the seditious party in India to redouble their activities. The Rowlatt Bill furnished the pretext. That Bill was intended to arm Government with the powers necessary to cope with anarchic and revolutionary crime after the special war measures had lapsed. If it became law and was brought into operation, it would be a potent weapon for crushing sedition. The Indian revolutionaries, Hindu and Mohammedan, were quick to realize this. Hence both sections united in an agitation of unprecedented violence, headed by the notorious Gandhi, to prevent it becoming law. Some of them did not even hesitate to invoke the aid of foreign enemies. The campaign gave cover to every anti-British movement and tendency, all being combined under the magic influence of Gandhi's name. Intimidation was rampant, and even those Indians who admitted in private the necessity of the measure had not the moral courage to support it in public. The Bill was passed into law in March, 1919, by the official majority in the Council, all the Indian members voting against it or abstaining. What followed is a matter of history. The campaign of race-hatred led to violent explosions, to murders of British non-officials and Indian officials in several parts of India, to open rebellion in the Central Punjab, which was repressed by drastic military measures only a few days before the Amir began hostilities.

The rebellion in India was meant by the conspirators to synchronize with the Afghan invasion and a general rising of the Frontier tribes. The new Amir's agent in India had been instructed by his master to keep in close communication with the extremist agitators and the

Digitized by Google

extremist Press. Indeed, the Amir himself and the tribes made no secret of the fact that they had been invited by the agitators to intervene by force on behalf of "oppressed" Indians generally and of their own Indian co-religionists, whose rights and religious liberties were said to be at stake. In these overtures the Ali brothers played an important part. They had already been restricted, owing to their disloyal propaganda during the war, and they were now placed in confinement for treasonous correspondence with our Afghan enemies. The Afghans and the hostile tribes, urged on from behind by Bolshevist influence, and encouraged by the overtures from India and the reports of general disorders there, expected to find the door to Northern India open to them. But the disorders had been speedily repressed, and when the enemy invaded our borders early in May he found an army of 200,000 barring his way. The invasion was speedily hurled back, Jallalabad and Kabul were bombed, and the misguided Amir, now thoroughly alarmed as to his safety and his throne, was compelled to sue for peace. Unfortunately, the clemency so promptly shown to the foreign enemy, as well as to the internal rebels, was in both cases mistaken for weakness. Afghanistan was allowed full independence in her external relations, and the Amir was thus able to show to the world that he had won what he was fighting for, while we were unable to point to any tangible evidence of our victory.

In the same way the speedy amnesty of nearly all the criminals convicted of complicity in the Punjab rebellion, though doubtless dictated by the laudable desire to create a favourable atmosphere for the new reforms, enabled the rebel leaders and their supporters to pose as injured innocents, who had committed no crime and had been merely the victims of tyranny and oppression. In these circumstances it is not surprising to find the Afghans, the hostile tribes, and the revolutionary party in India promptly resuming their campaign.

But before coming to that final phase, it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Mohammedans of Northern India towards the Punjab rebellion and the Afghan aggression. The Mohammedans of the Punjab, in those critical months of April and May, 1919, remained as staunchly loyal as during the war, and rallied to the support of the authorities in repressing internal disorder and repelling the Afghan menace. Even those few tribes in the Western Punjab who had been hostile to recruiting during the war now promptly came forward with the offer of their services.

On May 12, 1919, a few weeks after the rebellious outbreaks had been repressed, and just after the Afghan aggression had started, the prominent Mohammedans of the Punjab presented an address to the Government which contained the following reference to those events:

"The Province has enjoyed complete internal tranquillity and peace throughout the period of the war, and has seen a remarkable diminu-

Digitized by Google

tion in the figures of crime. Although recently the enemies of law and order, as a result of organized conspiracy, *which may be the outcome of foreign influences*, succeeded in deluding a section of the people into riots and disturbances, yet the situation was soon got well in hand by using the speedy and effective methods of martial law; and peaceful life is once more possible to the law-abiding citizens of our chief towns. Generally, the village communities who came forward to serve the King-Emperor during the war have not been directly concerned in these disturbances, and thus the backbone of the Province may be said to be sound; similarly the Army, which is recruited mostly out of the said classes, has remained loyal. . . .

"We, the Moslems, whose welfare and interests are indissolubly bound up with the interests and welfare of the British Government, and who deem it a religious duty to obey their sovereign, take this opportunity of openly dissociating ourselves from the passive resistance movement, as well as from that section which has shown its hostility to the Government and to law and order."

On the same occasion the representative of the Punjab Mohammedans in the Imperial Council expressed on their behalf "our emphatic condemnation of the suicidal folly committed by Amir Amanullah in his utterly unjustifiable and unprovoked encroachment on British territory," and went on to "assure the Government of the abiding devotion of the Muslim community to the British Throne, and of our whole-hearted and loyal co-operation with Government in bringing this Afghan war to a successful conclusion." This was followed a fortnight later by an address from all the influential Pirs or Mohammedan religious leaders, in which they expressed, on behalf of themselves and their followers, their steadfast loyalty to the Government, their detestation of the Amir's aggressive action, and their belief that the British Government might be trusted to secure an equitable settlement of the Turkish question.

Those two public declarations are a striking testimony to the attitude of the Punjab Mohammedans at a most critical period and to their reasonable outlook on the Khalifat question.

But within the two years that have since elapsed much has happened to shake their confidence. The agitation so cleverly engineered by Gandhi and the extremists to conceal the nefarious designs which had brought about the rebellion and encouraged the Afghan invasion, the release of nearly all the chief criminals including the Ali brothers, the unconditional return to India of such dangerous revolutionaries as Lajpat Rai, the pardon of many of the Ghadr conspirators of 1914-16, the failure to follow up our victory over the Afghans, our withdrawal from Persia before the Bolshevists, the great delay over the Turkish peace settlement—all these measures, the policy or necessity of which is not a matter of discussion here, were taken by

Digitized by Google

India and her Mohammedan neighbours as indications that the British power had been exhausted by the war, and could no longer pursue what they regard as a clear and firm policy. The forces of disorder, encouraged by the apparent hesitation of Government, rallied from their defeat, and the campaign of race-hatred and covert or overt rebellion was at once renewed by the old leaders, under cover of agitation in regard to the so-called Punjab atrocities and the Turkish Peace Treaty.

A campaign of calumny and misrepresentation, if skilfully conducted and meeting with no opposition, is bound to succeed with the credulous and fanatical masses to whom the agitators now mainly appeal, and who construe the silence and inaction of the authorities as a proof that they have no defence to offer and are equally incapable to punish or protect. The propaganda has been widely accepted in India and even by many people at home, who are ignorant of the unscrupulous methods of Oriental revolutionaries. Moreover, there is a certain section of the Press which will always see to it that the anti-British view is kept before the British public.

The Khalifat propaganda has hitherto been most successful among the fanatical Mohammedans of the towns. Last year it led 30,000 poor and ignorant Mohammedans to sell up their worldly goods and abandon their old homes in the land of the infidel to seek shelter among their Moslem "brethren" in Afghanistan. The movement was promoted by the Ali brothers and Gandhi, and at the start was encouraged by the Afghan authorities as a means of enhancing their influence with the discontented elements in India. The unfortunate emigrants to Afghanistan suffered untold hardships. It is believed that about 5,000 found only a grave where they had hoped to find shelter. The rest, after being harried and plundered by the Afghans and the Frontier Tribes, gradually drifted back to India, penniless and starving, and had to appeal to the Government, whose protection they had so lightly abandoned, to reinstate them in their old homes. We read little in this country of that criminal enterprise; and while the Press in India and England still rings with denunciations of the military action, involving the loss of about 400 lives, taken to repress the 1919 rebellion in the Punjab, there has been no condemnation of those who in the name of religion, but in reality for a criminal political end, lured 30,000 ignorant dupes to death and disaster.

Again, in 1920 as in 1919, the promoters of this movement, the risks of which they, of course, had not shared, succeeded in concealing their own guilt by appeals to revolutionary as well as religious feeling, and by demanding immediate Swaraj or independence as the only remedy for the ills of India.

The unholy alliance between Gandhi and the Ali brothers continues, with this difference. Gandhi does not openly advocate violence against

Digitized by Google

the "Satanic" Government, which, on his own showing, he is endeavouring to overthrow by more insidious methods. The Ali brothers make no secret of their desire to resort to force and foreign aid to expel the hated British, and their programme finds favour with many of Gandhi's nominal adherents.

Gandhi has said publicly that he would prefer Bolshevist rule to British rule. Recently, though confronted with the murders and outrages resulting from his movement, he again stated that he views anarchy with equanimity. In regard to an Afghan invasion his published views as given in the Allahabad telegram of May 11 to the *Daily Telegraph* are as follows: "Mr. Gandhi, speaking at a district conference, declared that if the Ali brothers had sent a message to the Amir, they had done nothing wrong. He also would have sent one, if he could, to inform the Amir that if he came to India no Indian, as long as he, Mr. Gandhi, could help it, would assist the Government to drive him back. He knew that many Indians would not help the Government against the Amir as long as it would not grant Swaraj and redress the Punjab and Khalifat wrongs."

The telegram goes on: "Lajpat Rai, too, declared that he would not co-operate with Government in any manner in repelling Mohammedan invasion, and said he would prefer Muslim domination to domination from an outside power across the seas." Another notorious Hindu revolutionary, Mahendra Partab, was not prepared to take that view fifteen months ago, but may have altered his opinion since.

But the Ali brothers have to reckon with the growing alarm of those extremist Hindus, who, while eager enough to drive out the British or render them powerless, are not eager to see Mohammedan dominion established in their place. It is interesting to observe how Mohammed Ali in his advocacy of rebellion deals with this difficulty. The telegram of May 13 to the *Daily Telegraph* reproduces his speech as president of the recent Conference at Allahabad as follows:

"He would not ask the Amir at Kabul to supplement their fighting strength. If they implored the Amir to rescue them from the British yoke they were not fit to be made free. He denied that the Ali brothers contemplated establishing a Moslem Empire in India. All he had said regarding Afghanistan was, that if the Amir attacked India with the intention of subjugating it he would oppose him; if the Amir declared a Jahad against the British Government, which had occupied the holy places of Islam, he would help him. He would not be true to the religious teachings of the Koran if he did not help in that Jahad. If the Afghans came to the frontier, he would first ascertain their intention and then decide whether to join them or not."

Gandhi, it may be noted, made no such reservation.

Mohammed Ali is a man of no real influence and has no claim to speak for Mohammedan India. He has forced himself into the lime-

Digitized by Google

light by frenzied appeals to race-hatred, and keeps himself there by allying himself with the fanatical Hindu Gandhi, and by openly siding with the enemies of England. His acceptance here as a representative of Indian Mussulmans, to plead the cause of Turkey before the Peace Conference and the Prime Minister, has given him a fictitious importance, but his real aim, and that of his fellow-conspirators, is not to benefit Islam or Turkey, but to overthrow the British Government.

The Ali brothers when recently threatened with a prosecution for speeches of the above nature at once made a public declaration that "we never intended to incite to violence. We express our regret for the unnecessary *heat* of some of the passages of these speeches," and so on. That is rather a lame and weak apology for persistent rebellious incitements. But it is something gained, and one wishes that the action had been taken sooner, for these bubbles are easily pricked. The apology ends, however, by reiterating their adherence to the non-co-operation policy, which as worked by them and Gandhi is more insidious and far reaching than open rebellion. Mohammed Ali has made that clear.

Speaking at Madras, Mohammed Ali, in a public meeting, said: "The English did not bring any forces with them when they first landed in India. They came in like thieves, and they should send the thief out by the same aperture through which he entered their house. Indians at that time co-operated with the English and non-co-operated with their own countrymen. Now it was their turn to non-co-operate with the English and to co-operate with their countrymen. In the siege of Arcot, Madras sepoys, to help 200 British soldiers, gave up their rice and drank conjee water. Now Indians were not prepared to give the English even water. The Indian nation wanted, for the success of their cause, men, money, and munitions. A crore of rupees and a crore of members for the Congress were needed within the next three months. They should approach the Indian troops, the Indian police, and the Indian Civil Service and draw them out." That is Mohammed Ali's scheme of non-co-operation which he still adheres to.

The Punjab and Khalifat agitations are but specious pretexts to serve that purpose. That fact was made clear by Mr. Fazl-ul-Hakk, till recently one of the most prominent Mohammedan extremists. He said in a speech at Decca in December last:

"Most of the leaders of the non-co-operation movement are notoriously irresponsible agitators of questionable antecedents, the sincerity of whose motives there is every reason to question. There are some who have frankly and openly confessed to me that they do not care a brass farthing for the Khalifat, but that their whole object is to bring back the days of anarchist outrages and thereby pave the way for a revolution in India."

It is now well known that the Nationalists of Egypt and Turkey

Digitized by Google

threw ridicule on Mohammed Ali's recent attempts to enlist them under his Jahad banner, and suggested that he should join with them in raising the standard of Nationalism. The above quotations expose his unscrupulous attempt to combine the two.

When that view was put forward by those who had to deal with the rebellion of 1919 and the intrigues of the rebels with our external enemies it failed to find acceptance. Now, perhaps, it will be believed. Unfortunately, the proofs of its correctness are only too manifest. The fanatical murder of a district magistrate in Oudh in August last, and the recent barbarous murder and burning of police officers at Malegaon in Bombay by fanatical mobs are but a few of the results of the Khalifat agitation, and many people, both British and Indian, fear that these are but the prelude to more widespread disorders if the authority of the Government is not vindicated. It may be noted here that the Rowlatt Act, which was passed to deal with such a situation, has not yet been brought into operation.

But the agitation is not only undermining the peace and security of India; it is tying our hands in our dealings with the various Mohammedan countries connected with India. Afghanistan, which till two years ago had no dealings with foreign Powers except through the British Government, has now been quick to make use of the abolition of that restriction to start intriguing in India itself, and to enter into engagements with Bolshevist Russia and with the Kemalists of Angora. Those engagements *inter alia* provide for furnishing Afghanistan with subsidies, arms, and military instructors, the object of which cannot be in doubt.

How significant is the fact that the recent treaty, offensive and defensive, between Afghanistan and Angora was signed on April 25 last at Moscow. In the preamble the future welfare of the whole East is stated to be one of its objects, and in Article 5 Angora undertakes to lend Afghanistan military officers and instructors for periods of five years. This treaty coincides with Angora's repudiation of the draft treaty with France, and with its hostile attitude to the Allied Powers generally, and especially to Britain.

The same policy is embodied in the recent treaty between Angora and the Soviet Government, the first article of which guarantees "mutual aid for the emancipation of the peoples of the East and their absolute right to determine their own destinies."

There is good reason to believe that the secret treaty between the Soviet Government and Afghanistan follows the same principle of hostility to Great Britain, and we have recently heard of similar negotiations between Angora and Persia under Soviet auspices. In fact we have Bolshevist Russia uniting all the forces of Mohammedan Asia in a league against us.

Meantime we are in the ignoble position of having had a mission

Digitized by Google

in Kabul for the last six months, which so far has not succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the Afghans. The latter, apparently relying on the support of the Bolshevists, the Kemalists, Constantinople, and on the intrigues of the disloyal Mohammedans of India—a small but dangerous section—now seek to dictate terms to us, according to a telegram in the *Daily Telegraph* of yesterday (June 18). So that within two and a half years of the overthrow of Germany and Turkey, and two years of the defeat of Afghanistan and the Frontier tribes, our position in India and the East generally is practically that of the vanquished party.

India is the base of our power in the East; while we are weak there we can speak with no authority in Asia. Once we strengthen our position there by squarely facing and resolutely solving our problems, the problems of adjoining Mohammedan countries will present but little difficulty. The seditious Mohammedan agitation in India is the first question to be tackled. Its extent and importance, though they have steadily grown under the policy of inaction, have been much exaggerated. The great majority of Indian Mohammedans are still actively loyal, and the Khalifat agitation appeals only to some of the ignorant mob whose fanaticism is aroused by the persistent campaign of calumny, which since the war we have done little to restrain or counteract. Once we make it clear that we intend to do what it is the duty of every Government, democratic or autocratic, to do—namely, to enforce the law impartially against all law-breakers, whether fanatics, ascetics, or mere seditious adventurers—we shall rally all loyal and law-abiding classes, who are disgusted and alarmed at the growing lawlessness, to our side, and can afford to disregard any spurious clamour that may be raised against so-called repressive action.

Our greatest title to the support and loyal obedience of the Indian masses has been our even-handed justice; but in recent years there has been a dangerous tendency to surbordinate the orderly process of justice to a hasty political opportunism. That has shaken the confidence of the public and opened the door to the intrigues in which certain classes of political adventurers are so expert. If we stick to the law, all classes will know how they stand, and none will be able to gain an undue advantage over another.

In India as elsewhere the alternatives are "govern or go." Not one Indian in a hundred, not one Indian Mohammedan in a thousand, wants us to go; but in the opinion of loyal Indians we are *not* governing. To them it is no use quoting "self-determination" in justification of our present policy. A year ago in India, when I tried that argument with some of the leading Mohammedans of the Punjab, they bluntly said that while the British Government was in India they expected it to govern; if we were not prepared to do so, we should clear out and leave them to apply the principle of self-determination in their own

Digitized by Google

way. We know what that would be. Rudyard Kipling depicted it with rare humour and marvellous foresight in his ballad, "What happened"—*i.e.*, what would happen at the repeal of the Arms Act which was then being demanded at the first Indian Congress as the first step to self-determination. I will read you a few lines:

"But the Indian Government, always keen to please,
Alas gave permission to horrid men like these,
Yar Mahomad Yusufzai, down to kill or steal,
Chimbu Singh from Bikaneer, Tantia the Bhil,

"Killan Khan, the Marri chief, Sowar Singh the Sikh,
Nabhi Bakhsh, Punjabi Jat, Abdul Hak Rafey,
He was a Wahahi; last, little Boh Hla Oo
Took advantage of the Act—took a Snider too.

"With a unanimity dear to patriot hearts
All those fiery gentlemen out of foreign parts
Said: 'The good old days are back—let us go to war.'
Swaggered down the Grand Trunk Road into Bow Bazar.

* * * *

"What became of Mookerji? Ask Mahomed Yar,
Prodding Siva's sacred bull down the Bow Bazar.
Speak to placid Nabhi Bakhsh—question land and sea,
Ask the Indian Congress men—only don't ask me."

These verses make us laugh, but it is no longer a laughing matter: We have been in the last year, we are to-day, much nearer to the menace than most people imagine. If we have escaped so far—and the disorder is steadily spreading—we have to thank the Arms Act, the Indian Army, and the classes from which it is raised. But we cannot go on counting on those classes whether Mohammedan, Hindu, or Sikh, unless we make it clear that, whatever changes there may be in the form or the machinery of administration, it is controlled by a Government that means to govern. Everyone who has the well-being of India at heart must therefore welcome the recent public assurance of the Government of India "that they will enforce the law relating to offenders against the State, *as and when they may think fit*, against any persons who have committed breaches of it." The assurance would perhaps have carried more weight but for the qualifying words, "as and when they may think fit."

After checking sedition in India by impartially enforcing the law, the settlement of the Turkish question comes next in order of urgency. The delay in that settlement has provided the opportunity for the spurious pro-Turkish agitation by those Indian Mohammedans, who for selfish and traitorous objects pose as more Turkish than the Turks, and who have the audacity to dictate peace terms, such as the restoration of Thrace and Syria to Turkey and the forms of administra-

Digitized by Google

tion to be established in Palestine and Mesopotamia, which the Turks themselves had never claimed. It was, and is, wise and just to take into account the sentiments of *loyal* Indian Mohammedans in the Turkish peace settlement; but having done that, we should make it clear that we see through the impudent designs of those who desire, not so much the good of Turkey or of Islam, as the weakening or the ruin of Great Britain.

The settlement of the Turkish question will conduce not only to the improvement of the internal situation in India; it will also help to purge the Afghans of their megalomania and dispose them to a treaty on reasonable lines. Those should, of course, include the strict enforcement of the provisions, embodied in the Trade agreement with Soviet Russia, against Afghanistan being used as a bridge for the passage to India of Bolshevist agents and propaganda. It would be interesting to know whether such intrigues have ceased since the signature of the Trade agreement. We have at our disposal many potent means for bringing the Afghans to reason; an economic blockade would perhaps be as effective as any, for Afghanistan is dependent on India for many of the necessities of life.*

The restoration of friendly relations with Kabul would at once react favourably on our relations with the Frontier tribes. Every hostile act on their part in recent years has been inspired directly by Kabul or by agents from Kabul, such as the notorious Haji Abdul Razak and Colonel Daud Shah, whose actions the Amir's Government accepts or repudiates as may suit it at the time.

The above suggestions may be criticized as humdrum and uninspiring. But there is no royal road to success in these matters. Everything turns on our having a clear policy and agents capable of carrying it out. The British Government has never lacked the agents; it has sometimes lacked the policy. Given those conditions we can overcome the present difficulties, restore stability to India, promote the progress and prosperity of our 70,000,000 Mohammedan fellow-subjects there, and enable them to play a part commensurate with their great past and their political importance in the movement

* *Daily Telegraph*, June 14, 1921: "There does not seem to be any improvement in the relations between Afghanistan and the Indian Government. Accurate information is now to hand as to the far-reaching demands made from Kabul as a condition of the signing of a new Treaty. These terms, evidently inspired by the Amir's Bolshevist and Kemalist advisers, are the following:

"1. The right to use an Indian harbour as a free port for Afghan foreign trade.

"2. The right to import arms, with unrestricted transit over the Indian railways.

"3. The return of Waziristan in the North-Western Province.

"4. The withdrawal of the protest against Russian Consulates on the Indian border."

Digitized by Google

towards self-government in India. Without those conditions, unrest, seditious intrigue, and anarchy will spread, and our Indian Mohammedans, who have been so loyal to us in the past and were such a source of strength to us in the late wars, will become a source of weakness to us and of strength to our enemies.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure we have all listened with great interest to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's paper, and are much obliged to him for reading it. I thing it is encouraging to us to know that, at all events up to the present, whenever there has been an emergency, the Mohammedans of India have stood by us. They have stood by us in the war, and have even been willing to fight against their co-religionists. They have been with us in the troubles that have followed the war. There are, of course, many malicious and harmful individuals who endeavour to stir up the Mohammedans against us; but of one thing I feel certain, and that is that their efforts will never be finally successful, because Hindoos and Mohammedans can never really act together. As soon as they gained any advantage the question would arise between them whether the advantage was to go to the Mohammedans or Hindoos, and there would certainly never be any willingness on the part of either Mohammedans or Hindoos to submit themselves to their pseudo-friends and partners. I am sure that if the Government would only deal firmly with the authors of the sedition, and put a stop to the seditious and violent speeches that have been made by both sides alike, Hindoos and Mohammedans—(Applause)—and especially deal with those seditious leaders, the Ali brothers, that we should have no more unrest in India; because the Indian, if he respects anything, respects strength. If you refrain from dealing with open sedition the Indians always put it down to fear. They think that you are afraid to deal with it, and I suppose, as a matter of fact, that is very much the case. But if you once show them that you are resolved to act firmly and to put down sedition, there is no doubt they will respect the Government, and, except amongst the most fanatical, any seditious attempt will come to an end. I should like to know whether any gentleman would like to make any remarks on the paper that has been read.

Sir EDMUND BARROW: Apart from the great debt of gratitude we owe to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, there is one observation I should like to make, which is that you should not place too much reliance on what you see in the Press. (Hear, hear.) Sir Michael quoted just now from the *Daily Telegraph* a statement regarding the conditions that the Amir was laying down for our acceptance. The *Daily Telegraph* might possibly have had some justification for believing those statements, but I do not think anyone else need be alarmed by them. Probably the information that we have had in London is

Digitized by Google

of more recent date than that of the *Daily Telegraph* on this matter. I need say no more about the subject, but I should be sorry if you all went away with the impression that we were in a hopeless position; and I also have some hope that really—I must be careful what I am saying—that really our position *vis-à-vis* the Afghans is no worse than that of the Bolshevists, and perhaps a good deal better. (Applause.)

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE: I think we must all be very glad indeed to hear from Sir Edmund Barrow that reassuring statement about the demands of the Amir of Afghanistan which are now being threshed out at Kabul. Our mission has been there since the commencement of this year; they have had six months at it and, so far as we, the outside public, know, they have not got any forwarder. I am sure it will be great news for everybody to learn that Sir Edmund Barrow, who is behind the scenes, takes a hopeful view of the situation. I have followed the address of Sir Michael O'Dwyer with very great interest. It is difficult to say anything because I so thoroughly agree with what he has said. In the lecture the first remark that struck me was that the peril to Turkey made the Indian Moslems realize that the kingdoms of Islam were crumbling away. That has often been brought forcibly home to me, especially when travelling in Afghanistan. Sitting over the fire talking with Mohammedans—I can remember especially with the Afghan Commander-in-Chief of Herat—how he would say to me that the Mohammedan kingdoms were going one after another, and that he did not know what was to be the end of it all. I realize what Sir Michael said, how strongly that is felt by all Mohammedans, especially throughout the East. The next point that struck me was the mention made by Sir Michael of the use of Mohammedan troops during the late war. He said that in spite of many insidious attempts to sap their loyalty, such acts of desertion as came to light were nearly all amongst the Mohammedans recruited from the untrustworthy trans-frontier tribes. I think we must all realize that there is a spirit in the frontier tribes, and in the Afghans as well —a very great spirit, too—of allegiance to Turkey; and I think it is one of the most marvellous things that all our Indian Mohammedans throughout the war should have gone and fought for us against the Turks in the way they did. (Applause.) The cases of desertion that did occur were, as Sir Michael O'Dwyer said, nearly all amongst the frontier and trans-frontier tribes. Those are a particularly fanatical lot, and had the officers at Army Headquarters in Simla known anything whatsoever of the idiosyncracies of Indian troops, I do not think they would have sent some of the regiments they did to fight directly against the Turks. If those men had been sent against Germans, or to East Africa, they would have been perfectly true and loyal; but any desertion or trouble that occurred was mainly caused by sending them to Mesopotamia and other places

Digitized by Google

where they had directly to fight Turks. This had no effect on Indian Mohammedans, but it affected trans-frontier and Punjab border men. Of all such men it is well known how much they look to the Khalif and Sultan of Rum as their head. To my mind it was a very unwise and very unfair thing to put such a test to those men, and they ought, I think, to have been used in other theatres of the war. I think that for whatever trouble did occur it was our own Army Headquarters in India that are to be blamed for it as much as anything else. (Applause.) Thirdly, Sir Michael O'Dwyer dwelt on the very mistaken clemency shown after the Punjab rebellion of 1919. Nothing could have been worse than that. I do not think anything could have stirred up trouble in India more than that mistaken clemency. When we defeated the Afghans in the war, the terms of peace ought to have been dictated by the General in command on Afghan territory. Instead of that the Government of India brought the representatives of Afghanistan over to Rawal Pindi, and spent two or three months fooling about with them there, while all the time Afghan agents were stirring up the Frontier tribesmen to unite together in opposing us. Tremendous trouble was thus caused; in fact, the whole Frontier was set in a blaze. Had the British General dictated his terms of peace in Dacca or anywhere else in Afghan territory, and insisted on carrying them out there and then, a great deal of the subsequent trouble would never have arisen. (Applause.) That was entirely due, I think, to mistaken clemency to the Afghans. We ought to have taken up our position on the Frontier and to have remained there. The opportunity should have been taken to annex and hold all the jumping-off places the Afghans used when they invaded India, so as to prevent them doing anything of the sort again. We ought to have put the fear of God into them, and said: "You will not do this again." (Applause.) There has been a great deal of what Sir Michael O'Dwyer called political opportunism in India. Instead of boldly attacking rebellion in India we have seen the Government of India pandering to rebels day after day. Instead of using the strength of government, they have pandered to one rebel after another. They allowed the Rowlatt Bill agitation to come to a head, and have gone on to the present day pandering to rebels. Pandering to rebels is no good whatever, and if you once put a man in gaol, in my opinion, you ought never to let him out again until you are first perfectly satisfied he can do no further harm. All those rebels who were convicted and sentenced ought never, I think, to have been let out again unless it was absolutely certain that they would be harmless in future. We have seen the result in the trouble going on at the present time, and I can only hope the present Government of India will show more strength of character than the late one did, and pluck up courage to stop the agitators now preaching sedition all over India. We have a tremendously dangerous

Digitized by Google

time before us. We see great anxiety amongst all outlying Europeans throughout the whole country for fear of risings which may come at any moment. All that will be put a stop to once you suppress the agitators. The moment Mohammed Ali and his brother got news that the Government were going to take action against them they wrote an apology. If such action had been taken two years ago they would have done the same thing then. It is no good pandering to these men —you must lock them up; and I hope sincerely the real question of the locking up of these agitators will be taken in hand at once, and that there will be no more pandering to agitation. Finally, we all know, with regard to the mission at Kabul, what the advantage is of having a peaceful Afghanistan on our side. We all know that the Frontier tribal troubles are mainly caused by agitation in Afghanistan, and by having Afghanistan to go back to. They make a raid into British India, and get a refuge back in Afghanistan. We must stop that. If we can get a friendly Afghanistan, by all means let us do so; if not, we must occupy all the Frontier territory, and say to the people in Afghanistan: "You come and agitate here at your peril." (Applause.)

Mr. Moon: Mr. Chairman, may I be permitted to raise one brief point. I take it the Mohammedan seditious people in India mostly try to make capital out of what I may call a theological point—namely, that the British and Allies were interfering with and damaging the temporal power of the head of the Islamic world. I am under the impression that the theologians in the Islamic world are divided, that a very large portion of them do not recognize the Sultan at Constantinople as Khalifa. We have heard papers read before the Society which lay stress on the claims of the Arab potentate as Islamic chief. Perhaps Sir Michael O'Dwyer would add to his kindness by saying a word or two on that point, and would let us know whether the claims and views of the latter party were entirely overborne by the noisy uproar of the other side?

Lieutenant-General Sir Raleigh Egerton: Only one remark I would like to make, referring to the statement with regard to desertions among Mohammedans on Service. To the best of my recollection, the desertions that took place among Mohammedan troops employed first of all in France were entirely trans-border men. There were two occasions, one on which a considerable number of men went over, and another on which a small party of two or three went over; but they were all trans-border men. But when we came to Mesopotamia my own recollection is that there were very few desertions among the Mohammedans. The few I remember were from Mohammedans of the Punjab. There were only two or three—one was an Indian officer. There were also, curiously enough, desertions on the part of Hindoos. I remember a Brahmin deserted; not only once, for when brought

Digitized by Google

back he deserted again. Goodness knows what became of him; he was never heard of again. In France it was trans-border men, but to the best of my recollection, in Mesopotamia the desertions took place fairly equally from among Trans-border and Punjabi Mohammedans.

Sir PERCY SYKES: One point I might mention: that is, with reference to those letters which the lecturer described as being written by Bethmann-Holweg, the late Chancellor. When I reached Kirman I seized about thirty or forty of them. They were addressed to various Indian princes, with a very fine one for the Amir; all signed, as the lecturer said, by the then German Chancellor. There were also two very fine decorations, "spread-eagles," for the Amir, sent by his great friend the Kaiser, who called himself Hajji Wilhelm. (Laughter.) The Persian Governor-General very kindly offered to make me a gift of one of these "spread-eagles," but the rules of the Service forbade me to take it.

General Sir ROBERT SCALLON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think that what we want to do in India is to make the people understand that it not only pays to be loyal, but that is is safe to be loyal. Because at the present moment what we see is that the loyal people have a very poor time. Disloyal people are listened to, and loyal people cannot safely express their own opinions even in their own homes. At the beginning of the war it was extraordinary how in the Punjab the Punjabis came forward to help us. I remember one old gentleman brought four sons: "These are the only lads I have; take them all, sir." The reason why the men in the Punjab came forward was because they knew that under Sir Michael O'Dwyer they had somebody who would always take the part of the loyal, and keep the disloyal in their right place. (Applause.) Those who were in the Punjab in the early days of the war, and remember what happened when the people came back from the Far East, from America, instigated by the Germans—how he dealt with them—will realize how much we owe in the Punjab to what he did in order to maintain the supremacy of the British raj. (Applause). If Sir Michael O'Dwyer had not done what he did in those early days of the war, not only should we not have obtained the recruits which we did obtain, but many of the troubles we had later on would have come in days when it would have been far more inconvenient to deal with them. It was really extraordinary how that movement grew which took numbers of our misguided Mohammedans over the frontiers into Afghanistan. Before the war, year after year, numbers of people came from the various Mohammedan countries in Asia on their way through India to Mecca; and there is hardly one of them who has not had cause to complain that the only time during his journey when he was subject to discomfort, ill-treatment, and trouble was the time he was traversing the countries under Mussulman rule—Afghanistan and the countries

Digitized by Google

between the coast and Mecca. As to the opinion of the Mussulmans in India towards the Sultan, I think that when the Young Turkish movement came into being a very large number of the Mussulmans in India felt that the whole character of Constantinople, or Rum, as regards its relations to the Mohammedans generally, had changed. As one of them put it, "They have put the Koran behind their backs"; and I do not think there are very many in India of ordinary Moslems who have any very great regard at the present day for the Mohammedan power in Constantinople. But I should like once more to say that all of us in India owe a very great debt of gratitude for the attitude which Sir Michael O'Dwyer adopted in dealing with the troubles which arose in that country with the beginning of the war. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, unless any other gentleman would like to make some remarks, I will end the proceedings by offering a cordial vote of thanks to Sir Michael O'Dwyer for the paper he has read to us to-day. I think the remarks that have been made show conclusively that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's argument is quite a correct one, and that to win the respect and loyalty of the people of India we need a firm and just rule, and one that would carry out the law and put a stop to any infringement of it. I propose a cordial vote of thanks to Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

The vote of thanks was given with a round of applause, and this ended the meeting.

Digitized by Google

ANNUAL DINNER

THE Annual Dinner of the Society was held at the Imperial Restaurant, Regent Street, W., on June 15, with the Right Hon. Lord Carnock in the chair, and the Right Hon. Lord Chelmsford as the guest of the evening.

Lord CARNOCK, proposing the health of the guest of the evening, said that the Society had been progressing most favourably since the last annual dinner, and the number of members was growing in a most satisfactory way. The lectures, he was glad to say, were having increasing notice in the public press, and it was gratifying that so many members had joined who were in India, Mesopotamia, or elsewhere in the East. This was an encouraging feature, and showed that the Journal was a very useful agent in promoting the welfare and disseminating the knowledge of the Society amongst our compatriots abroad. They could congratulate themselves on having with them so distinguished a personage as Lord Chelmsford, who so lately occupied the high and important post of Viceroy of India. They numbered amongst their members many who in the political or military field had filled very onerous and responsible posts in the Indian Empire, and it was entirely appropriate that they should have the ex-Viceroy as their guest. (Cheers.) Lord Carnock went on to speak of the heavy anxieties which had confronted Lord Chelmsford, of the courage and resource with which he had met them, and of his great share in laying the foundations of a reformed system of government.

Lord LAMINGTON, in supporting the toast, said that though his rising was superfluous in view of the admirable terms in which the Chairman had presented the toast, he trusted he would be allowed to pay his tribute of admiration for all that Lord Chelmsford had done during his tenure of high office in India. At no time in the history of our Eastern Empire had there been a crisis more tremendous or events more important than those with which he was confronted. He (the speaker) recalled with some satisfaction that when the question of a selection for the Viceroyalty was under discussion nearly six years ago, he was talking to someone high up in the Government, and said: "Why not send Chelmsford?" He was not saying that thereby he suggested the idea, but he did claim that he had some foresight in seeing what the man would turn out to be, and how he was qualified to accomplish so tremendous a task. Some years before that he was talking to the then Secretary for the Colonies as to a certain action Lord Chelmsford had taken as Governor of Queensland, when he had to consider some

Digitized by Google

very critical episode and to differ from his responsible advisers. Lord Crewe said: "Yes, Chelmsford is an excellent man for a Dominion Governorship, for he is not afraid to act on his own judgment instead of always cabling home for advice as to what he should do." His selection, when he was serving in the war as the officer of a Territorial regiment, showed a very wise judgment. In studying Central Asian affairs they had always to bear in mind that events which occurred, even in the extremes of Asia, were bound to have their repercussion in India.

Thus, the oppressive terms of the Sévres Treaty only formulated long after the Armistice was signed, have aroused great indignation in the Moslem world, and must have generated a feeling that would cause anxiety to Lord Chelmsford when holding sway over so many millions of Mohammedans.

Lord CHELMSFORD, who was received with great applause, said he deeply appreciated the honour which had been given him by the Society in inviting him to be their guest that night. But in accepting the invitation he was not unmindful that it carried with it the corollary of making a speech, and throughout his life he had avoided making speeches except under duress of *force majeure*, and on this occasion he was surrounded by men who had been distinguished in the diplomatic sphere in India and elsewhere in the East. There was never a time in the varied history of our country when so many urgent problems called for solution, and the general public, vexed and perplexed by their multiplicity and their complexity, seemed unable to take any interest in any problems which did not come immediately under their eyes and affect their comfort. It was natural that the general public should be interested in the coal strike, should be fairly interested in the state of Ireland, and, *longo intervallo*, in the difficulties between the Allies with regard to the Silesian problem. But as one who had spent nearly all the fifteen years since 1905 out of England, he was puzzled by the extraordinary calm—he might almost say indifference and perhaps apathy—with which the general public seemed to treat all those momentous problems which were facing our statesmen here at the present time. Their chief interest seemed to be in the test match, in the polo, tennis, and golf tournaments, and in the race-course; and, indeed, some of the leading papers seemed to devote much more intelligent attention to these great subjects than to the urgent problem facing us at the present moment. Were it not for the memory of the heroic suffering, endurance, and patience of this country during the Great War, one would be inclined to say with the poet:

"You have the Pyrrhic dance as yet,
Where is the Pyrrhic phalanx gone?
Of two such lessons why forget
The nobler and the manlier one?"

Digitized by Google

It was clear that the general public was bewildered by the multiplicity and complexity of these problems, and every allowance must be made for the mental and moral exhaustion following on those fearful five or six years through which we had passed. But it meant that there were certain urgent problems in which the general public had taken no interest, problems which in old days would have filled their thoughts and minds and might have led to the fall and disappearance of ministries. It was to two of those problems he wished to direct attention—viz., those of the Turkish peace terms and of Persia.

In regard to Turkey, it was now nearly three years since an armistice was concluded with that country. In April, 1920, peace terms were offered to Turkey, and in August last peace was signed. Since then there had been further conferences and further modifications had been suggested. But despite all this there was no peace. There was a treaty which we were powerless to enforce, and the writ of the Allied Powers did not run anywhere practically within the Turkish dominions.

Lord CHELMSFORD continued: Now I frankly approach this subject as one who has had under his Government 70,000,000 Mohammedan subjects of the King-Emperor, and I should say that my remarks are made entirely from that standpoint. I have no knowledge and can have no knowledge of the considerations on the other side which have weighed on those responsible. For my part I should have liked to have said to the Turks: "You entered unprovoked into the war; indeed, we implored you and almost bribed you not to do so; your entry prolonged the war and entailed an incalculable extension of the toll of death, suffering, and expenditure which we incurred. For this you must be punished. But we will not be unmindful of our old friendship; we know you were misled by false advisers, and we will remember that we have as subjects of the King-Emperor in India some 70,000,000 of those who hold the same faith as you do. We will consider all these things in dealing with you. Therefore we propose, while punishing you, to deal as generously with you as we possibly can compatible with agreements we have made with third parties." (Cheers.) Now, I believe that in this way we should not have had, as at present, a Turkey which is thoroughly and bitterly hostile to us and a Peace Treaty whose terms cannot be enforced. It may well be thought that what I have suggested would not have been absolutely successful, but surely we could have not been worse placed than we are under the present conditions of the Treaty. I would like to suggest, further, that the policy which has been adopted has violated that very fundamental principle of statecraft that your policy must have some relation to the military force which is available to support it. Nothing could be more ignominious than the present position in which this Empire of ours and the

Digitized by Google

Allies have imposed terms upon Turkey which they are powerless to enforce.

Yesterday afternoon I had the privilege of listening to Mr. Churchill's most interesting and illuminating exposition of policy in connection with Mesopotamia and Palestine. Mr. Churchill showed his usual courage and frankness in not blinking the situation. He said that his policy would be frustrated unless there was a lasting settlement with Turkey. (Loud cheers.) I believe that if the policy I have outlined had been followed such a settlement would not be to-day an hypothesis but an actual fact. If we are not going to get that peaceful and lasting settlement with Turkey I should like to ask if Mr. Churchill has behind his policy the military force which can enforce it; because, if not, it seems to me that the chances of his policy being successful are perilously small.

Now let me turn to the subject of Persia. There was a time when Persia looked upon England as her most disinterested friend; and I think that even under the Anglo-Russian agreement Persia did not altogether despair. She felt that we were being dragged at the heels of Russia, and she knew in her heart of hearts that we were really her friends. (Cheers.) Then came that very difficult time in the war which would have been a difficult time even between nations which were absolutely trusting each other, but which was the more difficult because of the suspicion in the Persian mind. Persia was the avenue to India for the advance of German and Turkish forces, and it was necessary for us to take steps for the security of our dominions in the East which did not seem quite compatible with the neutrality of Persia. But I believe that that would have passed off quite smoothly if it had not been for that *soupçon* of suspicion with regard to our designs in Persia. A golden opportunity came for us when the Czarist régime fell in Russia. It would have been possible for us then to say to Persia: "We are now free from the shackles of the Anglo-Russian agreement. We wish to do all we can to show our friendliness to you, and all we desire is to see Persia prosperous and strong, and we are ready to aid you in putting your house in order. But please understand that if we do so it must be in response to your own requests. We can undertake no measures which constitute an interference with the independence of your country." I am perfectly aware that all through these were our aims, and that we said so. But I cannot help feeling that our actions were not up to our words; that we were school-mastering in Persia all the time, and that we were not getting in touch with that portion of the Persian public which may be described as the democratic national party, and which has proved to be a very potent factor in Persian politics. (Cheers.) We allied ourselves to the most reactionary element in politics that existed in Persia, and which was regarded as hopelessly Anglophile. And when

Digitized by Google

we put up the Anglo-Persian agreement the suspicions of Persians became not doubts, but convictions, that we were out for something for ourselves, and were not out genuinely for the interests of Persia. (Cheers.)

Well, the agreement came to birth, and I cannot say that it did very much more. It came to birth though it was always stoutly opposed by the Persian people as a whole. It never obtained the approval of the Persian Mejliss; indeed, no ministry ventured even to summon the Mejliss to secure sanction for it, though there has been a succession of ministries since it was published. So the agreement practically lapsed. I cannot help feeling that it deserves the epitaph on an infant which lived only a few days: "If I were so soon to be done for, what was I ever begun for?" (Laughter.)

I am afraid it is a gloomy tale I have unfolded this evening; but can anyone say that what I have told you is not in consonance with the facts? Or can anyone say that what I have said has deviated one hair's-breadth from what has actually happened? (Hear, hear.) I have been particularly scrupulous to say nothing to-night which could not have been said by anyone of you who have followed these matters from beginning to end. Naturally anyone who has been in my position must be careful that he does not touch upon such information as comes into his possession in an official capacity. But I think I have said nothing to-night which is not known to any one of you who have followed affairs.

What is the upshot? There is a vast tract of Asiatic country where Islam prevails and where England was once a cherished neighbour and indeed a cherished friend, but is now no longer so. In Persia we are profoundly suspect. The fact is that you cannot run the Empire in watertight compartments, and as the largest Mohammedan power in the world you cannot afford to ignore Mohammedan opinion in formulating your policy in these matters. (Cheers.) If you ignore that consideration you must be prepared to see that the policy you adopt is backed by military force capable of imposing it, as the only principle on which your policy can be based. But I sincerely hope that that will not be the principle we follow, and that we shall be mindful of the consideration that our policy must have regard to the fact that we are the greatest Mohammedan power and that Mohammedan sentiment should influence though it does not govern our decisions. (Cheers.) If this is so you must go to the right place for getting your information and advice. You cannot ignore in these matters the Government of India, which has special and peculiar opportunities of being able to gauge the situation in the East. Therefore if we are going to have an Eastern policy which is to be an Eastern policy in more than name, you must keep in close touch with India the whole time. The connection must be more than a liaison for the passing on of information. It must be

Digitized by Google

one of consultation and advice, and you must be prepared to follow such advice. I believe if such a policy had been pursued in settling the peace and were to be pursued in the future you would not have the present chaos over all these vast regions and England a back number as she has in a measure become, but that you would have peace, and England maintaining the great position in the East and winning back the faith and confidence which she enjoyed for so many years in the past. (Loud cheers.)

Lord CHELMSFORD proposed the toast of the chairman, and Lord CARNOCK briefly acknowledged the toast.

Digitized by Google

REVIEW

A History of Persia. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.M.G. Second Edition.

(Reprinted by kind permission from the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.")

The first edition of this History appeared in 1915, and was reviewed at some length by Mr. Longworth Dames in the October number of the R.A.S. *Journal* for that year. Sir Percy Sykes has now published a second edition of his work, revising it in many particulars and adding eight chapters, which bring it up to date.

This Journal is not the place for the discussion of political questions, but it must be observed that the fresh period which has been added to the subject-matter of the History is one of special importance—the period of the Great War, which has changed the face not only of Persia but of the world. And it is safe to say that no man living was so well fitted for telling the story as Sir Percy Sykes. In reviewing the first edition Mr. Longworth Dames drew attention to the writer's "unrivalled experience of the country of Persia, and of its people, their customs, their art, and their archæology." This unique qualification for the work stands out with double clearness when the historian comes to deal with events *quorum pars magna fuit.* Possibly it tends here and there to detract slightly from the historical manner of the book, but it ensures the accuracy of the statements made regarding a very intricate series of military and political operations, and renders them comprehensible. If told by a writer whose knowledge had been gathered entirely in his library, the story would be very hard to follow, for the writer would himself understand but imperfectly the characters and lines of thought and action of the various races which go to make up the population of Iran. As told by Sir Percy Sykes, with his very different type of knowledge, the story becomes a lucid and consistent whole.

I have not space to comment in detail on the various points of interest which are treated in this second edition, but they are many, and as the reader goes from one to another he cannot fail to be impressed by a feeling, which is evidently the writer's feeling, of admiration for the high level of courage and practical capacity shown in difficult circumstances by unknown men and women of British race. Whether in the great adventure of the "Dunsterville mission" to Baku, or in the

Digitized by Google

operations of the force which restored order and peace to the vast tracts of Southern Persia, or in other positions of trial, those qualities seem to emerge as a matter of course; and it is cheering at times, when we are passing through periods of apparent failure, in war, or in the organizations of peace, or in the contests of sport, to think how true to type the average Englishman shows himself to be, all over the world, when he finds himself faced with novel dangers and responsibilities.

The last chapter of Sir Percy Sykes's book, "Persia after the Great War," is perhaps the most interesting chapter of all. As one lays it down one can only feel with the writer a hope—not a certainty, but a hope—that in time to come Persia will once more play a part in the world worthy of her splendid past. Nowhere could her people find more encouragement to do so than in the pages of this History.

H. M. DURAND.

Digitized by Google

CHAIRMEN OF COUNCIL SINCE 1901

1901-2. GENERAL SIR THOMAS GORDON, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.

1902-4. RT. HON. SIR A. C. LYALL, G.C.I.E., I.C.S.

1904-6. COLONEL SIR THOMAS HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

1906-7. GENERAL SIR EDWIN COLLEN, G.C.I.E., C.B.

1907-8. VALENTINE CHIROL, ESQ. (NOW SIR V. CHIROL).

1908-14. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.I.E.

1914-17. THE RT. HON. SIR H. M. DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

1917-18. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.

1919. THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., ETC.

Digitized by Google

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1921-22

Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. THE MARQUIS CURZON OF KEDLESTON, P.C., K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., ETC.

Chairman of Council:

THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., ETC.

Vice-Presidents:

SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
GENERAL SIR E. BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
COLONEL SIR CHARLES YATE, BART., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.
SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.
SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.

Hon. Secretaries: LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE. / CAPTAIN G. C. STEPHENSON.

Hon. Treasurer: SIR E. PENTON, K.B.E.

Members of the Council:

GENERAL SIR REGINALD WINGATE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.
THE RT. HON. SIR MAURICE DE BUNSEN, BART., P.C., G.C.M.G., ETC.
MAJOR THE HON. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P., J.P., D.L.
E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.
CAPTAIN G. C. STEPHENSON.
GENERAL SIR C. C. MONRO, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., A.D.C.GEN.
SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
MAJOR-GENERAL NEILL MALCOLM, C.B., D.S.O.
MISS ELLA SYKES.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED SINCE MARCH 17TH

Ahmed Bey Hassanein.
Badger, K. H. C., Goring Heath, Reading.
Bannister, T. H. C., Stanmore Hall, Stanmore.
Barnett, Mrs. L., 8, Royal Crescent, W. 11.
Barrett, Field-Marshall Sir A. A., G.C.B., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.
Bell, C. A., C.M.G., C.I.E., Llasa, Tibet.
Bennett, Captain S. G., M.C., 8, St. Albans Crescent, Bournemouth.
Bentinck, Major A. D. W., Coldstream Guards, 53, Green Street, Park Lane, W.
Bingham, Captain D'Arcy, 109th Infantry, c/o Messrs. King and Co., Bombay.
Braham, Captain G. N., M.C., Mesopotamian Civil Administration, 61, Oxford Street, Southampton.
Bright, Captain L. L., Junior Naval and Milltary Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.
Buchanan, Mrs., 32, Elsworthy Road, N.W. 3.
Buckley, Brigadier-General B. F., C.M.G., C.B., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
Carver, Mrs., The Moot, Downton, Salisbury.
Chamier, Captain A., 55, Warwick Road, S.W. 5.
Chardin, Captain F. W., 20, Empress Avenue, Woodford Green, Essex.
Cheeseman, Allan, 147, Croxted Road, Dulwich.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston L. Spencer, M.P., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.
Colvin, Ian, 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.
Daly, Captain T. Denis, Royal Welch Fusiliers, Raford, Leamington.
Davies, Rea, 127, Rue Rakovska, Sofia.
Dickson, Colonel W. E. R., C.M.G., C.I.E. (late President Anglo-Persian Military Commission), Caledonian Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
Director of Intelligence, Sudan Government, Khartoum.
Drower, C. Stefana, c/o Credit Lyonnais Bank, Cockspur Street, S.W.
Duncan, J. A. L., Rocky Close, St. Ives, Cornwall.
Duncan, Mrs., Rocky Close, St. Ives, Cornwall.
Farrer, Hon. C. C., 100, Palace Gardens Terrace, W. 8.
Forbes, Dowager Lady, Ladies' Park Club, 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
Forster, M. Courtier, 96, Vineyard Hill, Wimbledon Park, S.W.
Geary, Mrs., 77, New Cavendish Street, W.

Digitized by Google

Gumbley, Douglas W., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Harker, O. Allan, Indian Police, 18, Portsea Place, W.
Harris, Major L. T., O.B.E., Bayalah, Mesopotamia.
Horridge, J., Haverholme, Brumhall, Cheshire.
Horsfield, Captain R., c/o Director of Railways, Baghdad.
Hotson, J. E. B., I.C.S., 4, Rothesay Terrace, Edinburgh.
Hunt, Captain W. E., Hillside, Bath.
Lane, Lieut.-Colonel W. B., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.M.S., 35, Westholm Addison Way, Golder's Green, N.W. 11.
Lees, Captain G. Martin, M.C., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Lees, Mrs. H. L., F.R.G.S., 1, Princes' Row, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
Lloyd, Captain H. I. (Adviser to the Mutasarif), Diyalah Division, Baqubah, Mesopotamia.
Mackay, F. Forbes, Leigh Vineries, Wimborne, Dorset.
Mackarness, H. J. Coleridge, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
McGrath, Lieut.-Colonel A. T., 34, Burton Court, S.W. 3.
McIntyre, Captain H. M. J., No. 8 Mountain Battery, Landi Kotal, Peshawar, India.
Minchin, H. C., Gorsedene, Farnham, Surrey.
Moore, Captain J. H., Walton Grange, Swindon, Wilts; E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
O'Connor, Captain R. L., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Pead, T. D., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Pedder, Captain G. R., 13th Hussars, E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Peek, Sir Wilfrid, Bart., D.S.O., 2, Clarendon Place, W. 2.
Pulley, Major H. C., I.A., c/o Eastern Bank, Crosby Square, E.C.
Ralston, Major W. H., 47th Sikhs, c/o Messrs. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
Redl, Lieut.-Colonel E. A. F., C.M.G., C.I.E., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
Rivett Carnac, Captain H. G., I.A., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Soane, Major E. B., C.B.E., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Spencer, Dr. Gordon, St. James's Vicarage, Preston, Lancs.
Starkie, Mrs. Maud, 3, Aldford Street, Park Lane, W.
Swan, L. M., c/o Eastern Bank, Crosby Square, E.C.
Tainsh, Lieut.-Colonel J. R., Railway Directorate, Baghdad.
Thomas, Major E. C., Ray Lodge, Lingfield.
Thomson, Colonel Sir W. M., K.C.M.G., C.B., M.C., Bridge of Teith Cottage, Doune, Perthshire.
Todd, Captain H. I., Imperial Police, 45, Lee Road, Blackheath, S.E.
Tomlinson, A. Gordon, c/o The Hills Bros. Company, Basrah, Mesopotamia.
Tozer, P. H. S., Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly.

Digitized by Google

Tweedie, Mrs. Alec, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Välyi, Felix, 115, St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
Waley, A., Alderhurst, Englefield Green, Surrey.
Wallace, Mrs. E. F., 64A, Sinclair Road, Kensington.
Walpole, Mrs. Horace, 15, Bruton Street, W. 1; Heckfield Place, Basingstoke, Hants.
Warburton, H. G., I.C.S. (retired), Holmesdale, Fleet, Hants.
Ward, Colonel I. S., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.B.E., Port Director, Basrah, Mesopotamia.
Weldon, Captain S. W., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Wigley, Captain P. J. R., M.C., I.A., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Wilkinson, Hon. Mrs., Dringhouses Manor, York.
Willcox, Sir W. H., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., F.R.C.P., 40, Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square, W.

It has been considered advisable to publish Part IV. of the Journal immediately. No further number will be issued this year.

Digitized by Google

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. IX.

1922

PART I.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

NOTICES

THE Assistant Secretary will be at 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday mornings, and on Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday afternoons.

All Members home from abroad are asked to notify their change of address.

Members are recommended to correspond, except under special circumstances, about lecture tickets, the Journal, and the election of new members, direct with the Assistant Secretary and not with Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Yate, who is mostly away in Shropshire. By doing this both time and postage will be saved.

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at No. 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W., on Thursday, November 10, 1921, when a lecture was given by Captain L. V. S. Blacker, Q.V.O. Corps of Guides, Frontier Force, on "Wars and Travels in Turkistan, 1918-1919-1920." The Rt. Hon. Lord Carnock, Chairman of the Society, presided. In opening the proceedings,

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I hope the change of lecture hours will meet with the approval of the Society, and I think, judging from the attendance to-night, I may confidently say you will approve it. We had to do it because many of our members served in public offices or other businesses, and found half-past four too early for them to attend; so, with your approval, we thought it would be well to change the hour to half-past five. Before introducing Captain Blacker, I will ask Colonel Yate to make a statement.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Yate): Since July last fifty-nine new members have been elected. I do not propose to read the whole list, because time is valuable. I may mention that there are, in addition to several ladies, Viscount Chelmsford, Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, Sir R. T. Coryndon, Governor of Uganda, Sir Alfred Hamilton Grant, late Foreign Secretary in India, Sir William S. Meyer, High Commissioner for India, Sir Verney Lovett, late Member of the Viceroy's Imperial Legislative Council in India, General Sir Claud W. Jacob, Chief of the General Staff in India, and six other officers of General rank. I will limit myself to that.

The CHAIRMAN: It is now my pleasant duty to introduce to the meeting Captain Blacker, who has kindly consented to read us a paper upon "Wars and Travels in Turkistan, 1918-1919-1920." Speaking for myself, my own information on what passed during those eventful years in that remote district is exceedingly scanty, so I am sure I am echoing the feeling of all here that we are exceedingly pleased to have first-hand information from the gentleman who took most adventurous journeys in those regions. I will now ask Captain Blacker to read his paper. (Applause.)

Digitized by Google

WARS AND TRAVELS IN TURKISTAN, 1918–1919–1920

By Captain L. V. S. Blacker,
Q.V.O. Corps of Guides, Punjab Frontier Force.

Very many people have ascribed a still greater number of explanations and reasons for the outbreak of the War of August, 1914. I venture to put forward to you one of my own which I do not think has yet been demonstrated in public. This map * which you now see on the screen is one which I hope will make clear my meaning. The part coloured red indicates the countries ruled by a predominantly Aryan race, and I think it may fairly be said that the Aryan race is characteristically the European one. The line dividing this from the yellow is, I think it is reasonable to say, the real racial frontier between Europe and Asia, and may I be pardoned for suggesting that such a frontier can be drawn only on a racial basis? You will notice that the yellow colouring which I have used to indicate the Mongoloid strain, and those countries in which the dominant race is Mongoloid, extends over most of Prussia, all of Hungary, Bulgaria, and the territory of the Turks. I think no one will deny, least of all anyone who has confronted Saxon—that is, Aryan—troops on the Western Front, that these four races were the backbone of the hatred, and hence of the murderous fighting, against the Aryan in the war. It also accounts for the wonderful and spontaneous goodwill with which the Moroccan Berber, the Circassian of the Caucasus, and the fair-skinned Punjabi and Pathan, came in on the side of their Western Aryan cousins and against the call of religion. Few people realize that the best districts of the Northern Punjab lost as big a percentage of their voluntarily enlisted men killed in the war as any English county did under conscription. Ulster and New Zealand are the only countries to which we can look for a rival to this record.

In the autumn of 1917 great things were happening in Central Asia, the home of the Mongoloid races. The Prussian, having been spurned by Islam and the Aryan wanderers of the plains, remembered Attila, his forbear, and harked back to the Steppes of Turan, to the "White Wolves" of Hulaku, and the monstrous iniquities of Chingiz Khan before the Arab brought a Moslem civilization to Samarkand and the heart of Asia. The "Drang nach Osten" changed its line from Bagdad and Basra to Batum, Baku, and Bukhara. Many

* The map illustrating his lecture which Captain Blacker showed on the screen has been reproduced at the end of vol. lviii., No. 3, of the *Geographical Journal* for September, 1921.—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

factors favoured the enemy. Enver Pasha dreamed of collecting sheep-skinned hordes of Kipchaps, Kirghiz, Kalmuks, and Usbegs; enemy agents worked in the cities of Afghanistan against our ally, Habibullah, the King of Kabul, and by a strange chance nearly 200,000 prisoners of war of the late Austrian Army, the bulk of whom were Mongoloid Magyars, had been behind the barbed wire in the camps and cantonments of Russian Turkistan. The revolution had added a fresh element of disorder and instability, and the Soviets had released this great mass of trained soldiers. Some of them had found their way to Afghanistan, where Osmanli drill-sergeants and Magyar gun-layers lent a new skill to Afghan regiments and batteries. Three Missions were sent to investigate and find out what effect there might be on the Great War from these unchained forces that dreamt of sweeping through the passes of the Hindu Kush to the rich valleys of India, as so many of their forbears had done in days gone by. My own regiment has had for the last eighty years a very strong connection with mid-Asia, and there are no cities of consequence from Lhasa to the Caucasus and from Mombasa to Moscow that have not seen a man of the Guides. Those who have read of the doings of the Légion Étrangère at Sidi-Bel-Abbés will at once call to mind the many Central European princelings who have served in the ranks of that gallant regiment that lent a share to make the glory of "La Première Division de la France." In the same way not a few scions of ruling houses of Central Asia have worn, and wear, the silver shoulder badges of the Guides. Among these was even the heir in direct line of the mighty Tamerlane, who but a few years ago wore the sword of a simple trooper.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the most easterly of the three Missions that plunged into the blue of Turan in the spring of 1918 included as the military element sixteen soldiers, of whom all but two were Guides.

Our first objective was Kashgar, where the Mission came under the command of Sir George Macartney. The men remembered that their regiment had, as far back as 1873, had the honour of carrying the Queen's badges into the unmapped and unexplored North, into the region that later became part of Russian Siberia—I mean the vast fertile province of Semirechensk. There were many interesting things to see during our long march over the snows to Gilgit, to no less hospitable Hunza, and over the Pamirs—where, again, we met a detachment of the Orenburg Cossacks, loyal troops in the midst of a sea of Bolshevism—to Kashgar. We spent a few weeks in the city, and it became very clear that distances were too great and veracity too uncommon to collect from there any useful information, and to transmit it to India in time for it to be of service in influencing the progress of the Great War.

Digitized by Google

At last we got permission in June to go ourselves to Tashkend, the seat of the Turkistan Soviet, that had already spread the Red Terror into the flourishing cities of Bukhara and Kokand, whose narrow streets had run with the blood of thousands of the faithful. Kolesof, the " Anacharsis " Klootz of Turkistan, had massacred many thousands by machine-gun fire in Kokand alone, and had razed the city to the ground by shelling with high explosives. Those of you who have seen the ruins of Ypres must multiply it by four to get an idea of what the Bolsheviks did to Kokand in February, 1918.

We reached Tashkend early in July, after a journey devoid of any special incident; for, indeed, it was so unexpected to the various Soviets that we passed *en route* that they did not quite know what to do with us, and characteristically allowed the matter to lapse into the hands of the Headquarters of the Turkistan Republic. Not only were the politics of Central Asia in a very curious state about then, but our own relations towards and dealings with the various revolutionary councils could scarcely be described as clear-cut or crystallized. Officials of our Embassy, including the gallant Captain Cromie, had been massacred without reparation or amends in Petrograd. British troops fought the Reds in Archangel, and a British battalion had found its way into Siberia. Moscow was wholeheartedly hostile to the Western Allies, but Tashkend was cut off from Moscow by a loyalist army of Orenburg Cossacks that operated on the Steppes by the Sea of Aral. Another Cossack army held the Reds between that Sea and the Caspian, whilst a handful of the Semirechensk Voisko carried on a guerrilla warfare near the Mongolian frontier. In the south-east, in the rich valley of Ferghana, the descendants of the Emperor Baber fought, and still fight, any parties of the Red Army who left the protection of their armoured trains. In the south-west, in the deserts of Transcaspia, a wonderful motley assemblage of Tekke Turkoman, sheep-skinned, bonneted, and red-cloaked, dissolute mechanics from the big railway workshops of the Central Asian at 'Ashqabad, and a handful of loyalist Russian gunners and troopers, mostly officers and N.C.O.'s of the old imperial army, had driven the Reds out of their city and established touch with Sir Wilfred Malleson's Mission and the tiny British force in North-East Persia. This was the second of the British Missions that I have alluded to, whilst the most westerly one was the biggest, under Major-General Dunsterville. Its arrival and its doings on the Caspian and in Baku have been admirably described by him in a recent book. The Bolshevik Soviet was somewhat bewildered, then, when we unexpectedly called upon them in their Foreign Office. To us, fresh from the Western front, it gave a sort of Alice-through-the-Looking-Glass feeling to walk in the streets through a jostling crowd in field grey. Of course, we had to explain that we were semi-official to a remark-

Digitized by Google

able degree, and that our reasons for being in that capital were other than they really were. The " Lewis Carroll " sensation was intensified in their case when three companies of the 19th Punjab Infantry, plus some of the 28th Light Cavalry, irrupted into Turkistan in response to an appeal from the Turkoman General, Oraz Sardar, and the 'Ashqabad Provisional Government. This was a great surprise to us, and we hardly believed it when the Foreign Minister confronted us with the news. ' Needless to say, the Reds forthwith decided that we were English spies, and talked very pointedly about blank walls and firing-parties. Fortunately the atmosphere of bewilderment was very much on our side; though wireless messages came from Lenin insisting on the early " liquidation " of all British and French officers, and though the extremist element, headed by the Hebrew Tobolin, kept on clamouring for our blood, yet the Soviet as a body were too nervous of their own security to take a step which they thought would certainly compromise them with the British Government. The five fronts on which their armies then fought were as much as they could do with, and they had reasons to think that the Afghans too might attack them. And hence they preferred not to be too ready to fall in with the fiery demands of the despotic Duumvirs of Moscow. The Punjabis, on whom fell the brunt of the hard knocks, as is always the case where Punjabis are concerned, caused us intense joy by tumbling the Red Army into rout every time they met them. This joy, however, had to be concealed from the Soviet during our various interviews with them, and with some care. In fact, we had to disown our very good friends the 19th by explaining to the Soviet that they were not His Majesty's troops at all, but pensioner and discharged Hazaras, Afghan subjects who had left the British service and were fighting purely as mercenaries for Denikin and the Mensheviks of 'Ashqabad. The Soviet, by no means a highly educated or enlightened coterie, accepted this explanation with some misgivings, since their imagination boggled at the idea of a British Mission coming to an enemy capital in the same week that a British army invaded the country, as well it might. We remembered what a tangled web we weave when first we practise to deceive, as one of the hospital trains back from the 'Ashqabad front, just after the action of Artik, brought, wounded, to Tashkend—amongst others—a well-educated Austrian *Gefreiter*. He, with his patrol, had been fallen upon by a patrol of Punjabis and smitten hip and thigh. Though much out of breath, he had managed to escape with a mental picture of the Punjabis' ragged khaki uniform and accoutrements that bid fair to give the lie to us when the Soviet heard about it. Tobolin, the leader of the party of the Two Tribes that unfortunately were not lost, himself ran a newspaper called *Sovietski Turkistan*, and in his leading articles he permitted himself to use some deplorable

Digitized by Google

expressions in our regard, whilst he clamoured for that firing-party to attend to us. This made the matter of the Austrian lance-corporal somewhat ticklish, but personal contact with him, sweetened by some hardly got beer and palm oil, caused him to go back on his story, and we breathed again.

Anyone who did any fighting for the Bolshevik in Asia was almost certain to be an Austrian or a Magyar at this time. The riff-raff of the bazaars who made up the numbers had no use for anything like fighting at all. The very few Regular officers and N.C.O.'s of the old army, to their credit be it said, held aloof from it; the hundred or so self-styled Cossacks of Semirechia, who had gone renegade, filled up their time posing picturesquely and singing charming part-songs.

The strong Israelitish element had all its time taken up with "indispensable" departmental and political work beyond the reach of Punjabi bayonets. Meanwhile we continued our parleying with the Soviet, and one of our principal tasks was to see that the many thousands of pounds of baled cotton that had accumulated for the last three years on the wharves and sidings of Turkistan did not reach Germany. Cotton is an indispensable raw material for the manufacture of propellants, and there is no doubt that had this vast store come into the hands of the enemy the collapse of the Central Powers would have been postponed. We came into contact with many curious comic opera matters during our stay in Tashkend, but with none less so than the half-dozen secret societies that plotted in true South American style to upset the Government, though, of course, we had no direct concern with these.

First-hand acquaintance with the Red Army, especially when they were fighting against our own men, was a curious business. One of their crack regiments, composed of ex-convicts from penal settlements in Siberia, was called the Zhlobinskis, and this was hastily withdrawn from the Northern front to endeavour to stay the victorious progress of the Punjabis, who had already driven 5,000 excellently gunned and equipped regular Austrian soldiers back nearly to Merv. This regiment, even in the Red Army, who were by no means Little Lord Fauntleroys, were conspicuous for a cut-throat ruffianism. They detrained at Tashkend and marched straight to the White House, the seat of the Soviet, demanding 5,000,000 roubles. The haggle that followed was seasoned by a few pistollings, but at last the regiment got the money, on condition of going straight on to the South-Western front. They agreed, but changed their mind at the next station south of Tashkend, and marched back to prise away another 5,000,000 from the frightened Soviet. At last they met the Punjabis, but were cut to pieces by them at the battle of Kaakha. The regiment ceased to exist and their commander died of his wounds. During the second visit one of the Zhlobinskis

Digitized by Google

resolved to call upon the War Minister to discuss some small grievance with him. The private took with him a stick-grenade to emphasize his arguments, and a bellyful of vodka to lend him eloquence. Quite understandably, the Minister was not at home, and the secretarial staff projected the visitor down the steep stairs. When the broad road seemed to have settled down a bit, he found himself sitting on the edge of the high pavement with his fevered brow against a cool white-stemmed poplar, the grenade still in his hand. An unoffending aborigine was sweeping the road a dozen yards or so away. He decided not to waste the bomb, so withdrew the pin and hurled it at the scavenger. The bomb burst, and the stick came back and, with poetic justice, killed the thrower. The native remained unscratched. The Red Army of 1918 did not suffer from a too pipeclayed discipline.

We now found ourselves up against the difficulty of getting the information that we had gathered back to where it would do most good; many messengers volunteered to go to Kashgar, had taken our money and slipped our communications into their great jack-boots without tangible results. An attempt to employ another means had failed, coming literally within exactly half an inch of costing a very useful life; and as it was clear that we could now do nothing more in Tashkend towards winning the war, there was nothing to keep us there any longer, however picturesque our adventures might have been had we stayed.

After some remarkable interviews between us and the Soviet, Sir George Macartney secured a special train, which took the Mission back to Andijan. We had been nearly three months in Sovdepia, and even at the last the Reds attempted to bring off some treachery against us.

In about twenty marches, moving by little-known short cuts, we had got back to the Chinese Pamirs, where most of my soldiers, after some adventures of their own, had managed to concentrate. This was already the end of September, and news of an impending German break-up in the West had filtered through to Central Asia, and clearly German emissaries and agents in North Afghanistan were on the move. We got news at Tashkurghan, early in October, that an armed party of some 200, comprising Germans, Turks, and Afghans, had moved across from the Russian Pamirs down the wild, menacing gorge towards Yarkand. I gave chase with eight of my own men and seven of the Orenburg Cossacks, and after three days and three nights of scrambling over cliff faces and marching in almost untrodden valleys, found that we were on the wrong trail. Meanwhile, Sir George had pushed on towards India to get the results of the Mission's work into the hands of the Foreign Office as quickly as possible. My little force overtook him a couple of marches farther

Digitized by Google

on, at a place called Dafdar, where we struck a fresh trail. I received orders to follow this trail leading up into the desolate, uninhabited valley of the Oprang, which abuts on to the greatest mountain barrier in the world. If I came on any definite signs I was to follow the trail and capture the party that made it, since it was quite clear that no one but enemy agents would use such a route. Sir George continued towards India, and I exchanged the Cossacks for half a dozen deep-chested, iron-limbed men of the Hunza Scouts. We pushed on into the snow, a long march, to a couple of tiny tents, where the wife and sister of a wandering shepherd awaited the gathering of the flock to proceed to more genial climes at lower levels. That night the two girls confirmed the midnight passage, seven or eight days before, of fifteen mounted armed men. We followed them over the very difficult Ilisu Pass in snow-storms, over ice-bound rock faces and snow-fields, which showed unmistakably their tracks; then two days down the long valley to the great Raskam. We crossed the swollen river with very little to spare, and then began a series of mighty passes. We crossed six of these in four days, only one of them under 16,000 feet, whilst one or two had snow cornices on their summits and verglas on their slopes that killed not a few of our wretched ponies. We had no kit beyond the clothes the men stood up in, their sheep-skin cloaks and saddle blankets, plus a small bag of flour and tea in their wallets. Some of our bivouacs, waterless, fuelless, and devoid of grazing, in holes scraped in the snow, in open valleys at 14,000 feet, were unforgettable. If the Pamirs are the "roof of the world," here in the crags of the Kuen-Lun we were certainly amongst its chimney-pots. At last, having seen no living thing for several days, we dropped down from the great height into the jungle and brushwood-filled valley of Kulan Aghil, where we found human beings and secured a bag of flour and a sheep in time to stave off starvation. Better than this, even, we had caught up four days on the enemy, who, strangely enough, instead of marching straight into Yarkand over a single pass, turned sharply to the eastward into the great unknown, unmapped valley of Chup. We followed them, exchanging our worn-out ponies for the fresh animals of a few Kirghiz whom we met. We had long been down to one meal a day, cooked on flat stones, at the short midday halt, since we had neither time nor food for more. From Chup we climbed over a great weird pass into the equally unknown valley of Bulun, where was a hamlet whose inhabitants told us we were now only forty-eight hours behind the pursued. Unfortunately, here we lost the track, and had to make a nightmare march through unexplored Shaksu and Pokhpu over four great unmapped passes, of which I never even found the names of two, since we met no human being in all those great valleys and deep, cliff-walled canyons. I estimate that we climbed up

Digitized by Google

and down something like 30,000 feet on that memorable day. At the little clump of deserted huts in the waterless valley, named after the Archangel Gabriel, we were still off the trail. Now we were in the sandy foothills. Our first drink for forty-eight hours was one we got from a woman at Ak-Masjid; it was one of those drinks one never forgets. A very few hours' sleep and then a night march by compass over the sandy range into the next valley of Tiznaf. Then a long nightmare march through the whole of the day and the whole of the night took us to Khan Langar, where we again met the mighty Raskam River where it debouches into the plain. Again a few short hours' halt, and very early next morning we found ourselves in a garden before the walls of the ancient city of Yarkand.

A few discreet inquiries, and then we were mounted again and, trotting quickly through the narrow alleys, burst through the great iron-studded gates of the Badakshi Sarai. The first rays of the morning sun gleamed on the men's bayonets as they rushed in, and nearly a hundred extraordinarily startled Afghans put up their hands above their heads with unwonted suddenness. It only remained to search out the ones we wanted, and to divest them of their Austrian rifles. To our great disappointment, there was no German amongst them, but, at the same time, there was no doubt as to the true character of the gang. Three days later we had handed over our prisoners to the Chinese Tao-Yin in his Yamen at Kashgar, and were hastening back on our Arctic march over the Pamirs in December.

I remember how it gave me a queer little pang to hand over Aryan Afghans, scoundrels though they might have been, fettered and manacled, into the hands of Mongoloid Chinese, however cultivated, *instruit*, and courteous, as these were. We lost no time over the return march. It was so cold that once in the middle of the day on the highest part of the Pamirs a leg of mutton, which my young orderly had tied to his saddle, froze solid so that fragments broke off it.

After the men had had a very few days' leave, and after I had handed over the results of my work in Tashkend to the General Staff at Delhi, I received orders to proceed with my detachment to the Merv front. This meant a railway journey to railhead on the frontier in Persian Baluchistan, and then an 800-mile march over the deserts and rocky, barren mountain ranges to the Central Asian Railway, which we struck at Dushakh, the scene of the Punjabis' victory in September. We were soon at the front at the eastern edge of the Merv oasis, where matters had settled down into a sort of static warfare. The force had expanded and regularized itself a little from the band of insurgents it had commenced as, and it was a pleasant change to find oneself on the correct side of the front. The Reds summoned up enough audacity to attack us during

Digitized by Google

February, but their troops were driven back to Repetek, only a very short distance from the Oxus, by a well-timed counter-stroke delivered by one of the companies of the Punjabis. Orders from home forbade us to follow up the Red Army any farther, or to go on and complete the conquest of Turkistan, which was far from being beyond the bounds of possibility. For this reason a counter-revolution which was brought off in Tashkend by one of the many secret societies we had known, under one Osipof, came to nothing, and the resulting Red reprisals cost a great number of lives.

We had time to look round and familiarize ourselves with the ruins and historic buildings that told us the story through the ages of the wonderful city Merv, that had been the queen of the world. Besides this, it was a great pleasure as well as a duty to get acquainted with the Turkoman, and especially with their courteous and venerable chiefs. The Turkoman are a fine race, and genuinely pro-British, besides being devoted in their allegiance to their Crown. A great deal could have been done had this spirit of loyalty been developed and utilized on the right lines. My non-commissioned officers were utilized as instructors to the regiments of Turkoman horse and battalions of foot levies. They carried out their drills actually upon the position itself, and once they were even bombed by a Bolshevik aeroplane whilst at work. Armoured trains were the mainstay and pivot of manœuvre of either side, since they alone could carry guns through the sandhills and dunes of the desert. Naturally, great ingenuity was displayed on the subject of mines. First of all, the line would be blown up in the rear of the enemy's armoured train by a half-squadron that had to make a long and very thirsty detour for several days to carry out its object. Then a contact mine showed better results. This was countered in the usual way by placing an empty truck to take the force of the explosion. The attack put on their thinking-caps and devised a mine that only responded to the tender caress of something that weighed several tons, such as a gun-truck or a locomotive. This was a trump card that took several tricks, till the eyes of both sides became so wonderfully penetrating that they could spot a mine, however well concealed, several hundred yards away in time to stop the train. Then a truck loaded with old rails was pushed in front of each train to take the bump, and this was countered by a mine with a delay-action fuse. But the most effective of all was the last act, in which a half-squadron removed the rails in front of the Bolshevik train and spiked them down again an inch farther apart. They did this over a length of a mile or so and retired, covering up their traces. Next time the Bolshevik train advanced the engine-driver found himself bumping along the sleepers though his wheels were still between the rails.

Another item of interest was the development by irrigation of the

Digitized by Google

Tsar's estate that formed the Canal Colony of the Murghab at Bairam Ali. Two or three of the men of my regiment actually held land there as tenants of the Tsar, and the chances and changes of war had taken them back over scores of weary marches to their own homesteads. The men were Hazaras, and incidentally it was to my platoon that the honour fell of realizing Kipling's dream, put into the mouth of the British soldier of the 70's and 80's, of cooking their camp kettles in the palace of the Tsar, where they were billeted.

In April we were relieved by Caucasian troops of General Denikin's Volunteer army, and we marched back into Persia. The officers and N.C.O.'s of this force were good enough, but the men were nearly all Armenians. For some time they held on to our old position, whilst we considered the defence of Persia against the Bolsheviks. During April the commander of the force and myself paid a visit to a very marvellous place, Kelat-i-Nadiri, the wonderful natural stronghold of the Emperor Nadir, the forbidden fastness of Khurasan. Very few Europeans have ever set eyes on this remarkable place, ringed round as it is by a natural perimeter of some 50 miles of 1,000-foot cliffs, inaccessible even to goats. Four or five narrow gorges and rough tracks give access to the interior, which we were able to photograph. Curiously enough, it is held by a tribe of Turks, whose Khan holds the fief in return for defending this frontier against Turkoman raiders. We had only been inside a few days, and were still wondering where Nadir could have concealed the £7,000,000 worth of treasure from Delhi that he buried somewhere in this stronghold, when we were surprised by the sudden outbreak of the Afghan war and hastily recalled to Headquarters at Meshed to cope with another "Alice through-the-Looking-Glass" situation; for our tiny army was on the wrong side of Afghanistan altogether, and confronted by a whole Afghan division. Fortunately, perhaps, for us, no important military operations took place, though my N.C.O.'s again occupied the place of honour on the actual Afghan frontier and in close contact with the Afghan outpost troops. This lasted for several weary months, and in the meantime the rest of my detachment was employed all over Northern Khurasan mapping the wild, rocky valleys, in many of which no surveyor had yet set foot. During this summer of 1919, next winter, and all the next summer, two or three N.C.O.'s managed to map some 14,000 square miles, a good proportion of which was previously unexplored.

In July and August the Mensheviks lost Bairam Ali and Merv, and were retiring towards 'Ashqabad. In October they lost this city itself, thereby laying bare the head of the only metalled road really fit for wheel traffic that leads from Turkistan into Khurasan. The Afghan war was no longer of importance, and so my detachment was moved back again to the north to watch the road and 160 miles of

Digitized by Google

rugged frontier-line in view of the incursion that the Bolsheviks were certain to make into Persia.

That winter was a very busy one; the topographical portion of my little force was busy through blizzard and snow-storm, mapping the many inhospitable valleys, inhabited by unruly tribes, over which fighting was likely to, and eventually did, take place. The remainder of the men, expanded by some fifty-six Kurdish levies, patrolled the stern rocky defiles of that rugged frontier, and caught many a hireling Armenian and greasy Tabrizi Turk carrying packets of Red leaflets, Communist brochures, and propaganda of every sort, into Persia. In January a Mission from Moscow came to Tashkend with the avowed intention of making the Red Terror still redder. Over the doorway of Army Headquarters of the first Red Army in 'Ashqabad was inscribed the legend: "Our Mission is to Set the East in Flames." There is no doubt that the Jew, Broido, his colleague, Eliava, and the puppet General Novitski kept this ever uppermost in their minds. And Tashkend became a happy hunting-ground for revolutionaries of all sorts, hailing from any slums between Stambul and Calcutta. An interesting poster that one of my men secured depicted a typical John Bull with projecting teeth, ginger whiskers, and bull-dog pipe, in white drill clothes and sun helmet, standing at the tail of a plough, into which were harnessed three naked, emaciated Dravidians. He brandished in one hand an automatic pistol and in the other a nagaïka. Russian, Turkish, and Persian texts told us that this is how the English plough in India. Even the stodgy and unimaginative Turkoman laughed immoderately at the sight of it. Meanwhile crowds of deserters of every nationality came to us, expanded by refugees of both sexes, escaping from the Red Army and the Red Terror. Our tiny village received Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, Wallachs, Slovenes and Italians, Rumanians and Poles, Austrians and Germans, Tatars, Kalmuks, Kirghiz and Circassians, Usbegs and Armenians, Georgians and Cossacks, but the bulk were Magyar officers and soldiers. It was no little problem to deal with this extraordinary influx of almost every European nationality; but well as I thought I knew the Punjabi, I was surprised at the wonderful capacity with which my trusty Awan, Subadar Waris Khan, and no less capable Squadron-Dafadar-Major, Ahmad Shah, dealt with the situation. One would think that they had spent half their lives in feeding, clothing, dry-nursing, and cheering up the moral of a dozen Central European nationalities. My own task was to separate the sheep from the goats—Bolshevik spies from bona-fide prisoners of war and genuine loyalists. In February the Red Army took Krasnovodsk from the remnant of the Volunteers, and the Reds were now free to devote their attention to their incursion into Persia. The volatile Afghan, however, provided a diversion which kept them

Digitized by Google

busy for some time, and drew off their troops to Panjdeh and the neighbourhood of Khushk. The Red Political Department could no longer get spies to go to Persia, as the ever-active patrols had made it too dangerous, so they adopted another method. Remembering the modicum of success that the puppet Kuchik Khan had had in Gilan and Madanderan and the subsidies that another Red assembly had sent to "citoyen" Tippoo, they bethought themselves of one Khuda Verdi Sardar. He was a disgruntled petty Kurdish chieftain who found himself in 'Ashqabad. Before our troops and the Cossacks had come into Khurasan he had plied a flourishing trade as the Macheath of those parts, and the deprivation of his means of livelihood gave him a grievance against the forces of law and order, and made him a ready tool to the hands of the Soviets. They supplied him with several hundred magazine-rifles, some machine-guns, and even, it was said, a couple of quick-firing mountain guns. These convoys were run through the precipitous mountain paths of the Kupeh Dagh; and though my N.C.O.'s managed to keep in touch with their movements, they were not allowed to interfere, since the matter was justly considered an internal Persian affair. This gun-running was spread over April, May, and June, and during the latter two months the Red General Staff, now manned by conscripted ex-Regular officers, made every effort to concentrate a full division of their troops on the metalled road that led through Bajgiran into Persia. This would give them scope to utilize their armoured cars, heavy artillery, motor-lorries, and aircraft, to which we had nothing to oppose. The insurrection that they reckoned Khuda Verdi Sardar would be the leader of was intended to divert our troops and our attention from the decisive point. Meanwhile, the influx of deserters and refugees, often frost-bitten and in the sorest straits from hardships and privations, continued. We even got a young Serbian officer from Siberia, who explained to us the real meaning of an extraordinary piece of Bolshevik propaganda. After Kolchak's retreat from Perm, the Reds secured a number of prisoners, whom they paraded in the streets of Tashkend in British uniforms, with the lion and unicorn on their buttons, and in our web equipment. The Soviet newspapers made great play with this in their leading articles, calling the thousand or so captives "Tommy from Tomsk." The ignorant Sarts and other natives of Turkistan, and even the Austrians and Russian mujiks who saw them, seemed to believe they were British soldiers. The Serbian lieutenant explained that they were Mongol Buriats (Kara-Buruts) of the Menshevik Army clothed and equipped by the Allies, and their ignorance of any language but their own had helped the Bolsheviks in this very typical piece of deceit. In February a quaint incident happened which threw some new light on Kurdish temperament. The Kurds were always very friendly and cheery towards us,

Digitized by Google

no doubt from a subconscious recollection of their Nordic ancestry. One morning I was riding round the outposts with the new commander of our Kurdish Mounted levy, accompanied by three or four men. Half a mile outside a Kurdish village that we had often visited we came upon, sitting under a boulder by the side of the track, a bevy of some forty comely Kurdish maidens, all in their very best Sunday-go-to-meeting clothes, and coiffed with the snow-white voluminous headgear that reminds one of the ladies of a medieval court. When we got closer they suddenly sprang out at us with loud cries, seized our bridles and stirrups, and hauled us off our horses by main force. My old mare, who would have eaten the face off any man who ventured to lay violent hands on her bridle, took it all quite calmly from her own sex, doubtless being in league with them. When the din and chatter subsided it was explained to us that this was a Kurdish New Year custom; for the first ten days of the year the ladies chased the men of the village out to roost on the hill-sides, whilst they picquetted the track, seized any stranger and made him pay his footing. This little ceremony over, we were allowed to go upon our way. My patrols and mapping-parties seemed to fall into a good deal of this sort of thing during this ten days. By a strange chance one morning a patrol, under a N.C.O., a Yusafzai, who had served in the Salient during the first gas attack, came suddenly round a corner to encounter a little tattered, footsore group in *bleu horizon*. They saluted the N.C.O. with a "Bon jour." He replied in the same language, which rather startled them. Then it turned out that these were several Algerian and Moroccan soldiers who had escaped from the Reds, and of whom three had served in the Salient in April, 1915, alongside our own division.

In July the Afghan menace had been lifted from the Soviet, and Khuda Verdi Sardar's insurrection was allowed to blaze out. One of our young subalterns and the doctor were visiting a detached post some 22 miles over a rough, rocky pass from Headquarters, and that evening they found themselves in the midst of one of the gun-runnings of Khudu, as we now called him familiarly and for short. A night scuffle was the sequel in a narrow defile, in which the subaltern became the first casualty. In a few hours the whole countryside was in flames, and every ragged adherent of the chief's that owned a three-line rifle or a Territorial Lee-Enfield hurried on his shaggy stallion to join the standard of his leader. My little patrols, dotted all over the countryside, moving boldly, yet warily, through hostile valleys, concentrated at Jiristan, where the subaltern's skirmish had taken place. Hustled by their two or three Regular Pathan N.C.O.'s, our Kurdish levies, who to a man remained true to their salt, soon had the ramshackle buildings put into a state of defence. In a day or two they were reinforced by a couple more

Digitized by Google

troops of the levies under Captain Cassim Shah. Meanwhile the Red Army and a Pan-Turk force called the "Adalat" continued to mass in our front. Jiristan was invested by several hundred of Khudu's Kurds, and the Red Army waited for an opening. Soon the garrison at Jiristan began to come to the end of their scanty stock of ammunition. An overbold young Punjabi Lance-Dafadar attempted to bullock his way through the defile with a couple of new loads for them, but lost nearly all his half-dozen men in the first close-range burst of fire from the well-armed Kurds. The arrival of a company of young Punjabi infantry reinforced the company of Indians already at outpost Headquarters, and made things a little easier. It was urgently necessary to relieve Jiristan. On account of the imminent advance of the Soviet forces, none of the unwounded British officers could leave Bajgiran. The platoon commanders of the Indian company had no experience of hill fighting, while those of the newly arrived Punjabis did not know the country; so it fell to my Wurdi-Major (Assistant Adjutant), a very capable Pathan officer of the Kuki Khel, to lead the tiny relieving column.

He disposed of a couple of sections of Kurdish horsemen as his cavalry; his artillery was represented by a Lewis gun and its team of Regular Khatak gunners, and a bombing squad of my own men of the Guides; the infantry of the force was a platoon of Mongol-Hazara foot levies, whilst his chief of staff was a scarred Yusafzai N.C.O. of few years but many campaigns.

They marched out in the afternoon of July 12 at twenty minutes' notice. A very few miles brought them into the mouth of the valley and in touch with the enemy, and here they picked up the wounded of the first patrol. Covering their advance with a Lewis gun, bayoneteers and bombers cleared spur after spur and knoll after knoll, driving the Kurds up the cliff-walled valley before them. The situation was very ticklish, since just over the frontier a few miles to the Wurdi-Major's right was a force of 4,000 under Turkish officers, adherents of Enver Pasha; to his left was the tumbled, tower-dotted valley of Ogaz, the hotbed and nest of the revolting tribesmen. The Pathan officer accepted his risks and devised a new method of minor tactics to deal with the new situation, for picquetting on the recognized frontier plan was clearly impossible from the very few men he had in his force. Instead of this he used his Lewis gun from alternate positions on each side of the valley to fire obliquely across it, and to cover the advance of his bayonet-men to drive the Kurds successively out of their sangars.

They fought and marched all that night, and it was early morning before they could snatch a few hours' sleep under cover of their sentries, still within shot of the enemy on the slopes of the pass itself. Next day they made good the pass and spent many weary hours,

Digitized by Google

panting and sweat-stained, hunting Kurds out from crannies and behind rocks on the western slopes. Very early next morning they stormed the little thatched village of Namanlu, Khudu's headquarters, and the flames of the burning homesteads lit up the narrow valley. The youthful Khatak Lance-Naik, who commanded the Lewis gun, judged a range of fully 800 yards to a hair, and a well-aimed burst of fire from his weapon killed seven Kurdish leaders, the mainstay of the besiegers. This broke the back of their resistance, and in a few minutes the mounted men of the relieving column were galloping across the mile or two of level fields that separated them from Jiristan. The bold action and excellent tactics of the Wurdi-Major were a death-blow to the revolt; most of the young Kurdish chiefs who had followed him now came to us and explained naïvely how they had been led astray. Khudu fled to his castle, buried away in the rugged hills near Shirwan, where he was surrounded by Persian troops. Red Army Headquarters were sorely disappointed, and got rid of their spleen by means of rude messages to Khudu. The whole affair was irregular in the extreme, and a charming change from the formalism and cut-and-dried, unskilled warfare of the Western front. I went out myself a day or two later with a little column that was sent to clear up any remains of opposition in the Bardar Valley, and as we came back after a long day at dusk I tramped through a Kurdish hamlet at the head of a wild-haired platoon of Khataks; suddenly a tall, sheep-skin-bonneted Kurd happened suddenly upon us from round a corner. He looked at me and ejaculated in Turkish: "Janum! Aghri Bashi!" as one who should say: "Good Lord! Here's the head brigand himself!"

Very soon Khudu fled to 'Ashqabad, and we received orders to evacuate North-East Persia. We said good-bye to our many friends, Persian, Kurdish, and Turkoman, sorrowfully, for we had had many pleasant times together, even if events had been somewhat exciting, and even if we did not always see eye to eye with everybody.

The last stage in our wandering was the march of nearly 800 miles back to the single-line railway that now traverses Western Baluchistan. We soon forgot the scorching desert and the weary climbs over the devastating and barren backbones of the mountain ranges of Khurasan in the fleshpots of Quetta.

During its three years' campaigning my little detachment had marched nearly 9,000 miles in many remote regions of Central Asia. Yet I think that it is not overstating the case to say that all these hundreds of marches and these visits to strange cities and to uncharted valleys and lung-racking climbs, over untrodden ice-bound passes, was yet but an infinitesimal portion of the great and unsung work that has been carried on by the Corps of Guides incessantly and unremittingly during the last eighty years, and one that is not fully

Digitized by Google

known to most officers of the Frontier Force itself, let alone those new arrivals into the higher spheres that "know not Joseph."

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before asking you to join in the vote of thanks to Captain Blacker, I should like to know if there is anyone present who wishes to make any observations, or ask any questions on the very interesting lecture we have just heard.

Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. YATE: I would like to say a word or two. Our lecturer mentioned Kalát-i-Nádiri. He said, I think, that during the last 150 years very few Europeans had been inside it. As I happen to be one of those few, I thought I would rise for a moment. I would also like to refer to what ought to be interesting to this Society—that is, the reference the lecturer made to the Mission to Kashgar in 1873. The only member of that Mission who, to my knowledge, survives to-day is General Sir E. F. Chapman, K.C.B.,* Colonel-Commandant R.A., for a number of years a member of this Society. Two others—General Sir Thomas Gordon and Colonel Sir Henry Trotter—have been Chairmen of Council, and therefore this Society is well associated with the first British Mission sent from India to Kashgar. At that time an adventurer named Yakub Beg was endeavouring to substitute Mahommedan for Chinese rule in that quarter, and we, in view of Russian ambition, thought it politic to send a Mission up to him. That was the Mission of 1873, under Sir Douglas Forsyth.

With regard to Kalát-i-Nádiri, I had in June, 1885, left the Afghan Boundary Commission near Herat, having to go back to India via the Caspian, Caucasus, Constantinople, and the Red Sea. I was very anxious to see Kalát-i-Nádiri, which from a physical point of view is a singular formation, and is also of great interest as being associated with the great conqueror Nadir Shah. I stopped a day or two with Abbas Khan, who was then the British agent in Meshed, and to him I said: "Do you think it is possible for me to get admission to Kalát?" He replied: "I will give you an introduction to the Commandant." With that introduction I marched up about 80 miles, camped outside the Arghawan Shah Gate, and sent it in to the Commandant. To my great satisfaction, I received a most polite invitation to come in. I went in, and spent three very pleasant days there, my host, Sartip Abdullah Khan, a Persian of rank and wealth, treating me with all courtesy and kindness. I wandered freely everywhere, and was specially taken to the northern slopes of this curious natural fortress, which is an oblong of about 50 miles in circuit, and from thence I looked down upon those plains of Central Asia of which Captain Blacker has set before us some excellent pictures. My description of Kalát-i-Nádiri appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on

* I have since heard from General Sir E. F. Chapman that Colonel John Biddulph is also living.—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

August 27, 1885, and is buried there. Lord Curzon of Kedleston refers to it, as also to those of MacGregor, O'Donovan, and Valentine Baker, in his "Russia in Central Asia" and in his "Persia," vol. i., p. 123, where he tells us of his great disappointment at not being admitted to see the interior of this Nature-built fortress when he went there in the autumn of 1887. Lord Curzon's description of Kalát-i-Nádiri in his "Persia" (vol. i., chap. vi.) is *the* best. It is, of course, a compilation from all available sources. Among descriptions by travellers who have visited Kalát, that of MacGregor is the most thorough. The rough plan which I put in my "Afghan Boundary Commission" map of 1886 gives, I think, a fair idea of the place.

The CHAIRMAN: If nobody else wishes to address the meeting, I think I shall meet with your full concurrence in expressing our very best thanks to Captain Blacker for the interesting lecture which he has given us. He has related episodes and adventures which I think none of us had heard of before, and the results of which, and the manner in which he undertook them, reflect the very greatest credit on himself and the small force under his command. (Applause.) I wish to present our most hearty thanks to Captain Blacker for the lecture he has been good enough to give us this evening. (Renewed applause.)

This ended the meeting.

Digitized by Google

THE QANUN AL ARADHI*

By E. B. Howell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The words "Qanun al Aradhi" mean the "Law of the Lands," or the "Land Code." They are Arabic words, and I prefer to pronounce them in the Arab fashion, as they became familiar to me in that guise during the four and a half years which I spent in Iraq (Mesopotamia). For the last two years of that period I was in charge of the Revenue Department, which is directly concerned with the land and the public revenue derived from it. The name is an Arabic name, but the legislation to which it applies is, of course, Turkish legislation. The object of my paper is, then, to give you some account of the Turkish land and land revenue system as we found it in Iraq, and to draw some comparisons between it and the system which has been evolved in British India.

"Land revenue," I know, has a repellent sound about it, and those who have turned out on a cold winter night to listen to a lecture on so unattractive a subject deserve at the outset the cordial thanks of the lecturer. Land revenue seems to us a thing altogether remote from our daily lives. We inhabit an island richly endowed with minerals. Harbours abound upon our coasts, and our geographical situation offers almost every imaginable advantage. Our national prosperity therefore depends, or perhaps I should say, used to depend, mainly on the sea, on coal, on shipping and on commerce. Comparatively few of us own any portion of the earth's surface or take any direct part in the cultivation of crops. Amongst us the days are wellnigh forgotten when the State, or the Sovereign as the embodiment of the State, was the universal landlord, although, as you are aware, there are those in our midst who desire to restore that condition. For the present, however, it is not so, and it is not the proceeds of any land tax that form the sheet-anchor of our national finances. Our position in this respect is exceptional, and for us it requires a strong effort of the imagination to conjure up a picture of conditions as they are in countries where the State takes the direct interest of a partner in all the operations of agriculture. It does so in most Eastern countries, and the revenue systems of those countries have therefore an enormous political importance. "The Political

* Lecture given before the Central Asian Society on December 8, 1921, Lord Carnock in the chair. Before Mr. Howell commenced his lecture, the Honorary Secretary, Lieut-Colonel A. C. Yate, read out the names of sixteen new members who had that day been elected to the Society.

Digitized by Google

Officer," as it has been written, " may reserve his suavity for princes; the magistrate has terrors only for the breakers of the law; the wisdom and integrity of the judge are of little direct benefit to those who have sense enough to compose their differences at home. But the tax-gatherer, like death, knocks at every door, and upon those who control that unloved functionary chiefly depends the stability of every Oriental administration."

Nor is this true only of Oriental governments. It is generally admitted that an oppressive taxation, of which the chief burden fell upon the land, largely contributed to the decline and fall alike of the eastern and western empires of Rome. Now we know surprisingly little about the details of the finances of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, but we do know that land revenue was one of the chief heads in their budgets, and we do get a glimpse here and there of their methods. The Greek historian Dio Cassius (A.D. 487) records that the dictator Julius Cæsar, shortly before his death, passed an order for the commutation into a fixed money payment of the tithe and other dues paid upon their lands by the provincials of Asia, and so he " got rid " (ἀπήλλαξεν), or perhaps only hoped to get rid, of the tax-farmers, whose operations during the later years of the Republic had been such a crying scandal. It may be remarked in passing that this order is possibly by no means unconnected with the Dictator's murder. For the Roman nobility, the honourable Brutus prominent among them, were much mixed up with the tax-farming syndicates, and made huge sums of money out of the connection. Be this as it may, Cæsar gave the order, and was duly murdered. A period of civil war followed upon his death, in which, as we may suppose, effect was not given to his benevolent intention. It fell, therefore, to Augustus, after he had consolidated his position, to carry out the scheme, and thus " It came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." The passage means, of course, not that taxation and Christianity came simultaneously into a world previously unacquainted with either, but that the birth of the Founder of Christianity happened to coincide in time with what in Indian official parlance we should call " the first summary settlement of land revenue " in the province of Syria.

Whether it was devised in this settlement or not, in later times the Romans took as the unit of assessment a thing which they called the " jugum." Jugum is the same as our word " yoke," and from the point of view of the settlement-officer it meant a piece of land—

> " As much as two strong oxen
> Could plough " . . .

not from morn to night, but in the ploughing season for the crop under

Digitized by Google

preparation. Consequently, though for assessment purposes a fixed unit, in terms of land it denoted a variable quantity, according to conditions of soil, climate, and crop. I mention this jugum because I believe that it may turn out to be a good instance of the tenacity of life with which land revenue arrangements seem to be endowed. The jugum was the basis of assessment in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, Iraq among the rest. When these regions passed from beneath the eagles to Persian or Parthian hands I believe that the jugum survived, and that the Persians translated its name by their word "juft," which has the same meaning. This name later on the Turks in turn took over, and the curious may find what seems to be the Roman jugum defined in Art. 131 of the Turkish Qanun al Aradhi, which deals with the "chiftlik." In parts of Iraq the equivalent Arabic word "fiddan" still preserves the same meaning, and is still used as a basis of assessment.

I am inclined to admit the identification of the Roman jugum with the Turkish chiftlik and the Arab fiddan, and I believe that in other points too the Turks have preserved the nomenclature and the practice of Rome and Byzantium. But I am aware that identification on grounds of resemblance can easily be overdone. Similar problems give rise to similar solutions all the world over, and because two civilizations have found the same solution it does not always follow that one borrowed from the other.

The general resemblance between the Roman and the Turkish systems of land tenure is, however, I think, too close to be ascribed wholly to coincidence. The basis of both systems really consists in the recognition of varying degrees of limitation on the plenary right of ownership and the division of land into classes accordingly. The classification of lands on this basis which is given in the introductory articles of the Turkish Qunan corresponds very strikingly with that set forth in the second book of the Institutes of the great Roman lawyer Gaius, who lived in the third century of our era. At one end of the scale under this classification we find land in which the plenary right of ownership has been recognized by the State as vesting in an individual proprietor. The Turkish law, using the terminology of the religious law of Islam, calls such land "mulk"—*i.e.*, "property" in the full sense of that word. Mulk land remains subject to a land-tax, unless specially exempted, and on the failure of all heirs reverts to the treasury. Otherwise the State has nothing to say to it, and the proprietor can dedicate, sell, pledge, mortgage, or give it away at his pleasure. The next class is that which the Romans called "ager publicus" and the Turks "aradhi amiriyah," or, more shortly, "miri." The title of the State originates by conquest, and the bare ownership—Roman "dominium," Turkish "rakbah"—remains vested in the State. A private person can only acquire a right of

Digitized by Google

possession (Latin "possessio," Turkish "tasarruf") in such land. Under the Roman law he could not acquire this by user as against the State. Under the Turkish law he can, unless he is incautious enough to admit "that he took possession of the land without any right when it was vacant." He has to pay the State dues on such land, and these consist of "the tithe and other taxes." If without valid excuse he leaves his land uncultivated for three continuous years, his right perishes, but he has the option of buying in again at a figure below the market price. With the permission of the State, a possessor whose right has been recognized, though he cannot sell, can "vacate" for a price paid by another party, who thereupon receives the vacated right. He cannot mortgage, but, with official permission, he can make temporary transfer of the land to a creditor, either for a fixed period or until the extinction of the debt. Foreclosure may result from this, and the temporary transfer may become permanent. Without official permission the possessor cannot dig clay for bricks or tiles, build, plant trees or vines, or bury a corpse. I do not say that all these rules applied also to the Roman possessor, but parallels here and there can be traced. The table of succession prescribed in the Turkish law for the devolution of rights in State land is altogether different from that laid down in the religious law for succession to private property. The circle within which a right of succession is recognized is narrower, and on the failure of heirs within the prescribed degree the State resumes, though it recognizes what is in effect a sort of right of pre-emption on favourable terms—first, to those who have inherited from the deceased mulk trees or buildings on the land; second, to co-possessors; and third, to inhabitants of the same locality who are in absolute want of land.

The third class of land is land in respect of which a dedication to some pious use has been made. The Turks call this "mauqufah," and it corresponds pretty closely with the Roman "ager sacer" or "religiosus." With regard to mauqufah land it must be noticed that the dedication may be in respect either of the State right in it or of the individual right, or both. No dedication purporting to affect the State right can be made except by or with the permission of the head of the State, whether the Roman Cæsar or the Turkish Sultan.

There remain two classes under the Turkish law—"aradhi matrukah" and "aradhi mewat"—for which the Roman law had no especial names, though it recognized them both. Aradhi matrukah comprises two classes—(1) lands left for public use, such as highways and the like; (2) the common lands of a village or other community. Aradhi mewat means dead lands, and is thus defined as "land which is not in the possession of anybody and has not been left for the use of the public. It is such as lies at such a distance from village or town that the loud voice of a person from the extreme inhabited spot

Digitized by Google

cannot be heard—that is, about a mile and a half to the extreme inhabited spot, or a distance of about half an hour." According to this standard the bulk of the land in Iraq would be correctly classed as mewat, but the term is not in general use there. The definition, I may say, is taken from the translation by Mr. F. Ongley, which has the merit of having been made direct from the Turkish original.

With regard to such things as mines, quarries, salt-pans, fisheries, and forests, the Turkish law generally follows the Roman in classing them as State property. As under the Roman Empire, they are usually worked by contractors to whom some sort of monopoly is often given. Pastures, too, are as a rule treated as public property under both systems, and a grazing tax at so much a head is recovered from those concerned on account of animals using them.

In Republican times the management of the Roman ager publicus was in the hands of the censors, who fixed the rate of assessment by what was called their "lex dicta." This held good for the "lustrum" for which it was made, a period which very early came to be set at five years. In the eastern provinces, where Greek was the official language, κάνων was the accepted equivalent of lex, and it is perhaps not unduly fanciful to detect the same term still surviving in the title of the law which I have chosen as my subject to-night. One may even catch an echo of it in India in the name "qanungo," the title of a class of land revenue official. Under the early Roman Emperors, when the administration was at its best and direct collection was the rule, the public domain throughout the Empire was carefully surveyed and mapped and a record of rights of some kind was made. The office where these documents were preserved was known as the "tabularium Cæsaris," which I should like to identify with the Turkish "daftar khaqani." This organization postulates a numerous and reasonably efficient staff, which, as we know, was maintained throughout the Byzantine period, though its efficiency naturally varied greatly at different epochs. The Byzantine bureaucracy, in so far as it was non-military, survived the Turkish conquest, and the French scholars Rambaud and Diehl have shown that in many cases Turkish official titles are but translations of those borne by their Byzantine predecessors.

There is another respect in which the revenue systems of the Roman and the Turkish Empires are alike, and that is the constantly recurring tendency to farm the taxes. There are some taxes which, I agree, can best be recovered in this way, but resort to it in connection with land revenue seems to be the hall-mark of a weak executive, served by officers whom it does not trust, and perhaps further perplexed by currency fluctuations. No other origin than pure coincidence need be sought for this resemblance. But it is instructive to note how strong is the tendency under both empires, as also under

Digitized by Google

the Moghal Empire in India during the period of its decline, for those who begin by making themselves responsible for the land revenue, whether mere tax-farmers or not, to develop into territorial magnates.

Enough has, I think, been said to indicate the main source whence the Turkish system is derived. But it is not the sole source. During the period while the Turks of various hordes were rising to the mastery of the Middle East, they were exposed to another and a wholly different set of influences. They enter the limelight of history pagans. They hold the stage as the bulwark and the champions of Islam—a position which, as we have cause to know, they have not even yet wholly relinquished. Now, the religious law of Islam, perhaps through the influence of the famous schools of Berytus (Beirut) may, in administrative matters, be under some obligation to Roman models. But it is animated by a wholly different spirit, and naturally the two influences have often been in mutual opposition. In matters connected with the land, as in other spheres, the Turks have found it convenient to develop ever more and more the Qanun, the law of human origin, which can be amended when necessary, and to circumscribe the activity of the other. A third influence, which has been increasingly potent since the beginning of the nineteenth century, is the desire to imitate modern Europe. France especially has been taken as a model, and the Turkish Land Code, like the Majallah or Civil Code, the Administrative Code, and the Code of Commercial Law, all of which appeared during the middle part of the century, owes a great deal, at least in form, to the Code Napoléon.

The Land Code consists of the Land Law itself, which was promulgated in 1858, and a number of subsidiary enactments, which appeared during the next twenty years. The objects aimed at in this body of legislation seem to have been fourfold:

1. Security to the cultivator—the keystone of agricultural prosperity.

2. The resumption by the State of the right and duty of direct dealing with all possessors of State lands.

3. The removal, so far as State lands are concerned, of distinction between Moslem and non-Moslem revenue-payers.

4. The more efficient protection of State rights and interests in such lands, in the management of which the State, acting through the Ministry of Tapu, obviously contemplated taking an active part.

Before we proceed to such further examination of the code as is necessary, a word of explanation as to this Ministry of Tapu is unavoidable. As we have seen, the Turks inherited an elaborate Department of Land Records from the Byzantines. Sultan Suleiman, called the Magnificent (A.D. 1520 to 1566), whose reign marks the zenith of the Turkish Empire, and who was in his day beyond question the most powerful ruler in the world, caused this machine to be thoroughly

Digitized by Google

overhauled and reorganized. At the same time he divided his dominions into twenty-nine governments, over each of which he set a Pasha, and each of which, in matters affecting the land at least, he allowed to maintain its own separate Qanun-Namah, or book of customary law. At the same time something like a survey was carried out, and the chief archives of the Doomsday Book thus brought into being were housed in the head office of the department, the Daftar-Khanah, at Constantinople, while documents of less importance were filed at the local centres of administration. The instrument thus prepared by Suleiman naturally shared in the general decline of Turkish institutions which followed his demise, but two attempts to revive its efficiency and to codify the divergent Qanun-Namahs had already been made before that with which we are now concerned. These had proved abortive, and it was hoped that on this occasion, by placing the department in the charge of a special ministry, better results would be obtained. An Arab official of my acquaintance has suggested that the name of the ministry may be derived from the Greek τόπος. We know that in the eighth century A.D. the word τόπος was used to denote a man's "holding" of land. For it occurs in this sense in the famous Νόμος Γεωργικός, or Farmers' Law, which is attributed to that century. Nevertheless, the derivation seems to me fanciful. But whether it is correct or not, the connotations of the word Tapu are of such importance that I shall quote to you in full the article *sub verbo* "Tapu" in Redhouse's Turkish Lexicon:

"*Tapu.*

(1) An act of homage.

(2) Acknowledging oneself a vassal, accepting conditions of service of a lord, sovereign, or government, especially by the acceptance of a feudal fief.

(3) A title-deed of a feudal fief, formerly given to a yeoman by his superior lord.

(4) A title-deed of the freehold of a landed estate delivered by the office of the Ottoman Doomsday Book (Daftar-Khanah).

(5) The fee payable for a title-deed.

Tapu-sanade.

A copyhold title-deed of a landed estate held under the Ottoman Sultan or Government.

Ardh tapu.

Crown land held by any proprietor in fee simple.

[*Ardh*] *ba tapu.*

(Land held) under a title-deed delivered by the Daftar-Khanah authorities.

Digitized by Google

Haqq tapu.

(1) The rights and conditions on which crown land is held by a proprietor.

(2) The fee for delivery of a title-deed called Tapu."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I hope you all clearly understand what Tapu means. At any rate, if you do not, you have the satisfaction of reflecting that you know as much about it as Redhouse.

The Land Law is not long. It contains 132 articles, divided between the introduction, which we have already examined, and three books. Its provisions are not applicable to mulk land and true waqf land—*i.e.*, mulk land dedicated to pious uses. The first book deals with State lands in four chapters:

1. Concerning the Nature of Possession.
2. Transfer of State Lands.
3. Devolution of State Lands by Inheritance.
4. Escheat of State Lands.

Book II. similarly treats of land classed as matrukah and mewat. Book III. contains miscellaneous provisions. I have already given to you the substance of Book I. To what I have said I have now only to add that the declared object of the statute, read in conjunction with the other Acts above mentioned, is to compel every occupant of land or immovable property, whether he is a plenary owner of mulk or a possessor of State land, to take out a proper Tapu sanad for what he occupies; second, that no penalty is attached to the omission to comply with this direction; and third, that since ten years' undisputed occupation of State land entitles the occupant to a title-deed free of charge (other than departmental fees), there seems to be no great need for anyone to bother himself about getting one. I would also say that while the Imperial Government declared the statute to be in force from date of promulgation throughout the Ottoman Dominions, the Minister of Tapu, by subsequent departmental circular, interpreted the articles relating to the acquisition of title by ten years' undisputed occupation to be inapplicable, both as against the State and as against a third party, in Iraq. Finally, the articles which restrict the powers of the possessor of State land have all been repealed by subsequent enactment, though this was not generally known in Iraq. The Act therefore, although no doubt an honestly conceived attempt to improve conditions of land tenure, has to a great extent in practice broken down. So far as Iraq is concerned, it seems to have had just enough spark to enable it to backfire, as well-intentioned measures so often do in the East. For Iraq it would have been better if it had broken down altogether and at once, for its operation there has wrought incalculable mischief. I should explain

Digitized by Google

that, although this is not stated in the Act, the intention seems to have been that a Tapu sanad should not be issued until all disputes regarding the land in question had been finally settled, and that a sanad, once issued, should be indefeasible. Whether such a result would have been possible elsewhere in the Ottoman dominions—or, indeed, in any old inhabited country—or not, I cannot say. But in Iraq it was lunacy to expect any such thing. Conditions in Iraq may be summed up in one word—Instability. In the first place, the two rivers on which the life of the country depends are and have throughout the historic period been in a state of highly unstable equilibrium. Subject to a violent annual flood, heavily charged with silt, they run upon causeways of their own making, and the minimum of human interference, with a view to irrigation, is apt to have the most devastating consequences. Over a great part of the country agriculture is no less dependent on flood protection than on irrigation, and flood protection is an arduous and risky business. Even where irrigation and flood protection have been combined, the agencies of salt and silt are at once let loose to set a period to the term for which the same lands can be cultivated from the same canal. Altogether apart from floods and from the chances of the river wholly changing its course, agriculture is also unstable by reason of the numerous pests to which it is exposed. Again, there is economic instability. The Arabs, before they settled in Iraq, had been nomads for generations, and they have never wholly divested themselves of the nomadic instinct and habit. There is no pressure of population on the soil. On the contrary, the possible cultivators are all too few for the limitless acres capable of cultivation. Finally, there has always been political instability. It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that the Ottoman Turks conquered the country, and they have since more than once had to dispute with Persia for its retention. At times of crisis they have been able to put strong forces into the field, but they have never held the country in such strength as to be irresistible. They have never made any real attempt to break the power of the Arab tribes, or to render the tribal system obsolete by securing life and property without it. Iraq is a country of vast spaces, unmapped, unregistered, and unknown. Here with their herds of camels and their flocks of sheep dwell the Arabs, often at war, and always at feud, amongst themselves. Here and there they scratch the ground to grow sufficient wheat and barley for their needs; but the cornlands of one year are often the desert of the next. There are thousands of date-growers, it is true, and a few favoured regions where rice can be grown. But even here the water-supply is always shifting to and fro, and its movements provide a never-failing bone of contention, should other causes of quarrel fail. Numerous small towns dotted about the country furnish the markets which the tribesmen need; but these are scarcely

Digitized by Google

less ephemeral than the cultivation. They spring up in a season, and flourish for a generation, perhaps, or less. Then the river takes a turn and goes elsewhere. Forthwith the town is deserted, and in a few years its buildings of mud and brick have crumbled away into shapeless mounds, strewn with broken pottery, and only to be distinguished by the expert eye from the ruins of ancient civilizations. Still, if the Turks had had the wisdom to confine the operation of their precise code to the towns and to the belt of gardens by which most towns are surrounded, and if they had provided a skilled staff to work the system, it might conceivably have been of benefit. As a matter of fact, for reasons which we shall examine shortly, it did not work well anywhere. But in the tribal area such a system was unworkable, and any attempt to introduce it was bound to do harm.

It is Midhat Pasha, Wali of Baghdad from 1869 to 1872, who is generally held to blame for the trouble. Midhat was an honest man, a sincere patriot, and, as you know, a prominent reformer of the doctrinaire school which was in his time predominant in Turkish politics. He had received instructions to reduce the amorphous province to which he had been appointed into shape more in conformity with the symmetrical arrangements which the Turks were then endeavouring to introduce elsewhere. He saw that instability was the curse of Iraq, and, acting according to his lights and with the best intentions, he addressed himself to the correction of the evil. He saw that the tribes lacked security of tenure and had no motive for cultivating properly. He tried to benefit them, and he thought to do so by setting up the Tapu system. But the Arabs had good cause for looking on the Turks and the gifts of the Turks with suspicion. They feared conscription or some other plan for their undoing, and, with few exceptions, the tribesmen took no advantage of the facilities held out to them. What followed is instructive. The tribesmen held aloof. But others were not so backward. Rich merchants and other men of influence of all kinds, by the payment of small sums, which did not always find their way into the Treasury, obtained title-deeds for huge tracts of agricultural land, with boundaries and areas filled in pretty much at their discretion, regardless of the tribes who all the time remained in actual occupation of the soil. Townsman and tribesman in Iraq had for generations been at daggers drawn, and the creation of a large class of possessors of State lands from among the townsmen, with a perfectly good legal title, which relegated the tribesman to the position of a tenant at will, greatly increased the mutual hostility of the two classes. But the tribes lacked cohesion, and were not always ready to be openly defiant of authority. The Shaikhs, their natural leaders, were often bought with the land, and the purchaser was often content at first to bide his time. When the authorities were complacent and strong enough to enable him to

Digitized by Google

recover the share of the produce due according to custom to the landlord, he recovered it or something less. When times were adverse, he would come to terms with the tribal Shaikh, to whom very often he would lease his rights for a fraction of their nominal value. In some areas, such as the neighbourhood of Basrah and Baghdad, where the tribal system had disintegrated, as it does in the vicinity of large towns, the new possessor was generally able to consolidate his position. Here we found a large class of "absentee landlords," very few of whom had ever visited their properties. They were content simply to lease their rights from year to year to middlemen and enjoy the proceeds. Elsewhere, as at Hillah, the tribal element had remained strong, and the possessors, with a few exceptions, who laid themselves out to be good landlords and develop their estates, had existed only on sufferance. On the lower Euphrates events took a slightly different turn. The Muntafiq tribal confederacy, who dwell in that region, had for centuries acknowledged as their overlords a widely ramifying family of Saiyyids from Mecca, known as the "aulad Sa'dun." The tribesmen, who are Shias, while the aulad Sa'dun are Sunnis, had long been content to follow their banners in war and in peace to acknowledge their existence, as being of superior clay, by a not overburdensome tribute from the produce of their fields and gardens. The Sa'dun took out Tapu papers for the tribal lands in the same fashion, and perhaps to some extent in the same spirit, as some men take tickets for a lottery. They bought them in books a hundred at a time. Thus armed, they began to enlarge their old customary dues into a claim for the full fifth, which is the landlord's share in that region. This the tribes would not stomach. They rose in revolt and drove the Sa'dun from their lands. But the rising, in true Arab fashion, was neither simultaneous nor universal. Not all the Sa'dun were expelled. Those whose good sense outweighed their rapacity—a temperament rare amongst Arabs—remained unaffected. These are still living amid the tribesmen, out of whom, in one way or another, they get enough to keep them in considerable state. The rest were at the time of the British occupation of Basrah still in exile—a thankless, thriftless, unamiable crew, who continually brandish their precious Tapu deeds under the noses of all comers, and have only two ideas in life—camels and "mellakiyah" (rent).

In the Mosul Wilayat, which, I suppose, must be counted as forming part of Iraq, the Tapu system did not have such dire results. Conditions there are not so unstable as in the Land of the Two Rivers. But even there it did not benefit the peasantry, as it was intended to do. On the contrary, there, too, persons of influence were able to secure deeds giving them rights of possession in large tracts of country, where they had no real claim, to the detriment of the peasantry. But at least the chaos which now reigns in Basrah and Baghdad has been

Digitized by Google

avoided. It is difficult to imagine anything more fantastic than the condition to which the Department of Land Records has been reduced in the two last-mentioned wilayats. I have myself seen one Tapu-sanad of a date-garden on the right bank of the Shatt-al-Arab near Basrah, whose western boundary was given as the Red Sea. The Syrian Desert, without further definition, occurs quite commonly as a boundary. I have seen another deed whose boundaries are stated as follows: "On the north, 'al hor' (the marsh); on the west, 'al hor' (the marsh); on the south, 'al hor' (the marsh); on the east, 'al hor' (the marsh)." The marsh in Southern Mesopotamia, it must be remembered, advances and recedes many hundreds of yards every season, and apart from these seasonal variations most marshes in the country are on the move, so that one thing at least can be predicted about them twenty years hence, and that is that, wherever else they may be, at least they will not be where they are now. Fraud as well as ineptitude is often glaringly apparent. According to the Turkish law, if the boundaries of an estate are mentioned in the title-deed, and can be identified, a misstatement as to area in the document is of no consequence. This provision, sound enough in itself, has produced fraud in two different ways. A document will either cite as boundaries insignificant natural features or other things incapable of identification, and will give the area as many thousands of donums. This means that the Tapu clerk was of an accommodating disposition, and was for a consideration willing to add ciphers *ad lib.* to the figure of area without enhancing the price. Alternatively the boundaries will be given as well-known and unmistakable landmarks, lying many miles apart from one another, and the area will be given, with an appearance of great exactitude, as three donums eleven dhras, say two acres one rood and five perches. This means that the clerk, or some higher official, was stupid and knew nothing about the natural features, so he was content to accept the area given as the basis on which fees should be paid. Nevertheless, these preposterous documents, unless fraud can be proved—which, in the absence of the Turkish officials who committed it or connived at it, is practically impossible—are treasured by all the most influential men in the country, and generally regarded as being unassailable in law.

Even State lands where no possessor has been recognized present problems of their own. For the tribal occupants recognize amongst themselves a sort of quasi-right to these, which they call sakaniyah (squatters' right). This they are accustomed to sell or mortgage amongst themselves. The transactions are quite equitable, but were never recognized by the Turks.

So much for estates affected by the tribal question. Now let us turn to the small properties and holdings in the regions near the towns, where better results might have been expected. I quote from a report written by the Baghdad Land Settlement Officer early in

Digitized by Google

1920: " One reason for the non-existence of Tapu documents is clear. The holdings are so small that the expenses of procuring a sanad bear an altogether unreasonable proportion to the value of the holding. One owner of a small plot, which he valued at Rs.200, pointed out that it would cost him Rs.51 to get a Tapu sanad. If this is the state of things to-day, it is scarcely surprising that in Turkish times sanads were not taken out for small freeholds. In spite of this there is one instance of a document for a single tree. But the absence of documents is not the only difficulty. Disputes are not more frequent where they do not exist than where they do. Even where no dispute exists and the facts of the case are quite clear, the Tapu sanads can rarely be made to fit the ground. At the outset it is necessary completely to disregard the points of the compass as given in the sanads. Even the river itself is more often than not incorrectly placed. Nor is the description of the boundaries much better, owing, in the first instance, to the absence of any attempt to keep them up to date. If the eastern boundary of a property is shown in a document 100 years old as 'the garden of Haji So-and-So,' it will almost certainly be the same in the most recent document, though Haji So-and-So's garden has changed hands many times in the interval. A striking instance is one of the Dabbaghiyah sanads, which gives the boundaries as follows: 'East, North, West, and South, Haji Hassan Beg's garden.' Unfortunately, no one now knows which is the garden of Haji Hassan Beg. Nor does any attempt ever seem to have been made to co-ordinate the documents of neighbouring properties. A striking instance is to be found in the sanads for Jaibachi and the surrounding miri lands—Zuraijiyah, Hulaijah, Awairij, and Kuwairish. These all have Jaibachi as one of their boundaries, but no single one of them is mentioned in the Jaibachi sanad. Areas are practically never mentioned. Where mentioned, they are, without exception, incorrect, often to an incredible extent. Length and breadth measurements are sometimes given, but they, again, are always inaccurate."

Land tenure has detained me for so long that I have but little time left to give to the principles on which land revenue is assessed or the methods by which it is collected. A brief comparison between Turkish principles and methods and those evolved in British India may, however, be instructive. In British India, or at least in the northern provinces, with which alone I can claim some measure of personal acquaintance, the unit of land revenue administration is the " mauza," or estate. In the Punjab this is usually a village inhabited by a homogeneous community who cultivate the surrounding lands themselves. Historically these lands are State lands. The members of the village community originally had no right in them, except on condition of paying the land revenue, which meant theoretically the whole surplus after the cultivator had got his livelihood out of the land. What exactly constitutes a livelihood and how much surplus there

Digitized by Google

may be naturally becomes a matter for bargain between the representatives of the State and the cultivators or their representatives. Hence the use of the word "settlement," and hence also the middleman, who comes between the "raiyat" and the "raj," and contracts for the cultivation of the lands pertaining to one or more villages for a fixed sum, making himself what he can out of the cultivators. As we have already remarked, during the decline of the Moghal Empire resort was had more and more to this practice of farming the land revenue. Those who entered into engagements of this nature were called "zamindars," a name which, strictly speaking, does not mean "landowners" in our sense of the word, but persons responsible for the payment of land revenue. These zamindars were naturally persons of very various origin. I quote from Mr. Briggs, an officer who wrote a book on "The Land Tax in India," published in 1830. "We find the hereditary descendant of a line of princes," says this authority, "the feudal Thakur or Baron, the district collector, the farmer of the revenue, the elderman or mucuddum of the village, and member of the village copartnery, each styled zamindar." On this chaos entered the servants of the Honourable East India Company, their minds quite naturally obsessed with the English notion of private property in land. They found zamindars, and they left landowners, subject always to the obligation of paying the land revenue. The land revenue demand under British rule has been reduced from the whole to half the net assets, and as a matter of practice assessing officers are generally careful to leave a considerable margin even on this standard when framing their calculations. The demand, on this basis, is assessed as a lump sum on the "mauza," or estate, as a whole; and where no intermediary has been recognized. an agreement is made with the representatives of the cultivators, usually the "lambardars," or headmen of a village, for its due collection and payment. In theory each member of the cultivating fraternity is jointly and severally responsible with all his fellows for the payment of the whole sum assessed upon the estate. But the individual share of each member is worked out with great nicety, and though the headmen remain responsible for the whole, in practice joint responsibility as against individuals is seldom, if ever, enforced. As may readily be imagined, it is not possible to determine what are the assets—*i.e.*, the surplus over and above the expenses of cultivation—without exhaustive inquiries and elaborate calculations. If the agreement is not with the cultivating body themselves, and the zamindar, now recognized as a landowner, takes what we may now call his rents in cash, the rental represents the assets, and the determination of the State demand is comparatively easy. But where there are no cash rents it is exceedingly difficult. A huge and ubiquitous staff of "patwaris" and "qanungos" (village recorders and supervisors) is kept to maintain voluminous and comprehensive statistics, and in the light of con-

Digitized by Google

clusions drawn from their figures the demand is revised from time to time by officers specially appointed for the purpose. Revision is periodic, and the intervals are usually from twenty to thirty years. A record of rights for every estate is maintained, but it is a record of possession intended primarily for the use of the revenue collector, who must know from whom he is to recover. It is not, and does not profess to be, a register of title. Questions of title are decided by the civil courts, and entries in the record of rights have to be altered, when necessary, in accordance with the decision of the court. Where an intermediary has been recognized and has become a landowner, it is not uncommon to find certain classes of cultivators protected against him by the grant of what is known as an occupancy right, which means that the occupancy tenant cannot have his rent enhanced except by order of a revenue court, and cannot be evicted as long as he pays it. All this seems to presuppose four things:

1. The State is prudent, and by giving security to the cultivator and time for him to reap the reward of any improvements which he may make, aims intelligently at keeping the land in good heart.

2. The State is moderate, and endeavours to make others follow its example.

3. The State is prepared to take infinite pains to arrive at an equitable assessment and to distribute the burden of the assessment when made as fairly as it can.

4. It has complete confidence in the integrity of the officers by whom the system is controlled.

A great deal of the credit for these things is no doubt due to the British administration; but though they have improved, they did not create. The model was there before they came, and the same principles upon which they work may be discerned underlying the revenue policy of Akbar. The Turkish Empire never had an Akbar, and the lack of such a one is painfully apparent.

There is no unit in the Turkish system. Their principles of assessment rest upon a decimal basis. How, when, and where the tithe arose is a question of acute controversy into which we need not enter. The prophet Muhammad gave it his sanction, though I have been unable to trace any reference to it *totidem verbis* in the Quran. However, having been accepted by him in practice, it thereby became the standard as between rulers and their subjects when both were followers of the faith of Islam. Before the hosts of Islam had gone very far on their career of conquest, however, statesmanship and religion came into conflict. Their commanders began to give protection to those who submitted but did not embrace the faith. This, naturally enough, they did upon terms, and it was felt as only proper that non-Moslems admitted to protection should pay at a higher rate than the faithful. Hence arose the imposts known as the "kharaj" and the "jiziyah," which, we may suspect, in provinces that had been

Digitized by Google

Roman, were only the Roman " census soli " and " census capitis " under a new name. Then emerged a further difficulty. If land passed from the hand of a non-Moslem to a believer—a thing desirable in itself—the State lost revenue. It was therefore decided that land once liable to the kharaj remained so, whether it passed into Moslem hands or not, and no less a person than the Caliph 'Umar himself declared that this applied to all lands in Iraq. So the Turks, while preserving a nominal respect for the tithe, had pretty good grounds for weaving embroideries upon it, and this they proceeded to do in a fantasia which makes the uniformity of the Indian half net assets seem very cold and tame by comparison. It should be premised that there is no agricultural land classed as mulk in Iraq, and that the Crown properties, the Aradhi Sanniyah, latterly known as Aradhi Mudawwarah (Transferred Lands), are a law unto themselves. The late Sultan Abdul Hamid acquired enormous areas in Iraq as Crown land. His methods of acquisition were sometimes dubious, but once he had got an estate, he looked after it well, and his memory is highly venerated as a model landlord and father of his people—so differently do the same men appear in different aspects! When in 1908 the constitution was established, the revenues of these lands were transferred from the Civil List to general revenues, but the rates at which the tenants paid remained unchanged. This was never less than 40 per cent. of the gross produce, seed being advanced by the management, and the whole administration of these lands was a curious blend of rapacity and benevolence. Even apart from these, however, the assessment was sufficiently various. On lands watered by rain alone the Turkish Government demanded only the tithe, though towards the close of the nineteenth century they added to this a cess of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the proceeds of which were to be devoted to the cost of public education and military equipment. They observed the same rule on lands irrigated by mechanical contrivance. From lands upon the Tigris watered by flow they took a double tithe, presumably one for the land and one for the water, though the proportion may perhaps have been derived from the share set aside by the early Caliphs for the Treasury from the spoils of war. On the Euphrates, or at least on that part of it commanded by irrigation from the Hindiyah barrage, on lands where no Tapu possessor was recognized, they seem to have recollected that the State as landlord was entitled to the landlord's share, one-fifth, as well as to tax. So they claimed 40 per cent., and sometimes got it. The basic fact seems to have been that in a country where land was unlimited and cultivators few; where the silt brought down by the rivers entailed heavy annual labour on the clearance of canals, and the annual flood necessitated even greater toil on the erection and maintenance of flood-banks, a population of nomadic origin could not be brought to cultivate at all, unless the cultivator, the fellah, were secured at least a half-share

Digitized by Google

in the proceeds of his labours. Thus two fractions became rigid—a "cold half" ("nusf barid") to the cultivator, and 20 per cent. payable as tax to the Government ("khums al miri"). The remaining 30 per cent. has always been debatable. Two-thirds of it, or 20 per cent. of the gross produce, are commonly regarded as the owner's share, whether that owner be a private person or the State or the Sultan. The remaining 10 per cent., with or without a slice of the owner's share, is the perquisite of the tribal headman, who alone was in a position to organize labour for common purposes and alone could give protection against aggression. This theory, I think, provides the key to the bewildering variety in the shares of the crop claimed in different parts by the State and the other parties concerned.

The amount to be taken by the State having been somehow or other determined and expressed in a vulgar fraction which everyone could understand, the game of collection could begin. Here, again, methods were multiform. There were few fixed rules, and I believe that most of those who took a hand in the game rather enjoyed it than otherwise. In Basrah and part of Qurnah the virtuous Midhat Pasha had placed a fixed assessment on the date-gardens at so much per jarib of planted land. That was fifty years ago. Many gardens have since come into bearing, and many have disappeared. But Midhat's settlement carries on unchanged. On the Middle Euphrates, when the Government was strong enough for officials to exercise authority without danger to their lives, it was customary to measure the crop. The system of measurement, as may be supposed, was not scientifically accurate. Each donum measured was then assumed to yield a fixed quantity. The yield assumed for wheat and barley was 500 kilos (half a ton) per donum. Allowance for variation of quality was then made, not by reducing the assumed yield, but by proportional deduction from the area measured. In practice this system, which was called "tajbir" (deduction), penalizes the good farmer. One tribe in this region once thought to steal a march on Government by cutting lengths off the measuring ropes. They worked the fraud successfully, but confessed to it afterwards when they found that it had the unexpected effect, not of reducing, but of greatly enhancing the demand. Another common method was that of estimation, like the Indian "kankut" or "tip." The crop was examined by impartial experts, who looked either at the standing corn or at the "baidhar," the heap upon the threshing floor, and calculated the gross yield from that. Given goodwill on the part of the experts, they could produce results of surprising accuracy by this method. But goodwill was not always there. I remember one estimator who came sobbing to the Political Officer to complain that he had been called "Isa bin Miriam" by a Shaikh whose bribe he had refused. When the yield had been calculated, the Government share, one-tenth, one-fifth, two-fifths, or whatever it might be, was put up to auction.

Digitized by Google

In the wheat belt of the north and east, where there are sturdy village communities, the revenue-payers themselves would often buy in the right to collect their own revenue. It may sound complicated, but in practice this was one of the least objectionable methods used. If the share was not auctioned, the threshing-floor was put under guard, and the corn, or what was left of it after the guard and the cultivators had come to terms, was divided when threshing was finished. Near Baqubah there were traces of assessment on the plough—the fiddan—as already mentioned. In Amarah the country was parcelled out into large tracts, and the right to cultivate, or at least to collect the Government revenues off, these, was auctioned for a fixed term, usually five years. As this was something approaching a fixed demand, it was called "muqata 'ah," and the name was naturally extended to cover the tract included in the agreement. Frantic bidding between rival Shaikhs was encouraged, and default was not rare.

A word as to the Turkish administrative system is necessary. Mosul was one wilayat or province, Baghdad a second, and Basrah a third. The Wali, or Governor, of Baghdad, where in the old days the ruling Pasha had been a very important personage, almost an independent potentate, as a rule, but not always, had supervisory control over his colleague at Basrah. Sometimes, indeed, the two wilayats were merged into one, with headquarters at Baghdad. Each wilayat was divided into a number of sanjaqs or liwas, each under a Matasarrif, and qadhas, each under a Qaim Maqam. There were smaller subdivisions inside the qadha. The Turkish mind apparently did not grasp the principle of subordination in civil administration. So local affairs pertaining to the headquarters of a wilayat were, in theory, dealt with by the Wali himself. It was as if, for example, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab were also ex-officio Commissioner of the Lahore Division, Deputy-Commissioner of the Lahore District, and Subdivisional Officer as well. If we are tempted to laugh at them for this, however, we should recall that until the time of Lord Dalhousie the Governor-General in India was also Governor of Bengal, and that the title Lieutenant-Governor owes its origin to this circumstance. To return to the Turks, the Wali, Mutasarrif, and Qaim Maqam, were executive officials corresponding in status with an Indian Lieutenant-Governor, Commissioner, and Deputy-Commissioner. Each had general control of the non-special branches of the Administration within his area, but to what extent they actually decided revenue questions is not quite clear. The Wali had a revenue official called the Daftardar as one of the departmental chiefs under his orders, and similarly the Mutasarrif or Qaim Maqam had a Mudir Mal under him; but the principles on which they worked are not known to me, or to any authority whom I have consulted. I am also not quite clear as to the functions of the Daftardar and his

Digitized by Google

subordinates. One thing, however, I am sure of about them, and that is that they had no official connection with or control over the Tapu office, which went about its mysterious business independent alike of the executive and the revenue, regulated only by circulars from the head office at Constantinople. Every executive official had a council, nominally elected, except for the official element, to assist his deliberations. But the council was purely advisory, and had little real power. The elections, of course, were an utter farce.

Land revenue proper appeared in the accounts under two heads—" muqata 'ah " (fixed or farmed revenue) and " 'ushr " (tithe). The latter was used irrespective of the real rate of incidence. Besides this there was a wilderness of other taxes, some of which fall within the scope of my paper, while others do not. There was the Wirgiu, or tax on immovables (not collected in Basrah); the Kodah, or grazing tax; the date tax; the fruit tax; the melon tax; the vegetable tax; the wood tax; the fish tax; the tax on reeds and mats; the tax on lime, bitumen, and other minerals, including salt; the tax on oil; the tax on liquorice, gall-nuts, gum tragacanth, and other forest produce; the tax on tobacco; the tax on brick-kilns, and others. There is also the whole subject of municipal taxation. But enough is as good as a feast. We will let them go.

The general Arab verdict on the Turks is " Ma 'indahum al siyasah." (They had no " siyasah.") Siyasah means all or any of those qualities which are apt to accompany intellectual quickness, and may include anything from sympathetic insight to that discretion that is the better part of valour. This may be true. They had their faults. From the economic standpoint their land and land revenue system was about as bad as it could be. But it was congenial to those who worked it, and those who lived under it did not dislike it. Apart from the Tapu nightmare, it was easy to understand and cheap to operate. Under Turkish administration, it must be remembered, Basrah and Baghdad brought in more than they cost, military charges included. Law and order of a kind were to some extent maintained, and when one reflects on the very exiguous means which they employed one must allow to the Turks a " siyasah " of a very high order, which enabled them to keep their end up year after year in so difficult an environment.

On the motion of the Chairman, a most cordial and appreciative vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Howell for a lecture which exhibited exceptional research and knowledge.

NOTE.—It is regretted that the report of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's important speech commenting on the subject of Mr. Howell's lecture has not been received in time for publication in Part I. of the Journal for 1922. It is hoped it will appear in Part II.—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

THE SOUTHERN KURD

By Major E. B. Soane, C.B.E.

Little known, feared by his neighbours, a slayer of Christians, merciless in the raid and morose in peace, a creature of lowering brow and dark thoughts, a hater of government and a lover of strife.

In a word, Kurd, with moustachios, cloak, and bloodstained dagger complete—the costume in which most travellers dress him for popular display. Such, indeed, may be his stage properties, but—like many an actor—he is not necessarily in real life the man he appears when made up for the part by imaginative writers who know him little or have but made his acquaintance as a brigand.

As a matter of fact, he is very much what his country makes him. Living among high and difficult mountains, in the deep valleys or up among the crags, in a climate intensely cold throughout a long winter and not unpleasantly hot in the summer, he has the characteristics of most highland people. Society is divided into nomad and settled peasant, the latter predominating in the south. Insecurity has always been a feature of such a life, raids from mountain to mountain one of its component parts. It would seem that comparison with Highland Scotland of the fourteenth century is the nearest parallel to Kurdistan of to-day, and the following disconnected notes and anecdotes may give an idea of some aspects of Kurd character and habit.

Apropos of the Kurd as brigand. When in late 1917 the British occupied Khaniqin (in the extreme south of Kurdistan) a number of brigand bands had to cease operating, to their considerable dissatisfaction, and the outcome of deliberation among them was a deputation to me of large-turbaned individuals in riding-boots, empty bandoliers, and heavy overcoats with scarlet lapels, who sat around the office in the dead silence which in Kurd society takes the place of the compliment-overture of neighbouring peoples.

With characteristic directness Mahmud Beg began:

"Years ago, when you were travelling light and rapid, you were my guest at my little castle of Kanibiz. You know, placed there astride the border, how well I lived. Persian pilgrims going to Baghdad, caravans of goods coming from it, and an occasional raid on a Turkish or Persian post for rifles and ammunition, kept me and

Digitized by Google

mine in an affluence which enabled me to have the pleasure of adequately entertaining the passing guest, and of sending him on his way with some souvenir.* You lived among us for some years; you know that the most honest and most hardworking section of the people were the brigands. They tilled their fields in peace, kept among the people the taxes the Government would have devoured, and brought in a steady stream of wealth. It was a hard life, but an honest one. Now the canons of your code abolish us, and I find myself looking upon a dismal future, made blacker by reflections upon my responsibility to the rest of the party here, my faithful assistants, some of whom are known to you personally. Since, then, you have made our trade unlawful and taken the bread out of our mouths, you are naturally the man to whom we turn first for assistance. We know that you will want irregular cavalry. We are cavalry, and prepared for any degree of irregularity you may order, and have therefore come to enlist. If it is necessary to refer to the General, you yourself can give the best testimonials on our behalf."

Which said, he lit a cigarette at his own mouth and handed it to me, and the company, after remaining in silence for some minutes more, filed out with no further word than *Khwafiz*, the Kurdish "Good-day."

I engaged them; their irregularity was comprehensive and sometimes embarrassing, but it is fair to mention that they ended by gaining the commendation of a critical G.O.C. It is also fair to mention that they returned to their ancient profession when the Arabs revolted in 1920.

Brigandage and outlawry are naturally closely connected. The one is not less worthy than the other. The brigand is a potential outlaw, and it is part of the outlaw's duty to be a practising brigand. Moreover, there are cases where a farmer, feeling himself oppressed or offended by the local government, may declare himself outlaw, and send a message to the local authorities advising them of the fact. Such was the case of one Mahmud Khidhr in 1920, who, having declared himself outlaw, satisfied tradition by formally appearing near the "county town" and carrying off a few worthless animals from a field. When in the course of his wanderings as an outlaw he needed supplies he raided in a neighbouring administrative division. This was quite in order, and should not, under the unwritten law, have been considered a crime. His indignation was therefore bitter when he was pursued across the border one day and attacked. He retaliated by falling upon some Kurdish troops escorting a convoy outside their own division, and thus established precedent for the widening of an outlaw's operations. In another case, an outlaw, who

* On the occasion to which he referred he had pressed upon me a mare, and a typewriter which had been consigned to a missionary in Persia.

Digitized by Google

had been kept on the move throughout the summer and autumn, pleaded for forgiveness as winter came on, and advanced as a reason the consideration that he had not consummated official outlawry because he had not raided during his term as a fugitive.

The outlaw's life is not a merry one, but at the same time he is fairly secure from capture. The countryside is with him; no village will refuse him a night's lodging and food and information of the movements of Government forces. With a perfect knowledge of the mountains and the extraordinary mobility granted him by his catlike little horse, he usually continues till he is pardoned. If, on the other hand, pardon does not seem to be forthcoming, he will, as winter comes on, descend to the plains and join one of the Kurd aghas there for the winter brigand season, hoping for better times next year.

Such is one class of the Kurd community, the class which has conferred the popular character upon the race. It is inferior numerically, and in parts like Southern Kurdistan, with a predominance of villagers as against nomads, the class is not important nor powerful.

Except for occasional outbursts of temper, the settled Kurd is usually a somewhat stolid fellow, suspicious of innovation, generous and humorous, little touched by the nominal Muhammadanism of the country, living a life centred in his own valley, but seldom selling the rifle which is hidden under the bedding. He is a very poor liar, from whom the truth is easily extracted if he talks at all—and he is the first to admit on discovery that he had tried to lie and failed. If, however, he is determined not to reveal the truth, he stands in a sulky silence and suffers punishment sooner than break it.

Murder is not regarded as a very heinous crime, and quite frivolous reasons are frequently sufficient for its perpetration. I have known of a man killing a total stranger in order to try a new rifle. Fortunately, this is not the usual method of testing firearms.

In the winter of 1919-1920 two men were snowed up in an outlying house of a hamlet near Sulaimani, the capital of South Kurdistan. The house contained the usual store of firewood and some flour, and the two existed till supplies grew low, but, like most humans in similar case, tiring of one another's society. Supplies decreased, the snow still fell, and the day came when the flour was finished and nothing remained of the wood-pile but two pieces of oak. The depressing prospect of cold and hunger worked them up to the point of mutual hatred, and one fell upon the other and succeeded in killing him with one of the last pieces of firewood. The murderer was then seized with remorse and the fear of pursuit (the latter probably predominating) and attempted to escape through the deep snowdrifts. His frozen body was found later near by. The villagers did not con-

Digitized by Google

sider this affair anything but rather unfortunate, and spent more sympathy on the frozen man than upon the murdered one, who, at least, died warm.

On the other hand, it is pleasant to be able to relate that on the occasion of another and very foul murder by a hedge priest of his mother-in-law, the man's own brother denounced him, and all the villagers who possessed information gave it readily and with a sincere desire to see punishment overtake the criminal. The attitude of the wife was peculiar in this instance. She escaped from her husband and, taking up a position on the main road, intercepted a passing motor-car and demanded a lift into town, where she reported the matter to the police, making a very clear deposition, subsequently proved correct. She accompanied the police to the scene of the murder on the mountain-side and assisted them to find clues, providing such evidence as convicted him at his trial. Her attitude had been one of quiet determination to avenge her mother. Once, however, vengeance was assured by the death sentence, she considered the matter ended, and insisted on feeding and looking after the prisoner till he was executed. She finally married one of his brothers.

Enough, however, of lugubrious reminiscences. Here is a story which shows at once Kurd simple-mindedness and love of a practical joke.

During the deepest snows of 1920, at Halabja in the extreme south, a party was seated round the fire chatting. Conversation turned on the large numbers of sparrows driven into the little town by the cold, and one present, an Englishman, gravely described how in his village the sparrow pest was combated. The principal man present was a local notable named Micha Agha. To him was detailed the method of sprinkling pepper upon stones. By this system the sparrow, mistaking the pepper for food, investigated it, and, inhaling some, sneezed violently and became insensible, when he could be destroyed. No one present had ever had occasion to study the habits of sparrows or to observe the effects of pepper upon them. It was not unnatural, therefore, for Micha Agha and his friends to make considerable purchases of pepper next morning, which they planted upon stones carefully cleared of snow, some of them, like the sparrows to come, sneezing freely. The trap set, the party retired to an upper window, and after watching for some considerable time, they perceived that they in turn were being watched with considerable amusement by the Englishman, with some initiated friends, and realized the nature of the incident.

Some months after, in April, the same party was again assembled. The Englishman, who occupied a little house adjoining that of Micha Agha, was complaining of the hordes of spring fleas in his house, which, as he said, had pushed him out of bed and stamped on him

Digitized by Google

all night long. Micha Agha expressed some surprise at this, as he said his house was singularly free from fleas—the reason doubtless being that the Englishman's was a very old building of poor brick.

"But," he said, "I am thinking of going to one of the other villages in a few days, and if you like I will try and get Qadir Agha, the landlord of my house, to let to you till I return."

This was arranged after some negotiation and the lease duly signed. The Englishman moved in one evening, after having bid farewell to Micha Agha. In the morning he arose—not awoke, he had been awake all night—and surveyed the floor and walls of his chamber, undulating with multitudes of fleas—surveyed also the tumbledown, tiny place he had exchanged for his new and larger one, and while ruminating upon his folly in being so precipitate, and vowing vengeance upon Micha Agha, was hailed by that same over the dividing-wall.

"Ha! Good-morning!" he beamed, "so we shall not be parted after all; I found I had to stay in Halabja, so took the opportunity to hire your empty house. If you find any fleas in your new abode, why not try a little pepper on the stones?"

No description of Kurdish life would be complete without mention of the status of women in Kurdistan.

Not only are women sometimes farmers and landholders in their own right and as employers, but are on occasion village "headmen." One such was actually appointed as a local official in 1918 in the Piran country, and carried on with great success. The status of the famous Adela Khanum of Halabja, who was publicly decorated in 1919, is renowned. Practically owner of Halabja, and largely responsible for its progress in recent years, she exerted her great influence in British favour in the rebellion of 1919, and after it was quelled received and entertained British Generals openly and with uncovered face (the veil is unknown in Kurdistan), and I recollect her gratified interest at seeing her photograph in *The Times* Illustrated Supplement.

Both in such walks of life and in humbler ones the woman can often do more than hold her own.

A few months ago a local governor sent in a woman under arrest on a charge of wounding her husband by hitting him with a stone. The pair had been harvesting their little wheat-patch together, and the man had called her by an objectionable name during a squabble, whereupon she threw a stone and hit him on the head. She then caught up the sickle and chased him up the hill-side till both breath and anger evaporated. The man himself had not dared to complain, and the woman told the court that, so far from being penitent, she would give him a good flogging if the rest of the wheat was not in when she returned.

Digitized by Google

However, such incidents are fortunately rare; husbands and wives in villages usually get on very well, and, indeed, are restrained from violence by the danger of individual fights developing into village uproars owing to relatives taking part.

Labour in a mountain village is fairly divided, and one seldom sees the sight, so common among the Persians and Arabs, of the male population loafing while the women drudge. The man has his ploughing, the care of his beasts, his tobacco and fruit culture—in short, all the heavy outdoor work, while he has to carry his fruit and tobacco to market, often involving a journey of two or three days over difficult mountains. In the winter he carries firewood to the town, and these journeys, in deep snow and over passes infested with the grey wolf, are often little short of heroic. The woman's part is the dairying, tobacco-drying, preserving fruits, walnut-picking, and making and mending of all descriptions. The life is hard but healthy, and the food is good, though of the simplest.

There is naturally little amusement in such a life. The only general pastime is the national dance, a slow step-dance in which all join, men and women alike, linked arm in arm in a long crescent-shaped row, which slowly circles round the drum and fife band in the centre.

I suppose the Kurd is unique among Muslim peoples in countenancing and practising mixed dancing for adults, at which the local priest is often present; in fact, in one village I saw it being performed in the yard of the mosque. But in this, as in many other characteristics, the Kurd is very un-Oriental. His mentality and habits are very much more those of the East of Europe than Asiatic.

The lack of fanaticism is most remarkable. The European official is expected to put up for the night in the mosque (if the village possesses one), and the village priest performs his official duties in the same room, undisturbed by the presence of his Christian guest. Nor is the latter asked to vacate on a Friday when the people assemble for public prayer, though as a rule he contrives to be absent. Such freedom of mind is in very striking contrast to the dour fanaticism of the neighbouring Persians, who consider the mosque defiled by the mere glance of a passing European.

Among Muslim communities the removal or destruction of a grave is considered to be highly sacrilegious, but here again the Kurd is not exacting. Last year, in the course of road-making, the alignment was interrupted by a large erection of stones marking the grave of a man fallen in fight. Enquiries led to the discovery of some relatives of the deceased, who were quite willing that the monument be removed and bones displaced if the road-makers would re-erect the cairn somewhere off the road, which was done to their entire satisfaction.

The hospitality of the villager, and indeed of all classes, is of the

Digitized by Google

highest quality. In touring it is often difficult to proceed more than a few miles each day, for it is impolitic to pass a village without accepting its hospitality, which may range from a cup of tea and some fruit to a heavy lunch or dinner, which, when the party is large, is a very serious strain on the resources of a little community whose wheat has to be fetched from a distance and whose daily life is of the simplest. And if to pass by without partaking be a slight, to make an offer of payment or presents is to arouse real enmity. The habit is so developed that in many villages the headman or local official is kept in a condition of permanent impoverishment.

As the country produces practically everything necessary for life, including homespuns and shoes, there is little marked poverty, and one is often surprised at the extreme paucity of worldly possessions which actually appear to be sufficient to maintain the humbler families.

A case illustrating this came before one of the administrative officers during a tour in the mountains. The man lived in a minute half dug-out, half hut, high up on a crag beside a trickle of water. A sprinkling of soil on the steep slopes afforded space for the cultivation of a crop of wheat amounting to about 4 hundredweight. His tax on this was some 40 pounds of grain, payable at the Government granary. This he conveyed across fifteen miles of very rugged mountain by loading it on his nine-months-old calf.

His principal possessions were a rug, two saucepans, two cows, and the above-mentioned calf, besides a few odd tools. He related how he had had a hen, but had lost it to a roving jackal. His family consisted of his wife and two daughters, and with the aid of the wheat-patch (upon which rice was sown in the summer), the cows, and the not inconsiderable natural products of the mountain-side, they lived somehow. He also possessed a dog, upon which he placed great value, and he described with feeling how it had, during the snow, been attacked by the wolf. He had gone to its rescue with an axe, to little effect, for the savage animal turned upon him, and the situation was only saved by the timely arrival of his wife, who attacked the wolf with a sickle and drove it off.

Not even this simple family was free from domestic trouble. Two years previously the wife had run away and taken refuge with one Nasir Agha, who had eventually reconciled them. This Nasir Agha had fallen in love with one of the girls, and this circumstance, while gratifying enough to the father, was at the same time one of his greatest worries. Nasir Agha being a man of some substance, it would be necessary not only to provide a suitable dot for the girl, but a worthy entertainment at the betrothal feast. The good man's perturbation was not lessened by the proposal of Nasir Agha (who was by way of being a wag) that he would so regulate the numbers at the

Digitized by Google

party as to make the two cows and calf just suffice, and would then forgo the dot.

It is not unnatural that in this secluded little world ideas of the outside are very hazy. It was not a generally accepted fact that hostilities between Turkey and the British had ceased till well on into 1920, and though in the towns people were moderately well informed as to events in Baghdad, the great bulk of the country-side did not even realize that South Kurdistan was politically connected therewith, many still believing that the country was in the government of Mosul, as in Turkish times.

Nevertheless, with all their backwardness and ignorance, it stands to their credit that in the widespread rising in Mesopotamia of the summer of 1920 it was these people who remained quiet, continued paying their taxes, and even offered assistance against their turbulent neighbours.

Digitized by Google

REVIEWS

THE RAIDERS OF THE SARHAD. By Brigadier-General R. E. H. Dyer, C.B. London: H. F. and G. Witherby. 1921. Price: 15s. net.

As time goes by, books are published which shed light on campaigns waged during the Great War in remote corners of Asia by small bodies of Indian troops, which generally lacked most of the adjuncts of modern warfare. However, local difficulties, scarcity of men and munitions, have merely brought out the dominant personality of the British officer, which, in war-time, has been proved to be among the most valuable assets of the State. Of this the campaign of General Dyer is a notable example.

In 1916, the British were rightly alarmed at the serious results that would happen if large German missions reached Afghanistan across Persia. A cordon was therefore formed, running from the British frontier at the point where it meets Persia and Afghanistan on the hill termed Kuh-i-Malik-i-Sia, along the Perso-Afghan boundary to Transcaspia, a distance of perhaps 600 miles. The East Persia cordon, as it was termed, was divided into two sections, the smaller or northern being guarded by Russia, and the southern by the British based on Quetta.

In the previous year, the Germans had swept the little British colonies, composed of consuls, bankers, and telegraph officials, out of Central and Southern Persia, and had occupied various centres, among them Kerman. They had sent emissaries in every direction, and especially to the Sarhad, a wild, bandit-infested land, to the south of Sistan, marching with the desert which runs from the Perso-Baluch border, almost to Quetta. The Sarhaddi tribesmen, whose occupation was raiding, were only too delighted to be paid for following their hereditary occupation, with the result that convoys, on which the cordon depended, were cut up, and finally the service was stopped. Unless this state of affairs was speedily changed, the cordon would have collapsed.

Dyer was sent to put matters right. His success was almost miraculous. He gave out, through his secret agents, that the handful of men at his disposal formed the advance-guard of a resistless army. He attacked the Sarhaddis with two guns (they fear guns intensely), and they surrendered. But, in due course of time, they saw through

Digitized by Google

the bluff, turned nasty, and besieged Dyer in the Persian fort of Kwash, which, until then, had been visited by only two or three travellers, so remote a country is Sarhad. Small but welcome reinforcements of Indian troops arrived in the nick of time, and Dyer immediately reassumed the offensive, and finally forced the wild tribesmen to submit and accept service as " levies."

The whole campaign is a thrilling drama, and will appeal strongly to members of the Central Asian Society.

P. M. SYKES.

TWO YEARS IN KURDISTAN: EXPERIENCES OF A POLITICAL OFFICER, 1918-1920. By Captain W. R. Hay. (Sidgwick and Jackson.)

In the manner in which this book is written there are faults which the matter—good as some of that is—will be hard put to it to counteract. The author's rather naïve wonder at the multifarious nature of his duties is merely absurd, but his assumption of the tone of a despotic monarch is a serious blemish. No servant of Government should speak of " *my* police " or of " *my* terms " (to rebels); and it is unpardonable to write such sentences as this: " I assured the new chief that as long as he remained loyal to me, I would regard him with the same devotion and treat him with the same favour as I had shown to his predecessor." And finally there is an accumulation of exact detail, important and unimportant, which, admirable as it might be in an official report, will not please the general reader. Even one acquainted to some extent with the places and people found his spirits flag, in the midst of an otherwise exciting story, on being told what Mr. So-and-so did on a given date at three o'clock in the afternoon.

These defects are the more to be regretted in that they probably do a gross injustice to the author, who had a very difficult task to perform, and acquitted himself " to the satisfaction of his superiors." The area with which the book deals is not all, strictly speaking, in Kurdistan, but on the very fringe of Southern Kurdistan, and the author's headquarters were at Erbil, a town mainly " Turcoman " in population. Nevertheless the country population is almost exclusively Kurdish, and the title may be allowed to pass. The book gives a detailed description of these Kurds, their country, their customs and their way of living, and an account of various incidents—some of them too exciting to be agreeable—in which the author took part. The book will be essential to any student of the British occupation of Iraq up to the establishment of the Provisional Arab Government in October, 1920. It gives a glimpse of the good work done by a few of the officers who were flung by force of circumstances into positions of responsibility, often without any training in administrative work, and often—as in Captain Hay's case—entrusted with a district where

Digitized by Google

the leading officials, being Turks, had fled, and the whole machinery of government had broken down. Captain Hay had the additional disadvantage of being on the border, with tribes wilder than his own as neighbours. There were no troops to enforce the order " of him whose was the order "; and all the time there was wild speculation about strange things called Leagues of Nations, and about a quite new commodity called liberty, which, it seemed, meant no punishment for crime and no taxation. Finally there was a rising in the adjacent districts which shook the power of the Government to its foundations.

A pleasant trait in the book is the author's personal attachment to some of the leading figures in his district. Attractive pictures are given of the Kurdish Agha who, when Government authority broke down, took control in Erbil and saved the situation; and of other Kurdish and Turkish friends of the author; and there is a moving description of the death of Kanabi, the coffee-man, who when he might have escaped the ambush set for his master preferred to proclaim himself the Governor's man and be killed.

The book contains a tribute to Colonel Leachman and other members of the Civil Administration (but J. S. Mann, in some ways the most remarkable of them all, should not have been omitted) who lost their lives in the execution of their duties in Iraq; but the story itself is a tribute to more than one man—British and Indian—who played a gallant part in these troubled regions, and who, if they escaped with their lives, lived in constant risk of losing them.

The book is illustrated with excellent photographs. There is one—a stony hill path " alluring up and enticing down "—which helps to explain the fascination which the country has for Captain Hay.

W. R. B.

AN ADMINISTRATOR IN THE MAKING: JAMES SAUMAREZ MANN, 1893-1920. Edited by his Father. Longmans, Green and Co. 1921. Price: 15s. net.

Of the many biographical books having for their subject a young officer whose life has been lost in the past few years, this is one of the best.

Captain J. Saumarez Mann was one of the later recruits to the Administrative Service of Iraq, and did not join it till 1919. He was one of many sacrificed to the result of what he well describes as " the delays of the Peace Conference, and the well-intentioned self-determinators who knew no facts, no Islamic doctrine and no ethnology."

His letters, from the time of his going to France till his last from Iraq in 1920, picture the very rapid development of the man from the youth, and the courage to admit the prejudices of inexperience. The most noteworthy example of this was the wholesale abandonment of

Digitized by Google

high theory on nationalistic matters acquired in a university atmosphere when he met real life.

Few young men have the application to write frequently, and still fewer the ability to write well. Mann had both. Though his letters on arrival in Mesopotamia indicate that his first impressions were in no way different from those of most first arrivals in that unbeautiful land, when he arrived at his post at Umm Ba'rur he commenced a series of thoughtful, illustrative letters which enable the reader to see, not only the Arab, his characteristics and country, but the development taking place in the young man set alone to initiate an administration under great difficulties. The fact that he was a born linguist must have facilitated matters for him, but the characteristic by which he is best remembered, his power of converting into active support the liking he inspired in the Arabs, did most for him. Many other officers have been liked well enough, but few could, in time of trouble, reckon upon that feeling moving the Arab to tangible support or assistance.

His letters contain such a mass of well-conveyed impressions of people and life that it is difficult to select from them.

He began by being vastly impressed by Sir Arnold Wilson, and those who know the latter will appreciate the description of him as " very strong, and with a truly Homeric joy in his strength."

The greatest difficulty of the stranger in Mesopotamia was solved for him immediately on arrival at his district. He began by liking the place and people and seeing their humours. There is no other specific for the discomforts and disappointments of life in Iraq.

Of Arab sheikhs he very truly writes: " They are a marvellous mixture of culture and savagery, these old gentlemen, and as they all sat around they formed a pretty picture of crime, intrigue, vice and cruelty." One very wealthy one was soliciting a loan in the hope the British would evacuate before repayment time. Another, equally rich, had been deported for refusing to pay taxes. His neighbour, a most pleasant fellow to meet, " was famous for a vice not mentioned in England, and other notable crimes." Another with seventeen wives and an indeterminate number of sons; and his friend who, having been given sixty thousand rupees to build a dam with the labour of his tribe, built the dam and forgot to pay the labourers. So, as Mann says, " my neighbours are interesting people, even when taken singly."

The first impression of Najaf, that most holy city of the Persians, is an admirable pen picture, but too long to quote. The second impression is irresistible and wholly true: " A city so vicious that the most sober account of it could not be printed in England: one can only say that every vice known to the most unpleasant Greek and Roman authors . . . flourishes there publicly."

Digitized by Google

"A city of corpses, the bazaar seeing all day an endless stream of bodies, many reeking abominably, uncoffined and only wrapped in rough cloths, being carried from the temple to burial or from the road to the temple."

Shortly after his arrival he unexpectedly met an English lady who is very well known in Iraq. His portrait of her is so true that it is unnecessary to mention her name:

"She was in great form and talked the whole time, full of the most interesting information, for she knows, of course, all the secrets from Constantinople to Afghanistan. . . . It gives quite a new direction to one's views on one's own individual problems to hear her talking about the big general questions of Baghdad, etc. . . ."

His reflections upon the Arab and self-government were interesting, though his conclusions were not always right. In fact, he had believed it impossible for a rising to occur in his own district.

Writing some months before the rebellion, he says: "Any idea of an Arab State is simply bloodstained fooling at present, and this country cannot be handled without some sort of an army in the background." How true is the last sentence we yet may see.

And to close a long tale of quotations I cannot do better than present the following: "It's a sad country in this way, that it's utterly without any self-consciousness, and utterly without a ghost of public spirit."

Mann was killed by a stray shot at the siege of Kufa, and the Administration was deprived by the bullet of one of its cleverest officers and most whole-hearted workers.

The book is fairly illustrated, and the editing, which is admirable, is obviously the work of an accomplished hand.

E. B. S.

Digitized by Google

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1921-22

Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. THE MARQUIS CURZON OF KEDLESTON, P.C., K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., ETC.

Chairman of Council:

THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., ETC.

Vice-Presidents:

SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
GENERAL SIR E. BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
COLONEL SIR CHARLES YATE, BART., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.
SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.
SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.

Hon. Secretaries: LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE. / CAPTAIN G. C. STEPHENSON.

Hon. Treasurer: SIR E. PENTON, K.B.E.

Members of the Council:

GENERAL SIR REGINALD WINGATE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.
THE RT. HON. SIR MAURICE DE BUNSEN, BART., P.C., G.C.M.G., ETC.
MAJOR THE HON. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P., J.P., D.L.
E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.
CAPTAIN G. C. STEPHENSON.
GENERAL SIR C. C. MONRO, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., A.D.C.GEN.
SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
LIEUT.-COLONEL C. B. STOKES, C.I.E.
MISS ELLA SYKES.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED SINCE JULY 8

Altham, Lieut.-General Sir E. A., K.C.B., C.M.G., Prior's Barton, Winchester.

Beattie, Dr. J. Hamilton, United University Club, 1, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.

Beatty, Colonel Commandant G. A. H., 1st Cavalry Brigade, Risalpur, N.-W. F. Province, India.

Bingley, Lieut.-General Sir A. H., K.C.I.E., C.B., Simla, Punjab; United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

Blackwood, J. H., 37, Paternoster Row, E.C. 4.

Bourdillon, B. H., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.

Bunbury, Captain N. L. St. P., 106th Hazara Pioneers, Fort Sandeman, Baluchistan, India.

Butler, F. H. C., South End, St. Cross, Winchester.

Carver, Captain F. E., O.B.E., The Moot, Downton, Salisbury.

Chelmsford, Rt. Hon. the Viscount, P.C., G.B.E., G.C.M.G., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., etc., 116, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.

Coryndon, Sir R. T., K.C.M.G., Governor of the Uganda Protectorate, Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

Cronyn, Sub-Lieutenant St. John, R.N., H.M.S. *Tetrarch*, Queenstown.

Davies, J. Fisher, c/o Imperial Bank of Persia, Basra.

Edmonds, Major C. I., Levant Consular Service, New Oxford and Cambridge Club, Stratton Street, W. 1.

Elger, L. E., A.M.I.Mech.E., Queen's House, Kingsway, W.C. 2.

Elsmie, Major-General A. M. S., 27, Woodville Gardens, Ealing, W. 5.

Flaxman, H. T. M., O.B.E., Assistant Divisional Adviser, Mosul, Mesopotamia.

Fremantle, Lieut.-Colonel F. E., M.P., T.D., O.B.E., Bedwell Park, Hatfield.

Frost, Lieut.-Colonel F. D., C.B.E., M.C., I.A., Crowthorne, Berks.

Grant, Sir A. Hamilton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Brooks's, St. James's Street, S.W.

Gray, Lawrence, Queen Street, Barton-on-Humber.

Harris, F. I., c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank, Kermanshah.

Hauser, Captain S. B., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.

Holt, Major A. L., M.B.E., M.C., R.E., c/o Director of Railways, Baghdad.

Hunt, Captain J. M., 87th Punjabis, I.A., The Red Cottage, Baschurch, Shrewsbury.

Digitized by Google

Jacob, General Sir C. W., K.C.B., Chief of the General Staff in India, Simla, India; 2, Artillery Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
Jardine, R. F., Mesopotamian Political Service, c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
Kennett, Mrs. Barrington, Remenham, Wraysbury, Bucks.
Kerr, Captain E. Teviot, I.A., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
Ladd, William E., Post Box 39, Baghdad.
Laidlaw, Lieut. R. E. F., Royal Munster Fusiliers, attd. Egyptian Army, c/o Postmaster, Khartoum.
Lee, W. H., M.C., Wymondham, Hythe, Kent.
Lee-Warner, Captain W. H., Straits Settlement Civil Service, Singapore.
Lovett, Sir H. Verney, K.C.S.I., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
Lubbock, Colonel G., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., 26, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
Lynch, Stephen, c/o Euphrates and Tigris S.N. Co., 3, Salter's Hall Court, E.C. 4.
Mackintosh, C. A. G., Ministry of Finance, Egypt; Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
Malleson, Major-General Sir Wilfrid, K.C.I.E., C.B., Foxhurst, Ash Vale, Surrey.
Meyer, Sir W. S., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., 42, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.
Morgan, C. Stuart, c/o Messrs. Strick, Scott and Co., Ltd., Baghdad.
Mousley, Captain E. O., R.F.A., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
Murphy, Lieut.-Colonel C. C. R., I.A., 83rd Infantry, Cannanore, Malabar, India; Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
Nariman, R. K., M.I.C.E., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., Pall Mall, S.W.
Northcote, D. S., 23, Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
Pitcairn, G. D., White Cottage, Amport, Andover.
Prichard, J., Judicial Department, Baghdad; Wick, Glamorganshire.
Ready, Major-General F. F., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., Lynch House, Winchester.
Roberts-Goddard, A., Royal Aero Club, Clifford Street, W.
Robertson, Field-Marshal Sir William R., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., 88, Westbourne Terrace, W. 2.
Stephen, Major F. W., M.C., Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
Storrs, Mrs. F. E., 65, Chester Square, S.W. 1.
Sutton, Major-General H. C., C.B., C.M.G., 9, Elvaston Place, S.W. 7.
Thomas, Roger, Agricultural Directorate, Mesopotamia.
Waley, Captain Eric, 14, Oxford Square, W. 2.

Digitized by Google

Wallace, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Willoughby, 209, Ashley Gardens, S.W. 1.
Williams, Captain L., O.B.E., 25, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
Williams, Robert, Park House, Drumoak, Aberdeenshire; 35, Prince's Gardens, S.W. 7.
Williamson, Dr. H., 10, Carlyle Mansions, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
Wright, Captain S. A., M.C., E.I., United Service Club, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. IX.

1922

PART II.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, January 12, 1922, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., presiding, when a lecture was given by Mr. Frank Grove, O.B.E., M.Inst.C.E., entitled "A Railway Engineer's Journeys in Persia." In opening the proceedings—

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must first of all apologize for the unavoidable absence of Lord Carnock. In his absence I have been suddenly asked to take the chair. I must first ask Colonel Yate to read to you the list of members who have been recently elected.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Yate): We have to-day elected the following fourteen members of the Society: Brigadier-General F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., etc., Brigadier-General C. H. Uvedale Price, C.B., D.S.O., I.A. (retired), Colonel Alfred Rawlinson, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., Mrs. Rawlinson, Mr. George Milne, I.C.S., Lieutenant-Colonel A. Olver, C.B., C.M.G., Major J. U. F. C. Alexander, Mr. Sydney Armitage-Smith, C.B., Mr. V. H. W. Dowson (Mesopotamian Agricultural Department), Captain L. A. Lynden-Bell, M.C., Seaforth Highlanders, Captain Campbell, I.A., Captain Renshaw, I.A., Captain Thompson, 15th Lancers, I.A., Captain E. S. Storey-Cooper, M.C. There have during the past year been altogether eight resignations and one death among the members of the Society.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before introducing to you the Lecturer, I think the members of the Society would like to express their gratitude to the Royal United Service Institution for placing their theatre at our disposal to-night, and at future lectures. I believe it will be more convenient for a large number of our members here to come to this theatre rather than to go to our very inferior lecture room in Grosvenor Street. (Applause.) The subject of the lecture to-night is, as you know, "A Railway Engineer's Journeys in Persia," and we have been fortunate enough to secure for the purposes of this lecture Mr. Grove, who was a servant of the Persian Railway Syndicate connected with Messrs. Pearson and Co.; and he, having spent two years since the Armistice in prospecting for railways in Persia on behalf of those Syndicates, is as well qualified as anyone to address us on the subject. I hope there are also a few members of the audience who know the scene of operations sufficiently well to join in the discussion after the lecture is over. I beg to present to you Mr. Grove, O.B.E. (Applause.)

Digitized by Google

A RAILWAY ENGINEER'S JOURNEYS IN PERSIA

My journeys in Persia during 1920 were over well-beaten ground on and near the British lines of communication from Quraitu through Kerind to Kermanshah, Hamadan, and Kasvin. This country has been frequently described, and is probably well known to many now present, but I shall show a few lantern-slides which I hope may be interesting. In August of 1920 I made a journey by pony and mule transport to Tehran via Noberan, or by the direct road from Hamadan, which is now little used, and then went on for a short distance into the Elburz Mountains and examined the coal mines in the Demavend area.

In the spring of 1921 I journeyed to Ispahan from Hamadan via Saltanabad and from Ispahan southwards through the Bakhtiari country and the Karun gorges to the oil-fields and Ahwaz.

I should explain that these journeys were made on behalf of the Persian Railways Syndicate and of Messrs. S. Pearson and Son, agents for the Syndicate, and that a survey and estimate has been completed for the construction of a railway from Khaniqin to Tehran, as agreed with the Persian Government early in 1920.

It is intended, so it is understood, that the terminus of the metre-gauge railway through Irak from Basra to Baghdad and onwards to the Persian frontier shall be at Khaniqin Village, and not at Quraitu or Tairuq as at present, and in this event a short length of twenty-three miles would be abandoned.

An approach to the Persian plateau, the higher ranges of which are seen in the blue distance from Khaniqin, is offered by the Helouan or Alwand River valley. This river, a tributary of the Diala River, rises in the foothills near Saripul, and is fed by perennial springs and tributaries flowing from the higher mountains which are there approached. The level plains of Mesopotamia, or Irak, lie to the south and west, and a country of low and eroded hills and broken rocky spurs is entered with little cultivation except near the river, and there only in patches. There are wide grazing areas, however, and in the spring and early summer Kurdish nomads, who in the winter live at Qasr-i-Shirin or Khaniqin, move about with their flocks of sheep and goats. Later on in the summer it becomes only a little less arid and hot than the parched plains of Irak, and the nomadic tribes move to higher pastures.

The villages of Khaniqin and Qasr-i-Shirin, places with a population of 3,000 or 4,000, are distributing centres for the fringe of Kurdistan which lies near, and this latter village has importance by reason of its Persian custom house; also archæological interest in the ruins of the Palace

Digitized by Google

of Shirin, which was built for the beautiful queen of Kosros II. Some portions of the walls, or fortifications, which surrounded the palace still stand. While the configuration of the country was doubtless the same in the seventh century when Qasr-i-Shirin was in its glory, it seems probable that with a greater rainfall the hills were then clothed with vegetation. It is recorded that the palace walls surrounded beautiful gardens.

From Saripul the road winds through the foothills and approaches the Pai Tak Pass. The vegetation increases, and stunted ilex or scrub oak are scattered on the face of the hills. We are now near the historic highway from Media, which was probably used by the military hordes of Cyrus and Darius in their expeditions against the inhabitants of the plains and since that remote period down through the ages for military and trade purposes until recently reconstructed and improved by our military expedition of 1917-1921. This is part, at any rate, of the mountain front called the "Persian Ladder" by Diodorus Siculus from its abruptness and the succession of terraces rising from the plains.

The motor road at present zigzags up a steep slope which would be quite impossible for a railway, so that a route had to be looked for elsewhere, and a valley known as the Darband Gorge, roughly parallel to the south, provides a practicable ascent on a 1 in 50 grade with some short tunnels and viaducts. From Saripul, which is nearly 2,000 feet above sea-level, an ascent of 3,000 feet has to be made to the Kerind Plain, which is 5,000 feet above sea-level, and this is accomplished in a distance of a little over forty miles.

The Darband Gorge is formed by a stream draining the southern slopes of the Kuh-i-Nau Mountain Massif, the northern slopes of which are followed by the motor road. A dry torrent bed takes an almost straight course through an immense upheaval of limestone and sandstone, and while on one side the mountain slopes are very precipitous, on the other, that followed by the alignment of the proposed railway, they are less abrupt and are covered with good grass and ilex trees with a park-like appearance, though there is no depth of soil above the rock. This gorge in its upper portion is probably a small "cleft-cañon." Such "tangs" or gorges in the Zagros Mountains may be due, as Lord Curzon observes in his book on Persia, "not to the erosive action of water, but to primordial fracture in the crust of the earth." A gap through the hills provides easy access to the Kerind Plain, and from here to Bisitun beyond Kermanshah the motor road, though not closely followed, formed at least a convenient base from which to survey the country and fix the best location for a railway. I should like to mention that the official maps published under the direction of the Surveyor-General to the Indian Government were of the greatest help in enabling me to place our parties of engineers out in the field rapidly for the detail work required.

Digitized by Google

Kerind, the first Kurdish village to be passed after reaching the higher levels, is romantically situated under a rocky mountain slope and at the opening to a ravine, well wooded with walnut and mulberry trees, through which a perennial stream flows, and as it falls to the lower levels through the village, grinds the wheat in the primitive but effective flour mills by passing through vertical shoots on to wooden turbine wheels. Below the village lies a good mile or two of rich cultivation, and beyond the plain—almost a dead level—surrounded by hills and mountains. This plain, as also others in the vicinity, is almost entirely overgrown with wild liquorice plant, and evidently the Kurdish cultivator has a great struggle to keep his patches of wheat and barley clear of the weed. The soil is dark and loamy and would doubtless yield splendid crops were it possible to exterminate the weed, which is only useful as fuel. The gardens, hedged with wild rose, are typical of those throughout the highlands of Persia. Vineyards are everywhere, and are surrounded by fruit-trees—pears, apples, peaches, plums, and sometimes fig-trees, all yielding rather poor fruit—and walnut-trees, almonds, and pistachios. The vines produce many varieties of grapes, black and white, and are generally excellent either fresh or when dried as raisins.

While the surrounding hills and higher portions of the plains are dry and arid during the summer months, the mantle of snow which covers the country during the winter and the spring rains produce a thin covering of grass, herbs, and resinous bushes. Near the water-courses and villages, poplar-trees and willows are grown for building purposes, and the irrigated portions of the country are bright with wild flowers. Wild hollyhocks, pink and white, spring up amongst the crops, and here and there in the narrower and better watered valleys one sees clumps of hawthorn, blackthorn, dewberry, and common briars. There is a briar with a fine, single yellow blossom which is seen here and there near Kerind and Kermanshah.

The belt of ilex, or scrub oak, is roughly fifty to eighty miles in depth, and fringes the whole edge of Kurdistan and Luristan bordering Irak. The trees are stunted and rarely exceed 18 inches in diameter at the butt. Throughout this belt, which extends to the Bakhtiari Mountains of Arabistan, where there is a wealth of vegetation, there is an abundance of fuel and grazing grass at the higher altitudes, the rainfall probably varying between 11 and 18 inches.

It is an easy run by car from Kerind to Kermanshah, passing the villages of Firuzabad, Harunabad, Hassanabad, and Mahidasht. The railway would avoid the climb near Hassanabad, but would ascend the Chehar Zabar divide. This is the highest point before reaching Kermanshah, 5,500 feet above sea-level, and, in order to provide a gradient not exceeding 1 in 100, a summit tunnel is necessary. This ridge, or watershed, separates the flow of streams to the Kara Su,

Digitized by Google

which joins the Kharka River through Luristan, from those with a western flow to the Irak plains; but the geography of the head waters of these rivers some miles south of Kermanshah is still very vague.

We now pass through typical scenery of the higher plateaux, arid ridges of eroded sandstone with highly folded and broken strata alternating with nearly level plain sloping towards the mountains. The dominating colour is yellow, but this is relieved by red and purple in the hills, and by the dusting of grey-green bushes and herbs—especially in the spring—and by the oases of cultivation and lines of fruit-trees and poplars near the villages. The whole scene is beautified by the clear air and sunshine and the blue haze of immense distances.

It is apparent that while much is done to conserve and utilize the limited supply of water by open irrigation channels and by "kanats," or underground channels, which I shall describe later on, much more might be done. Thus it is only where water is comparatively easily obtained by gravitation that cultivation appears. There are rivers, especially between Kermanshah and Hamadan, passing through narrow valleys, where water might be conserved by the construction of dams, and not allowed to run to waste on the melting of the snows, as at present. It would also seem that, with enterprise and the introduction of agricultural machinery, such as motor tractors and ploughs, a system of "dry farming" might be successful, and many thousands of square miles be thus brought under cultivation.

The population of the Persian plateau is sparse for apparently the following reasons: A limit set by recurrent specially dry years, when the snow and rain fail and, secondly, by the lack of transport facilities to dispose of to advantage an abnormally large surplus of grain, or even to transfer a surplus from a district well favoured to one where grain is badly needed. I was told by a Persian landholder that a very good year did not pay as well as a moderately good one, for in the latter case there would be a better market and higher prices obtainable near at hand.

These conditions will be modified and improved by cheap railway transport, both by stimulating enterprise and the introduction of machinery, by distributing grain at periods of famine, and also assuring a wider and better market for surplus produce at all times.

Kermanshah, a town with some 45,000 inhabitants, is built on sloping ground at the foot of a ridge, which is avoided by the proposed railway alignment; but the road is graded over a spur behind the town. It looks across a level plain, drained by the Kara Su, towards the Kuh-i-Parau, a fine range of mountains rising abruptly to a height of 10,000 feet above sea-level. At the foot of this range, north-east of Kermanshah and six miles away in a straight line, are the interesting sculptures of Tak-i-Bustan.

Digitized by Google

A stream of clear and cold water gushes out at the base of the limestone cliff and forms a pond, the stream continuing beyond over the plain, fringed with willows and cultivation. The carvings consist of two archways cut into the solid rock; the larger and more complete one is 34 feet high, 24 feet wide, and 22 feet deep. On the right of the archways there is a separate panel of four figures, one being prostrate. The larger archway at the back contains a panel above a colossal equestrian figure: these, and also the panels at the sides, are carved out of the solid rock. The panel above the equestrian figure represents Kosros II., or Kusru Parvis, wearing the Sassanian diadem, and two officials presenting him with chaplets. It is thought this group commemorated the double gift by the emperor Mauricius to the Persian King of his Christian bride, the beautiful Shirin, and of his crown. The same monarch is represented by the equestrian figure, the horse and rider being covered with a coat of mail. Above the left-hand panel, at the spring of the arch, there is a comparatively modern representation of Mohammed Ali, son of Fath Ali Shah, Governor of Kermanshah in the early part of the nineteenth century, representing himself sitting in state with his attendants. At the sides of the cavern are beautifully carved panels, that on the right representing a deer hunt, and on the left a wild-boar hunt, in both of which the monarch with his courtiers plays a prominent part. Elephants and camels are engaged in carrying away the game. It is apparent that pigs flew in those days at a convenient range for bow and arrow, and that a band of musicians was necessary at the deer hunt to stimulate the sportsmen and probably also to frighten the game and cause it to break cover. The period is A.D. 599 to 628, some 600 years before the invasion of Persia by the Mongols.

The exterior panel represents two crowned figures standing on the prostrate body of a third, and holding the "cydaris," or royal circlet, while behind the left-hand king is a fourth figure, whose head is surrounded with a radiated nimbus. This is generally accepted as representing the investiture of Shapur I. by his father, Ardeshire Babekan, with a share of the royal dominion, in the presence of the god "Ormuzd." The prostrate figure is thought to be that of Artabanus, the last Parthian king. The smaller cavern is not completed, though some inscriptions have been deciphered, and there are figures believed to be of Shapur II. and III. The period is the fourth century. I am indebted to Jackson's "Persia, Past and Present," and to Sir Percy Sykes's "History of Persia" for the historical details.

These old monarchs were evidently great sportsmen, and the modern Persian is also keen with the fowling-piece and in riding down gazelle or driving ibex, but their methods of disturbing the country for miles round with crowds of beaters and mounted gunmen shooting in all directions at once do not appeal to British sportsmen.

Digitized by Google

While dealing with this subject, I should mention that there are still plenty of gazelle to be found in the more remote portions of the highland plains, and ibex, also a species of wild sheep, on the higher ranges. Feathered game is restricted to blue rock pigeons, common sand grouse and the imperial sand grouse; also the "kowk," a species of red-legged partridge, is the best game-bird, and to this must be added quail, woodcock, and pheasant, but the latter only on the Caspian littoral. Snipe, duck, geese, and many kinds of wild fowl migrate through the country in the winter seasons, and there are some hares, but not many. Quite a number of wolves come near the villages and towns in the winter, and there are a few foxes.

The plain continues twenty miles from Kermanshah towards Hamadan, and there the valley contracts, and to the north the imposing rock of Bisitun rises abruptly near the road. Upon the face of this rock, some 200 feet above the road, is the very interesting triumphal record of the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes, in the form of a sculptured panel and cuneiform inscriptions.

The panel or bas-relief depicts Darius receiving obeisance from the nine rebel kings whom he had conquered in battle, and his foot is planted in triumph on the neck of Gaumata the magian. The period is that of 521–485 B.C. The cuneiform inscriptions, which are engraved in three languages—ancient Persian, Susian or Elamitish, and Babylonian—cover an immense area, but are not easily seen unless special ladders are taken to climb the rock. The slide shown was taken with a telephoto lens, and for the negative of this and most of those shown of Tak-i-Bustan I am indebted to Mr. C. E. Matthews, an engineer of our staff. The historical significance of this bas-relief and translations of the script by Rawlinson are so well known that I need only briefly remind you that this grand old monarch ruled twenty-three countries, including Babylonia, Assyria, Asia Minor, Arabia, Egypt, Thrace, Macedonia, and the Grecian Islands of the Mediterranean. He is also believed to have received tribute from the Punjab and Sind.

Beyond Bisitun the proposed alignment of the railway follows the valley of the Gama Siab River to its head waters north of Nihavand, and finally turns in a northern direction towards Hamadan at the village of Nanaj, which is only some eight miles north of Dalautabad, thereafter grading over the Gardaneh Zaga Pass and through Zamanabad. Thus the more difficult route taken by the motor road over the Assadabad Pass is avoided, and the Kuh-i-Alvand Mountains, which rise to a height of 13,000 feet above sea-level, immediately behind the town of Hamadan, are completely rounded.

While a fertile plain lies in front of Kermanshah and for many miles in the direction of the confluence of the Kara Su and Gama Siab Rivers, also towards Kangavar, the head waters of the latter river are shut in between hills and spurs, and cultivation disappears. The

Digitized by Google

Gama Siab is a perennial stream, and the valley offers a good site for water conservation. Both the rivers named have a large catchment area, and the plains near the road are annually flooded on the melting of the snow. The summit of the Gardaneh Zaga Pass is the highest point on the alignment. It is 6,780 feet above sea-level, and the grade up and down is 1 in 100. There will be a few short tunnels but no special difficulties in this section. The point where the alignment makes a northern trend at the village of Nanaj is important. It is here, or near this point, that a "take-off" would be found for a connection through Burudjird with Dizful, Ahwaz, and the Persian Gulf, through Luristan, though it has been quite impossible during the last two years, owing to tribal conditions in Luristan, to enter the country and to test an alignment in any direction.

Luristan is almost a "terra incognita," although a comparatively well-watered tract of mountainous country lying centrally and in an important position geographically, and Sir A. T. Wilson and Major Edmonds, the most recent travellers, only got through with great difficulty a few years ago. Anything like detailed survey work or railway construction would be quite out of the question until these truculent tribesmen are brought into subjection by the Persian Government.

Hamadan is a town of some 60,000 inhabitants, and is an even more important centre of distribution than Kermanshah. It is now surrounded by a good motor road which it owes to our military expedition. The streets are narrow and dirty and blocked with snow during the winter months, which is pitched off the flat roofs sometimes on to the heads of the foot passengers. It is an amusing sight to see the old men and small boys, by way of useful exercise on a cold morning, stamping on the mud roof after it is clear of snow to make it more or less impervious to moisture. I should explain that the roof is formed of poplar poles laid similarly to floor joists and covered with reeds, brushwood, or mats, and then with 6 or 8 inches of mud, and it is nearly flat. Notwithstanding these efforts, however, the water drips through into most Persian houses, especially during the melting of the snow and the early spring rains. Houses and walls which are built of mud and sun-dried bricks frequently tumble down and crush the inhabitants, but all this is suffered with customary Mohammedan stoicism. Most of the foreign residents have better houses roofed with timber trusses and covered with old Russian oil drums beaten out flat. Sheet iron, so procured, is used very widely in all the large towns in the place of corrugated iron, which is too expensive to import. It makes good stoves and pipes for wood fuel, and is useful in all sorts of ways.

Persian architecture has its strong points in making the most of native material and the local woods, also, as in the brick arching of

Digitized by Google

covered-in bazaars, considerable ingenuity is shown; but I am afraid British engineers would join in condemning it as most inconvenient and insanitary.

All sorts of nationalities make up the population in these highland towns. The bulk of the successful merchants are Jews, either Persian Jews or Baghdadis. Hamadan was packed with Armenian and Urmian refugees during 1920-21, and a good many Russians drifted down. Large numbers of Armenian and Assyrian Christians are employed by merchants and the public services as clerks, as well as Persians.

The Armenian carpenter is a good workman, and is found at his trade in an amicable manner alongside the Persian, who is clever, too, in his own way, especially as a blacksmith, tin and coppersmith, and wheelwright.

Hamadan is the headquarters in Persia of the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers, Ltd., and this firm obtains the bulk of its rugs and carpets for export from villages within a fifty or sixty mile radius. The village people are supplied with wool and cotton yarn and dyes, and are paid for the finished articles less the value of material or cash advanced. The rugs produced in this manner are rather crude in design and colour and go chiefly to America, where a drastic process tones down the colouring and entirely changes the appearance of the fabric. There is a factory at Hamadan where large carpets are made under careful supervision, and these are generally beautiful in design, colour, and workmanship. The whole of the carpet or rug is hand-knotted, and takes three months to one year to make. The women who do this work, and whose fingers move so deftly in tying the knots and clipping the face of the carpet, earn the equivalent of only a penny or two each day.

Hamadan, which is 6,200 feet above sea-level, looks over a vast plain stretching northward towards the Shah-i-Gulak Mountains, which forms the main divide separating this tableland from the Kasvin Plain. The lower mountain slopes behind Hamadan are well cultivated for some miles, and the monotonous colouring of the plain, so usual in Persia, is relieved by numerous villages and large areas of grain, maize, vineyards, fruit-trees, and poplars, which follow almost without interruption for forty miles the perennial stream which drains the lower levels. Two miles behind the town the Kuh-i-Alvand range rises abruptly, and is formed largely of igneous rocks with precipitous peaks, and the slopes are strewn with boulders of gneiss and granite.

Near the head of one of the valleys about six miles from Hamadan, known as the Ganj Namah, or Valley of the Tablets, on a huge granite boulder, is the well-known Darius cuneiform inscription. It is remarkably clear, as though it were cut but a hundred years ago. The period is 521 to 466 B.C. Jackson gives the following translation in his "Persia, Past and Present": "A great God is Auramazda, who created

Digitized by Google

this earth, who created yonder Heaven, who created man, who made Peace for man, who made Darius King, the King of many, the one ruler of many, I am Darius, the great King, the King of Kings, King of the countries which have many peoples, King of the great earth even to afar, the son of Hystaspes, the Archæmenian." An inscription to Xerxes, in identical terms, is by the side, and both are in three languages in parallel columns as at Bisitun. Hamadan, or the classical "Ecbatana," the summer capital of "the Medes and Persians," has another association with Xerxes, or the Ahazuerus of Scripture, in the reputed tombs of Queen Esther and Mordecai in the centre of the town. The tombs are side by side and covered with carved woodwork not very ancient in appearance. The interior of the domed building which contains the tomb is dark and damp. There are some Hebrew inscriptions on the walls, and this interesting relic of the Jewish captivity, whether the site is genuine or not, is carefully guarded by the Hebrew community.

Time will not allow me to describe the route from Hamadan to Kasvin. The barrier formed by the Shah-i-Gulak Mountains would not permit the construction of a railway within economical limits, though, with this exception, it would pass over practically level country, which is the case, also, between Kasvin and Tehran. While it was not possible to carry the survey, or any systematic reconnaissance, north of Kasvin owing to the Bolshevik advance and political situation at the time, a cursory inspection by one of our engineers as far as Mandjil confirms that the gorge of the Yuzbashi Chai and the Shah Rud leading from the high plateau through the Elburz Range to Resht and Enzeli and the low levels of the Caspian presents a most difficult engineering problem, which could apparently only be overcome by a rack section if at any time it were desirable to connect Kasvin and Tehran by railway with a Caspian port.

The proposed alignment of the railway from Hamadan to Tehran takes an almost direct route, and rounds the Shah-i-Gulak Mountains via Zarreh, Noberan, and Asiabeg. No engineering difficulties exist on this route. The country is similar to that already described, and there is a fair amount of cultivation, especially in a group of villages near Noberan and round Asiabeg, and at the latter place a good deal of cotton is grown. This should be stimulated by the approach of a railway, and the establishment of cotton yarn and other factories at a point on the line where water power is available should offer good prospects.

At Chamaroun, near Noberan, the Seif-el-Mamalek, a Persian landowner with the rank of General in the Persian Army, received us most hospitably. He lives in a house having the appearance of a castle of the feudal times though built of mud brick, surrounded by the smaller village houses of the peasantry.

Digitized by Google

The system of land-tenure in Persia is similar, too, to feudal times in Europe. Very large tracts of country are owned by families of ancient lineage, and usually the villages with water rights are owned as well. The landowner receives roughly one-third of the produce and the cultivator takes two-thirds, the proportion varying according to conditions of water supply, village accommodation, and so forth. It follows that the landowner has a hold on the peasant labour, though it was at no time represented to me that by unfair means were the people deprived of their freedom.

One seldom sees a school in these country districts, but the condition of the people generally seems a contented one. No doubt changes for their betterment must occur, but there seems no reason why this should not be gradually effected, and without disturbance to trade, if agitators are kept out of the way. The Persian Moslem of the Shiah Sect is not a fanatic, and all classes possess a cheerful temperament and a disposition to make the best of things.

The population of the strip of country described, say, forty miles wide, is, including Tehran and all urban population, about thirty-three per square mile, or a total of 650,000 people. The average for the whole of Persia is about sixteen per square mile.

With the exception of a low divide between Zarreh and Noberan, which is not correctly shown on existing maps, and one or two spurs which trend towards the Great Salt Lake, there is a gradual fall to Tehran. The lowest point—3,500 feet above sea-level—is at the crossing of the Rud-i-Shur near Robat Kerim. This river drains the whole of the Kasvin Plain and the northern slopes of the Shah-i-Gulak Mountains, also a part of the southern slopes of the Elburz Range. It lies in a deep depression and flows into the Great Salt Lake. In the dry weather it is a mere stream and intensely salt, but would require a flood opening of at least 600 feet. From this point there is a gradual ascent over nearly level country at Tehran, which is 3,800 feet above sea-level.

Tehran lies on practically level land from which there is a gradual slope to the foot of the Elburz Mountains six miles away. It covers about four square miles and is surrounded by a moat and earthen ramparts. Several gates ornamented with coloured tiles and minarets give access to the city. The main thoroughfares are broad, and there are avenues of trees and large and shady gardens. Its principal streets are in a transition stage between east and west, but there are now many well-built three or four storied houses of a continental type. It possesses six or eight miles of horse tram-line, and a metre-gauge railway. This little line, the only railway wholly operating in Persia, runs out to the town of Shah Abul Azim five and a half miles away, and conveys devout Moslems and "trippers" to a celebrated mosque. The population of Tehran is probably between 250,000 and 300,000.

Digitized by Google

At the time of my visit practically the whole of its imports came by way of Bushire, Shiraz, and Yezd or Ispahan, an overland journey of say 680 miles. I was told that goods ordered in England or Europe took on an average nine months to deliver in Tehran from the date of despatch, sometimes more and very seldom less. The actual land journey by camel or mule should not be more than eight weeks, but delays occur in transhipment at Bombay, at the custom houses, and various halting centres inland. All merchants and European residents complained of the great delay in getting delivery and the great cost of transport of any goods, no matter what special means were employed or interests were brought to bear on the problem.

In pre-war days Tehran and Kasvin were almost wholly supplied from Enzeli with Russian or continental goods and to a large extent Hamadan and even Kermanshah, exports passing out of the country in the same way. Russian oil from Baku commanded the market to the exclusion of all other brands. In the event of the Russian railways again offering a means of access and egress for merchandise, and competing with the proposed railway from Khaniqin to Tehran, the overland journey by pack animal or cart from Enzeli to Tehran would be 220 miles, to Kasvin 120 miles, to Hamadan 270 miles, and to Kermanshah 380 miles.

The distance by the alignment of the railway from Khaniqin to Tehran is $532\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

Between Tehran and the Caspian Sea the Elburz Range forms an immense barrier, and it is among these mountains after crossing the watershed that the principal bituminous coal-field which supplies Tehran is located, about forty-two miles away. A good many surface mines have been closed in recent years in the Lar River valley and towards the village of Demavend. Those now working are at the head waters of the Lar River. The elevation of the valley is, at its head waters, 9,000 feet above sea-level, and some of the mines are nearly 10,000 feet, so that the working season is confined to four summer months, and all food has to be packed in for the miners, and the coal packed out by mule or camel in sacks, over a quite severe pass of nearly 11,000 feet. Considerable quantities of produce from the Caspian littoral, such as rice, comes into Tehran by the same route.

The principal mines in this area are Gelli Gatel, Gamrot, Bargarh, and Safidab.

One can approach quite close to the mines without being aware of their presence. The seams are thin—between 1 foot 6 inches to 3 feet—and tilted to an acute angle, the dip in some cases being almost vertical. Methods of coal-cutting are, of course, very primitive, and no tools seem to be used other than a windlass and rope and a pick and basket. The seam is gradually worked out in shafts and stalls from the surface to a depth rarely exceeding 100 feet. When water

Digitized by Google

interferes, the miners turn on to some other place. The coal is good, but rather soft. Its calorific value averages 13,150 B.T.U., and it is about equal to good Indian coal.

Another coal area now supplying Tehran is at Yangi Iman Kishlak, about eight miles to the north of a point on the Tehran-Kasvin road, fifty-one miles north-west of Tehran, and on the southern slopes of the Elburz Range and fronting the plains, and therefore at a much lower elevation than that just described. Although the Askenan mine—one of the group—is owned and worked by a French company, "The Syndicat Franco-Iranien," and better methods of coal-getting are employed, either owing to the thinness of the seams or the extra distance of haulage, which is probably the governing factor, the output of the whole field does not equal the quantity sent in from the Lar Valley. The price of coal in Tehran in sterling equivalent is now about £7 10s. per ton. The quantity used does not appear to exceed 8,000 tons annually, the bulk being consumed by the little railway, a small electric light station, and the mint. The price, which has doubled in recent years, probably restricts the demand. The subject is of economic interest, especially as geologists agree that coal, in level seams, should be found below the plain near Tehran at a depth of about 2,000 feet.

The time at my disposal necessitates hurrying up from Hamadan to Ispahan, if I am to reserve a few minutes to describe the route followed through the Bakhtiari country.

The journey from Hamadan to Sultanabad can be accomplished by motor car in the dry weather in a day, though there is no properly formed road. I made the journey by pack train in the early part of April, and the floods caused by the melting of unusually heavy winter snow had carried away some bridges, so that the ordinary route could not conveniently be followed for the whole distance. The village people were hard at work ploughing, in order to make the most of the spring rains, and in a part of the Du-ab Valley I counted thirty ploughs busily engaged in one narrow strip. There are some villages in this valley whose inhabitants are Christians of Armenian origin. They are bilingual and seem quite contented.

Sultanabad, a clean town with a good bazaar, has a population of about 25,000 people. It is only slightly lower in elevation than Hamadan, and stands within sight of the Tuzlu-Gol, a shallow salt lake of some twenty square miles. It is an important centre of the gendarmerie, and, like Hamadan, has a carpet factory owned by Messrs. Zeigler's, the old-established Swiss-British firm of merchants.

The usual route taken by cross-country transport between Sultanabad and Ispahan is via Kum and Kashan, although this is some eighty to one hundred miles longer than the more direct road via Khumain, Gulpaigan, and Deh-hak. The reason that the shorter route—which is

Digitized by Google

quite easy and direct, and might be made into a first-class road, at small cost—is not used, is because of the risk of attack by robbers, who come through the mountainous regions behind Khunsar towards Luristan. Strong gendarmerie posts are established at Khumain, Gulpaigan, and Khunsar, and throughout this journey myself and Mr. C. E. Matthews, who accompanied me, were provided with a guard of twelve sowars and an officer. A little excitement occurred one afternoon when the party split up into two sections, and emerged from the hills by different routes about three miles apart. Each suspected the other of being robbers, and made a great show of galloping across the plains to a strategic point, and then blazing away at a range of two miles or so until the mistake was discovered.

The country passed through between Gulpaigan and Chah-i-Siah, near Ispahan, is flanked by high mountains to the south-west, and is in the nature of a ridge or saddle-back. For 100 miles the average height of the plain is 6,500 feet above sea-level, and the highest point on the trail is 7,240 feet. For the greater part the country is arid, though the Gulpaigan and Khumain plains are fertile tracts of country. Elsewhere the rivers are not perennial, and the widely scattered villages are dependent wholly or partly on "kanats," or underground water channels. A large amount of ingenuity is shown by Persians in the construction and maintenance of these channels, on which the means of subsistence of many thousands of people depends. This system of conducting water is widely applied throughout all the more arid portions of Persia. It consists in boring a number of wells of small diameter, roughly lined with stone, and at a distance apart of about 60 feet, more or less. The bottoms of the wells are joined by a small channel, or tunnel, with a slight gradient, and this is also generally lined with hand-packed stone.

The line of wells stretches sometimes for miles across the country, and usually conducts water not from a defined spring but from saturated strata and at a depth of, say, 25 feet from the surface. The accumulation of water which weeps into the wells and channel from the wet strata is supplied originally by the mantle of snow and the spring rains filtrating through very absorbent soil or rock debris, and attains, in the course of a mile or so, a flow of 2 or 3 cubic feet per second—amply sufficient to support the life of a large village. As a rule the "kanat" approaches, across an arid and sloping plain, the lower portions of a range of mountains, and the supply of water is probably partly derived from fissures below the exposed rocks.

Many Persian landowners are very interested in the possibilities of procuring water by artesian well borings, but up to the present experiments do not seem to have been made. The prospects of successful results, however, are good, and it may well be that herein lies the solution of the water difficulty in many parts of Persia.

Digitized by Google

Ispahan lies at the edge of a vast plain trending north and westwards, which is 5,250 feet above sea-level. It is well watered by the Zindeh Rud, which surrounds the city to the south, and is bridged by three fine-looking brick structures. Many miles of intense cultivation surround the city and follow the windings of the river and its tributaries. The head waters of the Zindeh Rud offer great possibilities of water conservation which would enable much greater areas to be cultivated. At present all flood water of this considerable river—which is over 500 feet wide, with a depth of 3 or 4 feet at flood times—runs to waste in a salt marsh seventy miles from Ispahan.

The population of Ispahan is about 100,000, and it retains its old-world appearance little altered by modern improvements. As a centre of trade it has great importance and occupies a commanding position, and could be easily connected by rail with Hamadan by the route described.

At the time of my visit the headquarters of the South Persian Rifles had been moved from Shiraz to Ispahan, and a small gymkhana and race meeting was held on the outskirts of the town through the enterprise of the British and Persian officers, encouraged by the principal residents both Persian and European. Competition was keen, and, although apart from the gendarmerie, entries by Persians were not very numerous, there was quite a good and friendly gathering. The Governor of Ispahan, Sirdar Mohtasham, a brother of Sirdar Jang, was present and other leading Bakhtiaris, and a number of Persian ladies were also on the course in specially reserved tents. It is to be regretted from the point of view of both British and Persian interests that the South Persian Rifles, as then organized and officered, has been recently disbanded.

In passing south from Ispahan travellers who are able to arrange motor-car transport take the road by Shiraz to Bushire, though a part of the distance—that over the mountains near the coast—is impassable by car. The track to Ahwaz, through the Bakhtiari Mountains and the Karun Gorges, offers an alternative, but this journey is extremely arduous for transport animals. I passed over portions of this track between Kaleh Madrasseh and Qavarukh and also between the Pul-i-Shalu (the Iron Bridge) and Malamir, and the bad condition of these—the easier portions at either end—shows clearly enough why transport rates are so high between Ahwaz and Ispahan.

The route I followed was first explored by Major—then Captain—Noel and Mr. Sotham of the Mesopotamia-Persia Corporation in 1917. Their object was to discover an alternative route to the existing track and such as would avoid the tremendous gorges of the Karun crossed in succession and might be adopted for a properly constructed motor road, it being readily admitted by those who know the track well that it is impossible of substantial improvement within reasonable economic

Digitized by Google

limits. It is interesting to note that this track was made where it is, taking the higher spurs and deeper gorges almost on the square, in order to keep as far as possible from the Lurs on one side and the Kuhgelus and Qashgais on the other, professional robbers and raiders with whom it is impossible to come to terms. Toll is collected at barriers erected on the track from the Charvadars in charge of the pack trains, being based on so much for each pack animal. The bridges are maintained by the corporation mentioned in arrangement with the Bakhtiari Government, but very little, if anything, seems to be spent on the track.

It must be conceded that the new route proposed via Urujan, Ganduman, Bichgird, Sini, Lurdagan, Bidela and Bars was well selected and is probably the most practicable route through this country to Ahwaz and the coast, but it is unlikely that the economic conditions and needs of Persia would justify the construction of a railway, owing to costly engineering works which would be necessary. Further exploration is, however, needed east and west before it can be definitely stated that no practicable outlet to the coast exists.

The Ispahan Plain is flanked to the south by a high range of mountains which forms the main watershed dividing the sources of the Karun River from the streams flowing eastwards to the salt marshes of the plateau, and it is here, therefore, that the great fall begins in that river which lower down cuts with great bends through very mountainous country until it finally emerges to the almost level plains near Shushter, and then flows as a sluggish river to Ahwaz and until it joins the Shatt-el-Arab at Mohammerah.

The approach to the watershed, or divide, from Ispahan is over country similar to that described, and follows generally the valley of the Zindeh Rud. There are alternative passes over the dividing range: that most frequently used, and followed by the so-called "Lynch" track, is the Gardan-i-Rukh, which attains an elevation of 7,900 feet, and the other is the Tang-i-Dusdan, of about the same height, leading to Urujan almost due south of Ispahan. Over the divide between these two passes, in an inner valley, is Surkh, the ancestral home of Sirdar Jang, one of the Bakhtiari Khans, and well known to those conversant with Persia as a very capable administrator and Government official. He received us very hospitably, and was most interested in the possibilities of railway development. Through his courtesy in placing two of his personal guards at our disposal, and in sending messengers to the leading Khans on the route proposed to be followed, no difficulties were experienced, and in three weeks the journey was safely and successfully accomplished to Maidan-i-Naftun, the oil-fields of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. I was also fortunate in meeting Major Noel at Surkh, as he had just been visiting some little-known parts of the Bakhtiari country and was on his way to Tehran.

Digitized by Google

The village of Surkh has an elevation of 6,700 feet, and a gradual ascent of 700 feet is made to the head of the valley between Urujan and Ganduman, from which point a stream flows southwards to join the Karun. A feature of the route followed was to avoid, as far as possible, the sudden fall of the larger tributaries of the Karun and especially to minimize the length, which would closely follow a winding river pent up in a gorge-like valley which is so characteristic of this country.

From Bichgird the track takes a short cut, thus avoiding a circuitous river route, and with a comparatively easy ascent over a spur known as the Gushingli Pass then drops down a short valley to the Ab-i-Ganjam. This river was first crossed on the edge of the plateau at Bichgird. The stream which drains the valley from the Gushlingli Spur breaks through a small cañon and joins the larger river, now a mountain torrent—in partial flood when I crossed it by the Pul-i-Carrabast in May, 1920. Up and down this river great mountains overshadow the valley, which lower down is shut in by precipitous slopes, and although it swings into the Karun after some twelve miles of gorge, neither road nor railway could advisably pass by this wild and inhospitable route. The track climbs 600 feet to the Sini Plain above the left bank of the Ab-i-Ganjam and finds a gradual descent by the Ab-i-Lurdagan, past the village of that name, and then to Munj and Bidela, and as the Karun River gorge is approached, the valley is shut in by high mountains until finally the track, which is only a mountain path, passes over a succession of spurs to the Kirsan River, which joins the Karun at Bars.

All this country is covered with scrub oak, and there is an abundance of vegetation and excellent grass. Agriculturally it possesses great possibilities. There is plenty of good timber, a rich and virgin soil and immense grazing areas, perennial streams, and a rainfall of probably 18 to 20 inches per annum, but unfortunately very few inhabitants. The scarcity of population seems to be due to the continual inter-tribal warfare. At least half the adult males spend their time in riding up and down the mountains waving rifles in the air and letting off at everything which takes their fancy. Those who work seem very poor, and are largely semi-nomadic in habit. In the summer they leave their villages and crops practically unguarded and camp on the higher hills with their flocks, and live on very unnutritious bread made from acorns.

Should a road or railway ever be constructed it would follow generally the route described, but it would swing into the Karun Gorge near Bidela and from there follow the left bank of that river, crossing the Kirsan River at or near its junction, and then continue down the main gorge to the iron bridge, where it would rise over the ridges which flank the valley towards Malamir.

Digitized by Google

Crossing the Kirsan River was an interesting experience. It was in half flood, and a great volume of milky-looking water roared along at a pace, in mid-stream, of 25 or 30 feet per second. Much to our surprise all camp equipment and transport animals were got across without accident or losses. The natives are accustomed to swim the river either supported by a single goat skin inflated with air or a small raft is made with several skins on a light frame. Each time the crossing is made the single skin or the raft is carried up the edge of the river for the length of the drift, which is usually 400 or 500 yards, so that it takes many hours' hard work to put a large party with their belongings across. The animals are usually guided by two men on single skins, one on each side, who hit the beast on the head to force it to swim straight; but even so three or four attempts are frequently necessary before success is attained.

At the Kirsan crossing the large mounted guard of Bakhtiaris provided at Lurdagan returned, and thereafter a rather nondescript following was put up by the Bars men through country said to be infested by robbers.

Some excitement was provided one afternoon when we were supposed to be fired at from a neighbouring hill, and the Bakhtiari clansmen let off their musty old rifles in all directions, each man being armed with a weapon of different calibre; but it looked very much as though our friends had thoughtfully arranged the affair so as to obtain a little extra money at the end of the journey.

There is fine, wild scenery down the Karun to the iron bridge. Between Bars and Sadat there were splendid crops of barley and bearded wheat; both the ears and the straw were the best I have seen in Persia. Some of the villages, notably Behars, are romantically situated on spurs of the mountains overshadowed by a sheer rise of nearly vertical cliff. The track takes a heart-breaking route over ridges and foothills, it being impossible to closely follow the river.

From the iron bridge, which is 2,550 feet above sea-level, is a climb of 1,500 feet over the dividing ridge of limestone which separates the Karun Gorge from the Malamir Plain.

There are alternative routes to Ahwaz from Malamir. The country, which now reassumes its arid colouring, is rapidly descending to the desert level, though it is much broken by ridges and isolated mountains. The route followed was by Mortafie, Kaleh Madrasseh, and the Ab-i-Tambih direct to the oil-fields, and thereafter by motor-car to Ahwaz and Mohammerah over the desert. This sketch of my journeys would be incomplete were I to make no reference to mineral prospects in Persia. I have already referred to the important coal-measures near Tehran. Coal is reported to be in the vicinity of Kermanshah and of Hamadan, but it seems to be a lignite of rather inferior quality. The portions of Persia I have described are not apparently well

Digitized by Google

mineralized, though no systematic prospecting seems to have been done. The best fields for investigation are doubtless in the district where igneous rocks occur, notably in the Elburz Range and probably also in the Kuh-i-Alvand, south of Hamadan. Silver lead ore and copper in various forms are known to be widely found, and I procured some samples from the Shah-i-Gulak Mountains near Chamaroun on the Noberan route between Hamadan and Tehran. The same ores are reported in the vicinity of Kum, Kashan, and Ispahan.

Only a brief sojourn in Persia is needed to appreciate how greatly cheap transport is needed, and how, until that is obtained, there can be no substantial progress.

The economic importance of a connection by rail is apparent, and a further development would be the construction of feeder roads and the extended use of motor-cars and lorries, which form of transport, it may be remarked incidentally, has not yet proved a serious competitor in Persia to animal transport, though this will doubtless change when petrol becomes cheaper and more efficient workshops are established. In considering the economic value of the scheme both to Persia and Irak, and of its possible developments, one must take into account the large deposits of mineral oil which are at present so valuable an asset both to Persia and to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company near Ahwaz, and to the probable further extension of operations near Khaniqin and south of Mosul.

The gauge question opens up a wide field for debate, and I do not propose to say more than that Persia, both economically and physiographically, requires a metre-gauge railway system.

In conclusion I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Messrs. Bishop, Allen, and Morgan for the use of negatives, in addition to those borrowed from Mr. Matthews, which, supplementary to my own, have enabled me to give a fairly well-connected series of views this evening.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—If there are any members of this Society, or visitors, who are well acquainted with this subject, and would now open a discussion, we should be very much obliged Is General Lubbock here?

Brigadier-General LUBBOCK, C.M.G.: As I was in charge of all the railways in Irak, I naturally took great interest in their extension into Persia. I took a great deal of interest in the survey, and I would have liked very much to hear this evening some sort of forecast of the possible results of the survey, whether anything was going to happen. But that the lecturer did not venture to prophesy.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It occurs to me to mention that the question of railways in Persia is by no means a new thing. I am sure there must be many in this room who remember how, in 1911, the question of the

Digitized by Google

Trans-Persian Railway was very seriously taken up by the British, Russian, and French Governments. At that time I was not on the Council of the Central Asian Society, but a member of that Council came to me and said that the Society wanted a lecture. The Trans-Persian Railway was just coming to the fore, and, as I had known Persia for about thirty years, I said, "Well, that shall be my subject." You know, some of you at least, that the scheme was to bring a railway down from the Trans-Caucasian line, skirting round the south-west angle of the Caspian Sea, to Tehran, and thence probably to Yezd and Kirman. After that the route was uncertain. The goal was the Indian frontier, but whether via Nushki to the Quetta line or across Makrān to the North-Western Railway near Karachi was not decided. It is curious, now, to think that, when the scheme had advanced as far as it had, it should have collapsed, and that we should now be beginning to consider railways in Persia from an entirely different starting-point—namely, based upon Mesopotamia. As we see things at this moment, we can but wait and see what the issue brings forth. The fact that one great and strongly supported project has simply come to naught gives us the warning so familiar on our motor roads: "Drive slowly." In the winter of 1911-12 I went over to Paris with one or two influential Englishmen who were working in the interests of the Trans-Persian Railway. I was not an influential man myself, but I knew Persia. I attended a meeting in Paris of Russian promoters and French financiers. I was particularly struck on that occasion by the very perfect knowledge which a Russian engineer who was present showed of railway possibilities in Persia and the intimate acquaintance that he possessed with possible railway routes. What Russia had come down to Paris for at that moment was to interest France financially in the scheme, but France at that moment was not in the humour. The Russian representatives did not convince the French financiers that the subject was at that moment ripe for consideration. The great house of Baring took the affair in hand later, but before matters were duly settled the Great War broke out. I have not the slightest doubt that French financiers to-day, who see so very little chance of recovering any of their investments from Russia, are thankful that France did not support the Trans-Persian Railway. (Applause.)

When an entirely new railway scheme for Persia is promulgated before this Society, which for twenty years has been dealing with them, it is as well that the younger school of members, as well as the outside public, should have an outline of what the Society has done. I give below the lectures that have been delivered:

1904. "Railways in Western Asia."—Lieut.-Colonel H. Picot.
1905. "Russian Railways towards India."—Colonel C. E. de la P. Beresford.
1908. "The Future of British Relations with Persia."—Mr. H. F. B. Lynch.

Digitized by Google

1909. "A Railway from the Mediterranean to India."—Mr. C. E. D. Black.
1911. "The Proposed Trans-Persian Railway."—Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate.
1911. "Railways in the Middle East."—Mr. H. F. B. Lynch.
1911. "The Baghdad Railway."—M. Chéradame.
1919. "The Nushki-Sistan Railway."—Lieut.-Colonel F. C. Webb-Ware.

To these eight lectures should be added articles by Sir Hugh Barnes, Sir Louis Dane, and Mr. A. L. P. Tucker. Many members of the Central Asian Society, notably Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Sir George Lloyd (now Governor of Bombay), and Sir Hugh Barnes, dealt with the subject in letters and articles contributed to *The Near East*. These facts will make it clear that railway enterprise in Persia is a subject that the Central Asian Society has long made its own, and that nothing pleased it more than to invite the Persia Society to join the audience which has listened so keenly to Mr. Frank Grove's lecture and so thoroughly enjoyed his pictures.

The CHAIRMAN: If there is anyone else who wishes to speak we shall be very glad.

Mr. D. MELLOR: May I ask the lecturer about the railway running from Baghdad on the way to Kermanshah? I believe at present it ends at Quraitu. He mentioned that a portion of the line was to be dropped. Am I right in understanding that about twenty miles of the line are to be dropped altogether, or are they taking it twenty miles further on up into the mountains?

The LECTURER: In reply to the point raised as to the diversion of a portion of the existing railway from Baghdad to Quraitu, in order to get an easier gradient, it is generally understood that the joint station and commencement of the proposed railway into Persia would be at Khaniqin Village, and thus about twenty-three miles from Khaniqin Road Station to Quraitu would be diverted.

In reply to other points raised, I may say that the paper accentuated the fact—and it was evident on the map—of the central position of the line. As an extension of the Mesopotamian railways, at any rate, as far as Hamadan, it would be a beginning of a railway system in the centre of Persia, a development, of course, from the Irak railways. Such a railway, it was also evident on the map, would be capable of extension east and west. Further than that I am not prepared at the moment to make any statements. Those who know Persia know perfectly well that the barrier of mountains which surrounds the Persian Gulf forms a very serious obstacle to a line due south. With regard to the point raised by General Lubbock, I may say that the prospects of traffic, both passenger and goods, on the railway that is proposed are quite good. The amount of merchandise

Digitized by Google

handled by difficult, slow, and expensive transport is very considerable. Everybody must know that a town such as Hamadan or Kermanshah, of fifty or sixty thousand people, receives a very large amount of imported goods, and exports very considerably. The pilgrim traffic is very great; and then there are the prospects of development which I have referred to.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before asking you to give a vote of thanks to a lecturer for his lecture, it is usual for the Chairman to sum up the discussion, but as we have had no discussion, I am afraid I shall find some difficulty in summing it up. I can only say that I regret that I have not even read up the subject sufficiently to make any illuminating remarks. I think it is distinctly unfortunate that we should not have had a discussion on this matter, because the whole question of railway development in the Middle East is a most extremely interesting one, from the point of view not only of strategy but also of commerce; and Persia forms, as it were, the hub connecting the Caucasus, Turkestan, Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, and Irak. As the lecturer has told us, the line that probably has the best commercial prospects is that leading up from Irak to Kermanshah and Hamadan, and so on to Tehran and Ispahan, which would be the eventual objectives of that line. But the real difficulty with Persia is this, that Persia is a country without a stable government, and without a stable government and without a reasonably dense population there can be no great development of any railway system in Persia for a great many years. We must await peace and order in the country before railway development can really have any good prospects. I regret that neither time nor my knowledge of the subject would in any way make it advantageous for me to prolong my remarks, and I therefore now end by asking you for a vote of thanks to the lecturer for describing that portion of the country with which he has been specially engaged, and which is of course the most important portion as regards railway development; though I regret that the part which most of us—at all events those who are connected with the East—know best does not come within the sphere of his lecture—I mean, of course, the Indian frontier line from Nushki with its present terminus at Duzdap in Persia. We, and when I say "we" I mean the Indian Government and the Indian commercial community, are more intimately interested with the eastern provinces of Persia than with the western; but that unfortunately does not come within the lecturer's purview. I will now ask you to record your vote of thanks to the lecturer for the interesting account he has given us. (Applause.)

The vote of thanks was heartily given, and the meeting closed.

Digitized by Google

THE QANUN AL ARADHI

In accordance with the note following Mr. Howell's lecture on page 39 of the last number of the JOURNAL, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speech at that lecture is given here. It is much regretted that it was not received in time for publication with the lecture.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: Colonel Howell was good enough to suggest that I should open the discussion on his paper, and I do so with the more pleasure as he is an old pupil of mine and one of whom I am very proud. The tables are now turned and we are all sitting at his feet here. We have all learned a great deal from the very lucid, humorous, and graphic account he has given us of the state of affairs in 'Iraq. His account is of great value not only to those who are concerned with the discharge of our responsibilities there, but to all interested in land revenue and settlement, and in fact to everyone interested in the administration of Eastern countries. For as Colonel Howell pointed out, in all the ancient empires the system of land-tenure and the system of land assessment were the two main factors of good government; they are the two tests which are invariably applied. Hence we find that so many of the great administrators of antiquity and of the Middle Ages owe their fame to the fact that they identified themselves with the reform of the system of land-tenure and land revenue assessment. The Gracchi brothers in ancient Rome, and Julius Cæsar and his nephew Augustus in Imperial Rome, were great land reformers. Later on we find Naushirwan in pre-Moslem Persia. I wonder Colonel Howell did not make a reference to him, for in the East his name is a household word; it is symbolical of justice. He was the first to fix the standard of measurement based on that of Cæsar which was to be applied in valuing land, and also the State share of the produce which was to be exacted from the holder of this land. These two measures protected the people from the exactions of dishonest officials. Passing on from him, we find the great Khalif Omar, who also identified himself in a remarkable degree with land reform by carrying on the principles of Naushirwan; and later on Akbar the Great owed his name and his fame in India very largely to the just and far-reaching land reforms which he inaugurated there. Coming to our own day, I suppose that Napoleon's reputation as an administrator rests to no small extent on his handling of the agrarian system in France and the establishment of a peasant proprietary.

Digitized by Google

On the other hand, I think we are all justified in accepting Colonel Howell's conclusion that where the empires of antiquity have failed, it is due mainly to the fact that they have not properly handled the two great problems of the system of land-tenure and land assessment. We have only to look to recent events to find that the French Revolution was brought about largely by a bad agrarian system, and the Russian Revolution we know was largely due to the fact that the Russian soldier at the Front was informed—rumours were brought to the effect —that the lands of the nobles and the Church were being divided, and the soldiers, being mainly peasants, bolted from the Front to go back to their villages and get their share of whatever land was going. There we have examples of two great revolutions of modern days largely precipitated by this agrarian question.

It is particularly interesting to find that in 'Iraq the system of land-tenure was hardly at all influenced by the Islamic religious law. In all Mohammedan countries we are accustomed to find Islamic religious law dominating everything; in 'Iraq it was calmly pushed aside and the matter left to local custom or the civil law. Exactly the same thing has happened in India, whether among Mohammedans or Hindoos. You will find those who live in the towns following with the greatest closeness the Hindoo or Mohammedan religious law. But the same people, directly they become associated with the land, throw the religious law aside and adopt the law or custom of the country. You ask a Syed what custom is followed as to the inheritance of land —whether that of the Sheriat which gives a share to women, or that of the country, which denies all share to women—he will say at once that he follows the custom of the country. In other words, though he won't say so, he disregards the Sheriat. It would be very interesting to have seen what system of rights in land would have been evolved by the nomadic tribes of Mesopotamia if they had been allowed to develop on their own lines. That development was retarded by the instability—economic, social, and political—which prevailed in Mesopotamia. But had they been given a chance it is not improbable that they would have evolved a system suited to local needs, a system somewhat similar to that of the nomadic tribes in North-Western India. Unfortunately one of those well-meaning doctrinaires who have done so much mischief in the world intervened with laws based not on what the people wanted, but what it was thought they should want, and Midhat Pasha thrust from above on the unfortunate 'Iraq the system of *tapoo*. A more unsuitable and unworkable system it would be hard to imagine. It was devised apparently in the interest of the bureaucracy of Constantinople or elsewhere, and imposed from above absolutely regardless of the wishes and traditions of the local people. Compare that with what we did in India. In India we have made many mistakes, but in this particular

Digitized by Google

matter I think we can comfort ourselves with the reflection that we have gone on the right lines. In all our system of land revenue assessment and tenures we have accepted and improved on the system we found in existence; we have worked not from above down but from below upwards. Our land records are based on enquiries made locally. The maps and records are prepared locally, in the village, by the expert local agency, and in the presence of and after enquiry from the people whose rights are in question; they are tested, also on the spot, by higher officials, and in the end are a miracle of accuracy. Colonel Howell has suggested that perhaps they are not a complete evidence of title. They are the recognized records of rights in land, and the courts are by law bound to assume, and do assume, that they are completely accurate until their inaccuracy is proved. The result is that they are usually accepted, and rightly accepted, as conclusive evidence of the title of the persons whose names are entered in those books as landlords and tenants, and of their liabilities to one another and to the State. Therefore to Colonel Howell, or anyone accustomed to the cheap and accurate system of land-records in India, it must have been heart-breaking to deal with this appalling *tapoo* system of 'Iraq. I daresay Colonel Howell often said what Lord Fisher said, that the best thing to do would be to scrap the lot and start all over again.

I will only say a few words about the land-revenue system, the Turkish system as described by him. The Turkish method of collection involves practically every form that we are accustomed to in India; and it is very curious to see how exactly those forms reproduce themselves in different countries. We get the form of division of the crop (*batai*), the State taking one-fifth more or less. We get the form of the appraisement of the crop (*kankut*, or tip) where it is valued standing. Then we get the money value of the crop on the ground, after it has been cut and thrashed; and then we go a stage further, and, instead of assessing the money value of the crop every year, we make a fixed cash assessment for a term of years. That is what we term in India a settlement. All these things prevail in 'Iraq as in India, but it is significant to find that the share taken by the actual cultivator in 'Iraq—a half—is almost always the same as in India, although the conditions are so different. It seems to be traditional that the man who cultivates the land shall receive half the crop at least. It is most rare to find him in India receiving less than half; often he receives a good deal more. Another interesting point is this: Colonel Howell has told us that after the cultivator's five-tenths and the headman's one-tenth have been separated off, the landlord takes two-tenths and the State two-tenths. That practically works out as in India, where in theory the landlord keeps one-half of the net assets for himself and pays one-half to the State.

Colonel Howell referred to the fact that our system in India is

Digitized by Google

largely based on the reforms introduced by Akbar, and he regretted the fact that Turkey, although it may have had a Sulieman the Magnificent, never had an Akbar the Great. I will read a few lines from the "Ain-i-Akbar," showing the lines on which Akbar carried out his reforms; you will be astonished at the breadth of vision and the interesting historical analogies they display. They also throw light on the history of the land question in other Mohammedan countries. These are taken from the Commentaries of Abu-l-Fazl. The first point is that Akbar, knowing the value of old authority in support of what he was doing, took Naushirwan as his model. He adopted the *bigha* standard of measurement, practically the same as the Roman Jugum: the square of a chain in lengths 60 "Cæsar's" yards of 33 inches—*i.e.*, 55 English yards. He took one-third of the produce as the State's share laid down by Naushirwan and followed by Omar. Abu-l-Fazl, in his treatise on taxes, tells us: "In former times the monarchs of Hindustan exacted the sixth of the produce of the lands; in the Turkish Empire the husbandman paid a fifth; in Turan the sixth; and in Iran the tenth. But at the same time there was levied a general poll tax which was called 'khorâj.' Naushirwan instituted a land measure of 60 square 'kaisari gaz,' and computing the produce of such a quantity of land to be a 'kifeez' valued at 3 *dirhams*, he determined that a third part should be the proportion of revenue.

"When the Khalifat descended to Omar he approved of the wisdom of Naushirwan, but introduced a few innovations. Latterly in Iran and Turan, Government has taken a tenth part of the produce of the soil, but at the same time the husbandman is loaded with a number of other taxes, which altogether exceed half the produce. In every kingdom, besides the land tax, Government exacts something from the property of every individual (a long list of these extra levies follows). But this mode of collection is destructive to the country and vexatious to the people. His Majesty therefore abolished all arbitrary taxes. He fixed the *gaz* (yard measure) and the *tenâl* (measuring chain) and the *bigha* ($\frac{5}{8}$ of an acre). After which he ascertained the value of the (produce of the) lands and fixed the revenue accordingly. . . . One-third part of the average produce of a *bigha* of each sort of land—good, middling, bad—is the State revenue fixed by His Majesty. What was exacted by Sher Khan (Akbar's Afghan predecessor) exceeded the present produce of the land."

Akbar took three kinds of land, as in Rome, took an average of what each would produce, and took one-third of that as the value of the produce. But he found it very difficult to assess on those lines from year to year, owing to the fact that the amount of the crop and the cash value were fluctuating. Therefore, after ten years' experience of collecting each year according to crop and prices, he fixed a regular

Digitized by Google

assessment. Taking the average assessment of ten years as his basis, he fixed that as the amount that each village should pay. That in practice is the origin of the system of land revenue administration which we are following in India to-day. Akbar's equitable system died away after him as the country fell into anarchy; but the roots were there; the tradition survived. It was not difficult to revive it. The system we derive from Akbar was derived by him from Omar, who derived it from Naushirwan, and has much in common with, even if not directly based on, the old Roman assessment and survey. For it is quite possible that the Persians and Arabs copied the Roman system.

The two things which have done most to justify our rule in India up to date are, firstly, we have made just distribution of the rights in the land, and have prepared an extremely accurate record of those rights. In the next place, we have placed on the land an assessment which is just and equitable, and the pitch of which in my experience has yearly been getting lower and lower. Akbar, the great reformer, took one-third of the produce and prided himself on his moderation; roughly we take one-eighth or one-tenth. The Native States of India take about double what the British Government takes. We hope that 'Iraq, under the Government which has now been established there, will be able to obtain and enjoy those two main elements of prosperity —that is, an equitable distribution of rights in the land with a good record of such rights and moderate assessments. For such work knowledge, experience, and sympathy are essential. If the new Government of 'Iraq are in a position to obtain the services of officers like Colonel Howell for work of that kind, they will be very well repaid by the increased prosperity and contentment of the people. (Applause.)

Digitized by Google

THE ASSYRIAN ADVENTURE OF 1920

By Lieut.-Colonel F. Cunliffe-Owen, C.M.G.,
Late Director of Repatriation in the Civil Government of Mesopotamia.

The event forming the title of this paper was inaugurated from the Refugee Camp, Baqubah, Mesopotamia, of which I was in charge from June, 1919.

Prior to going to Baqubah, I had had a lengthy association with the Near and Middle East in various capacities—in fact, since 1912. I had only in the previous year (1918) completed a mission to Central Arabia, involving many months spent with Ibn Saoud, the ruler of Nejd, and to turn from this especial centre of Moslemism (the purest and most strict in every sense of the word) to dealing with Eastern Christians, of which the Baqubah Camp was composed, was indeed a remarkable change.

At Baqubah, twenty-seven miles east of Baghdad, there were assembled some 45,000 refugees of three categories. There were two categories of Assyrians and one of Armenians. The first two categories were mountaineer Assyrians, mostly Nestorian Christians from the mountains north of Mosul, and plainsmen from the neighbourhood of Lake Urmia in Persian territory. The story of how these Assyrians came to Mesopotamia has been related before now.*

The mountaineers having decided to throw in their lot against the Turks, took up arms some time after the war began, and fought the Turks with some success. As time went on, however, these mountaineers went short of arms and ammunition, and as the Russian pressure on the Turks declined, the Assyrians were forced away from their country. They managed, however, to effect a junction with their Urmian brethren, who had actually joined the Russians and had taken up arms with them. After the second Russian retirement from Turco-Persian localities, the united Assyrians were left in the lurch. They defended Urmia with great resolution, but, being assailed on all sides by Kurds, Turks, and even Persians, they had to evacuate Urmia, and made their way, with all their families and belongings, to a district

* Full historical and other details connected with the Baqubah refugees and their movements will be found in the printed reports of the Colonial Office (formerly India Office), under No. 36,170 of December 4, 1919, and October, 1921, compiled by Lieut.-Colonel F. Cunliffe-Owen and Mr. H. L. Charge.

Digitized by Google

where they hoped to get in touch with the British. On their way they were joined by a large number of Armenians from the Van and Caucasian localities. This combined mass of people eventually got into touch with the British near Sian-Kaleh, and were sheltered behind our lines of communication.

During their retreat numbers of people of both sexes were killed or died, but, as I have said, some 45,000 got through, and, as these people could not be maintained or supplied in the forward area, they were gradually shepherded down to Baqubah. Here they were on a line of railway by which they could be fed, and a vast camp was set up for them on the Diyala River.

This camp was installed on the most approved lines of military management. Water-supply was laid on, ample rations issued, and large supervising medical and administrative staffs established. In the early months these refugees naturally required some rest and recuperation, but when I joined the camp they were in the most healthy and vigorous condition, and the time had arrived when efforts had to be made to reduce the cost of this vast undertaking. Concurrently with my arrival, the supervising staff was reduced to a great extent, and shortly after my arrival I got rid of almost all the expensive European and Indian personnel, and replaced them by refugees themselves. However, this was not enough, and some means had to be devised of either repatriating these people or making them to a certain extent self-supporting. The difficulty about repatriation lay in the fact that the conditions in the country from which they came were still very disturbed. Operations were in progress against various Kurdish recalcitrant elements to the north of Mosul, while in the Urmian Persian localities the conditions were still worse. As for the Armenians, no one would receive them overseas at any spot where they could reach their former homes.

As regards the other problem, that of making the refugees self-supporting, any project on these lines involved a large outlay, and such was not worth while except for permanent habitation. Only a very small proportion was skilled in any form of work other than agricultural. There were, too, comparatively large numbers of women and children and old persons. Generally speaking, the men showed strong disinclination for settled work; any parties that were sent out to work compulsorily with Government Departments were unsatisfactory. However, by the institution of camp industries in a small way, gardens and forage farms, a certain return was being got in by the end of 1919, and the cost of the camp, originally about 18 lakhs per month, was reduced to about 9 lakhs per month. At the beginning of 1920 the position in the Mosul area had improved, and it was felt that some determined attempt must be made for repatriation.

The difficulty about the Assyrians was that they had no reliable

Digitized by Google

leaders, and no unanimity among the various elements to effect repatriation as a whole. It was possible to place them in a zone of country north of and quite close to our administrative line of the Mosul vilayet, but when this was put to the people no willing acquiescence was obtained. Some of the mountaineers would listen to no plan other than going back to their own particular regions under British protection. Others would not leave the present line of British occupation, and nothing would satisfy the Urmians but to go back to Urmia. None of them could understand why the British were not prepared to send an armed force to install them in their old territories and occupy the country.

The nominal, or rather theoretical, headship of the mountaineer Assyrians had been vested in the Nestorian Patriarchate of the House of Mar Shimmun. This Patriarchate was an offshoot of the old-time See of Antioch, but had diverted from it to follow the tenets of Nestorius. With the Turks, it was customary to deal with the subject races through the spiritual heads, and hence the Patriarchal family came to be regarded as the representatives of the Assyrian communities within the Turkish dominions. The Mar Shimmun, however, who was in office in 1915 was murdered under circumstances of great treachery by Simko, one of the Kurdish chieftains against whom the Assyrians were engaged in the operations around Urmia during the retreat. The successor was not of the same stamp, and was, moreover, an invalid, and incapable of exercising much leadership. This fact, coupled with the wanderings of the Assyrians and their prolonged absence from their old homes, caused the Patriarchal influence to wane. Also, the Urmian groups, being Persian subjects, acknowledged the Patriarchal influence in but a slight degree.

The Patriarch's sister, Surma Khanum, in somewhat less disturbed times, might well have been looked to in a directing sense. Her name is well known to many in England, as she came to this country in the autumn of 1919 to plead the cause of the Assyrian nation. She was received in all the influential circles and remained at home until the autumn of 1920. An educated and exceedingly intelligent lady, she would, no doubt, have achieved great things for her nation had the times been more propitious. As it turned out, however, her prolonged absence rather augmented the disunion of the people, and, after all, what they really needed was a determined and single-eyed male leader, capable of welding all the diverse elements together.

Under these circumstances one Agha Petros came forward. He was by origin a mountaineer from the Baz country, who had latterly travelled a good deal, and finished up by owning property in Urmia. Rather a mysterious personage, he had attained some eminence before the war, and during the war had done some good work in conducting the Assyrian retreat. He was, though, of a different religious per-

Digitized by Google

suasion to the Nestorians, and was strongly hostile to any temporal power being accorded to the Patriarchate, but as certain sections of people were strongly attached to him he came forward with a project to reconcile the various conflicting wishes by compromise. He proposed that the mountaineers and Urmians should combine to regain part of their former territory and form a combined Assyrian nation from the refugees at Baqubah, who would be afterwards joined by the large numbers who were still in the Caucasus, near Tabreez, and in America. He recognized that it would be impossible to return to their full former mountain habitat, but that it would be possible for the Assyrians, if suitably provided with arms as a precautionary measure, to regain the mountain country from near Gawar eastwards, where they would actually join up with the Urmians who would return to Urmia. It was recognized that this project was feasible of execution providing the Assyrians were united, and if they arrived in these localities they could claim to return to their own homes without necessarily fighting. As for the Persian Urmian subjects, they only asked of the Persian Government to return to their former properties peaceably, and would engage to hand in all arms if the other inhabitants did likewise. Agha Petros stipulated for certain armaments and initial supplies, after which he would be responsible for the movement under the benevolent encouragement of the British. He secured the adherence of the whole of the Urmian community and of about two-thirds of the mountaineers, and under these auspices, and with a hope of obtaining the establishment of an Assyrian nation, the proposal was agreed to.

If some such project were not entertained, it was probable that all hope for a future Assyrian nation would disappear, and, as events transpired, this forecast was correct.

It was decided to give Agha Petros an equivalent of rifles to that which was originally in the possession of the Assyrians when they were disarmed at Baqubah, to fit them out with certain material and transport, and to transfer them as a preliminary measure to a camp north of Mosul.

With the small staff available this was a large undertaking, but such were the assistance and support accorded to me by Sir Arnold Wilson, the then Civil Commissioner, that the first section of the people with their families left Baqubah at the end of April, 1920, and were conveyed by rail and march to a camp at Mindan, on the Ghasir Su River, about twenty-seven miles north-east of Mosul. It was anticipated that all the sections, each one consisting of about 1,200 persons, would arrive at Mindan by about the end of June, and this would give ample time for the men to proceed forward and to prepare a way for the women and children to follow later. Events proceeded according to plan up to the middle of May (when I myself left for Mosul), and

Digitized by Google

we had then about five sections of people collected. I made arrangements for an advance camp near Akra for the armed men, where, too, a supply dump could be formed for the forward movement. The men were also organized in proper parties, and comprehensive arrangements made for food-supplies and issue of material.

It was at the end of May, however, that a serious hitch occurred owing to the Arab attacks on the Mosul-Baghdad railway line. I managed to return to Baqubah to ascertain the position and returned again to Mosul at the end of June, but it was not until the middle of July that movements were resumed.

After a small respite the attacks on the line commenced afresh, and again matters were held up; however, additional preparations were still made in the forward area. Early in August I again went to Baqubah, and with great difficulty initiated further resumption of movements with all due and necessary precautions, only to be again confronted with further and still more serious difficulties. After a few days at Baqubah, and when the movement was again in full swing, I found a column of troops arriving near our camp, Arab disturbances having apparently occurred beyond the river. It took all our energies at Baqubah to help this column with transport, working parties, and detrainment.

After two days this column, after engaging in some not altogether successful operations on the far bank of the river, suddenly commenced to withdraw to Baghdad. Concurrently with this the political authorities came into my camp and informed me that the rebels were entering Baqubah town, there being merely a small detachment of native infantry left behind to guard the Baqubah railway bridge. No word came from Baghdad as to how I was to defend the camp, nor with what means. The camp perimeter was some seven miles in extent, and a large part of it was under close rifle range from the opposite bank of the river.

By chance a small proportion of the rifles allotted for the repatriation movement had been retained temporarily by me at Baqubah, but the majority of our rifles were discarded Winchester weapons of 1866, with defective ammunition, and of ammunition for the few modern rifles there were only ten rounds per rifle. Soon we came under a continuous and sustained fire from across the river, involving many casualties in the hospital and the transport lines, which for the sake of a convenient water-supply were close to the river. I organized the defence in sections as far as possible, but the difficulty was that at that time of the year parties of Arabs could cross the river both above and below the camp. Parties did so cross, and day and night we had to watch these and drive them off. Added to this, with so few British personnel, it was difficult to prevent the refugees firing away all their ammunition. Telegrams were despatched to Baghdad, in the interval of the line being cut, to get more arms and ammunition. After three

Digitized by Google

days a consignment was despatched, only to be derailed five miles from the camp station. I took a mounted party of refugees, who succeeded in dispersing the Arabs and rescuing the consignment, which was brought in by hand. From this point offensive measures were undertaken, and the Arabs within a radius of about eight miles learned a wholesome lesson from the refugees; villages were burnt and arms and prisoners were captured. After this the situation was relieved by the arrival of a regiment, only to be again rendered grave by the reports of large fresh assemblages of Arabs arriving, released by the fall of Shah Roban. The defence, however, was successfully maintained, though the supply of rations was becoming a difficulty, and the whole camp was on half scale.

It was now decided, largely on account of the food difficulty, that the camp should be evacuated. The remainder of the Assyrians were consequently sent on up to Mosul, and the Armenians were despatched to near Basrah, where they could await shipment overseas at some future date. With the fighting still in progress, this movement required considerable adjustment, together with the dismantling of the camp and the salvaging of all the stores. Day and night these movements were carried on, with the result that the camp was practically evacuated by the beginning of September.*

Meanwhile, at Mosul, the delay in keeping the refugees at Mindan with large numbers of arms in their hands caused some trouble with local authorities, added to which the interim camp near Akra was attacked by the Surchi Kurds. The Assyrians themselves dealt with these most successfully and chased them back to their villages, capturing large quantities of stock. The Assyrian parties moving up to the line were also attacked at intervals.

After a rapid rush down to Basrah to see the Armenians installed, I lost no time in then hastening back to Mosul, where, notwithstanding the difficulties, I pushed Agha Petros on to complete his arrangements. I found him extremely dilatory, but by my personal efforts, and with those of my assistants, we got some sort of organization into the parties, and fixed a date for the forward movement. Some of the most important material had, however, still been hung up in Baghdad, and I had once again to return to see about this. On my arrival at Baghdad I was informed that, owing to the departure of the Civil Commissioner (whose help and advice had never failed me in all these movements), and the arrival of the new High Commissioner, instructions had been given to suspend the repatriation movement until the actual orders of the latter had been taken.

The season was getting very advanced, and there was no time to

* The above operations and defence of Baqubah Camp were dismissed in the military despatch of the G.O.C. in the following words: "As for the refugees at Baqubah, they were well armed [!] and could look after themselves [!]"

Digitized by Google

lose if the project was to be carried through. I accordingly went down the river to meet Sir Percy Cox, and put the matter before him. He was most sympathetic, and gave sanction to carry on the policy of his predecessor, and with this sanction I returned to Mosul. I found Agha Petros had again done little in my absence, but I urged him on to such effect that, by October 19, we managed to get all the armed men assembled with transport and with reserve food for three months in the forward camp near Akra. This assembly made really a very good appearance, there being some 6,000 armed men grouped according to their tribes, under their respective banners of red crosses on a white ground, and something like 2,500 pack-mules.

In co-operation and agreement with the local Kurdish chiefs of the immediate neighbourhood we moved forward through Akra and ascended the Akra-Dagh. From there, according to plan, at the limits of our occupied territory, I left the expedition entirely in the hands of Agha Petros; two British officers, however, remained with it to watch events, and report to me as to progress, according to the lines agreed upon.

The country immediately across the Akra-Dagh was nominally in our administrative sphere, but in reality it was occupied (up to across the Zab) by the Surchi and Zibari Kurds, who were hostile to us, and upon whose leader a price had been set by the British Government for the murder of the late Mr. Bill.

These particular Kurds, as anticipated, opposed the Assyrian advance, but were easily brushed aside, and the expedition moved into the Barzan country successfully. Here was reached the limit of our administrative sphere, and Agha Petros, according to plan, should have moved, negotiating as he went, towards Neri, and thence north-east and east.

Unfortunately, as it turned out, a large body of his mountaineer people got out of hand. The temptation to branch off westwards towards their actual former country was too strong for them, and, in addition, their old habits of pillaging and looting asserted themselves. Agha Petros, in consequence, lost control of this his best category of fighting men, and his weaker Urmian category were left in the lurch. What Agha Petros had in effect actually promised these mountaineers is even now not altogether clear, but it is probable that he had promised one thing to them and another thing to the Urmians. However, the upshot was that, after some weeks, Agha Petros and those who had followed him doubled back to Mindan Camp, and the recalcitrant contingent, after securing various booty among our friendly Kurds, circled round and, unable to make their way to their own Tiari country, percolated back into the Mosul vilayet by way of Amadia.

Thus unfortunately ended this enterprise, upon which so much care and trouble had been expended. We had endeavoured to give the Assyrians a chance of national unity in a suitable zone of their own,

Digitized by Google

and it was worth making the attempt, as otherwise there would always have been the reproach against us of lack of sympathetic treatment to this small nation, which had, to a large extent, been sacrificed in the war. The result, however, only showed what had all along been seen as the danger, that, as in the case of so many of the Eastern nationalities striving for liberation, there is no cohesion and no unity of aim among the component parts.

Having regard alone to British interests, the establishment of a strong and united element on the borders of our occupied territory must have been a safeguard to us. Their interests are our interests, and there would be an absence of that potential hostility which cannot help being inherent in certain of our Moslem neighbours. This is, of course, not to say that our policy should have been to turn out such of the Moslems as were installed there.

Furthermore, had this Assyrian movement succeeded, the Armenian Christians from Baqubah could have been passed through to unite with the large numbers in the Caucasus, and give added strength and extent to the then existing Armenian Erivan State.

After the return of the Agha Petros expedition, the season was too advanced to do much in the way of alternative repatriation measures, but it was found possible—not, however, without some grumbling—to settle some 1,200 families on the land just north of Mosul. These families consisted of those who were all along averse to Agha Petros' scheme, but it required some moving to get them away from the comforts of the refugee camp. As spring approached preparations were commenced to get the above amplified and so finally dispose of the refugee camp. As was customary each group of persons asked for different settlement. Nothing would induce the Urmians to settle on the land, while, as regards the mountaineers, some only were agreed to follow the above-mentioned families; Agha Petros' following remained obdurate, and would listen to nothing except again to make their way by force of arms to their old homes. On account of the misdeeds of these people in the late expedition it was not possible to let them embark again upon such an adventure.

By the end of May that contingent which was willing to settle down peaceably commenced joining those who had previously gone in the neighbourhood of Dohuk and Akra, and the first-named settlements were extended, by arrangement with the existing Kurdish elements, into country a good way to the north of Dohuk and to our nominal administrative border. The other mountaineer families were cleared out of camp on fixed dates, and given equal allotment of stock and subsistence grant to the "willing" families. After some continued stubbornness these people realized that they must accept the reasonable measures taken for them, and they eventually joined up more or less in the neighbourhood of the others.

As for the Urmians, they would hear of nothing but return to

Digitized by Google

Urmia. They were accordingly given a grant in money equivalent to what the mountaineers had received, and were left to make the best of their way into Persia via Hamadan. The Persians at first turned these people back, although they were their own subjects, but now they are managing to filter through with a certain proportion remaining in Mesopotamia, where they found suitable work, and others joining relatives in America.

The upshot of the above is that instead of a united Assyrian nation of some 100,000 persons, which the first scheme contemplated, the Assyrians are now split up separately—some 15,000 are congregated in the settlements north of Mosul, where, notwithstanding their former continued protestations, they are living in amity with the Kurds under our ægis, and have provided a substantial contingent for the frontier levies.

As the Middle East resumes more peaceable conditions and the different nationalities see that, notwithstanding their religious differences, it is yet possible to live side by side with one another, these settlements of the Assyrians may yet form the nucleus to which the nation as a whole might attach itself.

As for the Armenian category, so often mentioned in the foregoing, they are at last in transit to Batum, but it is unfortunately the case that they contain at least one-third among their number of incapable persons who must be a permanent charge on some authority or other.

Inasmuch as the upkeep and repatriation measures of the Assyrian and Armenian refugees in Mesopotamia have cost the British Government 500 lakhs of rupees, it is hoped the benevolence of this very considerable outlay is fully appreciated and realized.

Digitized by Google

THE BRITISH MILITARY MISSION TO TURKISTAN, 1918–20

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1, on Tuesday, January 24, 1922, the Right Hon. Lord CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.M.G., in the chair, when a lecture was given by Major-General Sir Wilfrid Malleson, K.C.I.E., C.B., on "The British Mission to Turkistan, 1918–20."

The CHAIRMAN: I will now call on Colonel Yate to read the names of those who have been elected as Members of the Society.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate): I have to announce we have to-day elected thirteen new Members: The Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, Major-General Sir Webb Gillman, K.C.M.G., C.B., Lieut.-General Sir Richard Wapshare, K.C.B., C.S.I., Sir William Sheppard, K.C.I.E., Major Francis Humphrys, C.I.E., H.B.M. Minister at Kabul, Major L. C. Thuillier, I.A., Dr. H. R. Hall, F.S.A., of the British Museum, Major H. M. Wightwick, Bombay Political Department, Captain F. C. de L. Kirk, K.A.R., Captain A. H. Roberts, Mr. Brasher, Mr. A. C. Sampson, M.C.

The CHAIRMAN: It is now my pleasing duty to introduce to you Major-General Sir Wilfrid Malleson, who was head of the British Mission in Turkistan from 1918 to 1920. I do not think, as far as I am aware, that much information ever reached the press or public in regard to this Mission; and, therefore, I am sure that it will be with great interest and curiosity that we shall listen to General Sir Wilfrid Malleson on the matter.

Digitized by Google

THE BRITISH MILITARY MISSION TO TURKISTAN, 1918-20

By Major-General Sir Wilfrid Malleson (*January* 24, 1922).

It will obviously be impossible, in the short space of one hour, to describe the crowded events of two eventful years, on hardly one day of which period there did not happen something both interesting and important. In what follows, therefore, it will only be possible to give you the barest *précis* of the work of the Mission.

In June, 1918, I was summoned to Simla, and informed that I had been appointed head of a Mission to Turkistan, and was to proceed immediately to Meshed, where the Mission was in process of formation. The object of the Mission was to check as far as possible the Turkish and German designs to penetrate, via Baku and Krasnovodsk, with the active assistance or tacit consent of the Bolsheviks then in control of Turkistan, to the Afghan frontier, where their object was to bring pressure to bear on Afghans and tribesmen alike to embark on a religious war against the British in India. The times were critical. In France the German armies had penetrated far beyond the lines held by us in 1917. There was as yet no sign of any counter-offensive by the Allies. Nothing was happening on the Salonika front; Allenby had not yet started on his wonderful campaign in Palestine; whilst the Turk was pushing fast towards Baku, and German troops, with a corps headquarters in Tiflis, had disembarked in the Caucasus as a stiffening to that "Army of Islam" which, hordes of enemy agents had for months been proclaiming through the bazaars of Central Asia, was about to undertake the liberation of the East from the clutches of the brutal English Imperialists. Enemy missions—German, Turkish, and Austrian—were in Kabul and Herat. Great pressure was being put on the Amir Habibullah to declare a holy war. In fact, the opinion of those in high places at Simla was that it needed the appearance of but a detachment of German or Turkish troops on the Northern frontiers of Afghanistan to precipitate a *jihad* against us which, in view of India's commitments in Mesopotamia and elsewhere, would have been extremely awkward. In short, the Government of India could hardly sleep at nights owing to these various possibilities, and the Mission which I was about to join was only one of the steps taken with a view to mitigating the obvious perils of the situation.

Having with some difficulty obtained the assistance of one officer, I started on the long journey to Meshed. At that time the Nushki line had been extended to Mirjawa, close to the Persian frontier. Thence to Meshed the route was difficult, as the magnificent road made by

Digitized by Google

Colonel Dickson did not come till much later. The heat was intense, as much as 128° in the shade, and there was a great scarcity of potable, or even of any water, along the first part of the route. We travelled in Ford lorries, starting at daybreak, carrying food and water with us, and pushing ahead until it was too dark to go further. Thus to Turbat-i-Haidari, some eighty miles south of Meshed, beyond which it was stated cars could not go. Eventually we reached Meshed in what was stated to be the then record time from India. At any rate, the journey called forth a special telegram of congratulation from the Commander-in-Chief in India, which I particularly desire to mention here, inasmuch as it was the only word of commendation that the Mission received from anyone in authority during the whole of the two years I was with it!

My orders were, roughly, to take all possible steps to obviate the dangers already alluded to. I was to get into touch with any elements likely to be of use to us. I was to give all possible assistance to such elements. My financial powers were unlimited, according to my orders, but actually a very acute lack of cash, both in India and Persia, made them extremely small.

From the moment of my arrival in Meshed events began to move fast. We were already in touch with some Social Revolutionary Russian elements in Transcaspia who were hostile to the designs cherished by the Germans and their Bolshevik allies. But, before these negotiations could proceed very far, the railway workmen of Transcaspia had already taken matters into their own hands and made a clean sweep of all the Bolshevik officials for the whole distance between the Caspian and the Oxus. They had been driven into this action by the bloodthirsty methods of the Bolshevik *commissars*, who, moreover, neglected to pay them any wages. Had this movement, which was unorganized and quite precipitate, been better co-ordinated, it might have altered the subsequent history of Central Asia to a considerable extent. But, as all the anti-Bolshevik elements beyond the Oxus were unprepared for the *coup*, and the Bolsheviks were the only party actually in possession of an armed force, the revolting railwaymen, after crossing the Oxus, soon found themselves on the defensive. At this juncture they appealed to me for military assistance. We had at this time a few troops on the Perso-Russian frontier, and a few more in Meshed, a mere handful all told. Moreover, they were not under the Mission, but belonged to the East Persian cordon, whose headquarters were at Birjand. However, these were now placed at my disposal. They were seriously deficient in important articles of equipment, and had nothing like their proper complement of ammunition, but the troops, the 28th Light Cavalry and 19th Punjabis, were magnificent material and led by exceptionally able and gallant officers. It now became a matter for serious and immediate consideration whether

Digitized by Google

this little detachment should be launched over the Russian frontier with a view to supporting the workmen of Transcaspia against the avenging Bolshevik hordes. The Simla reply to my references on the subject was that I was on the spot and had a free hand. Now, a free hand from the Government of India as then constituted was in the nature of a gift from the Greeks. If all went well some gentlemen in easy-chairs on a hill-top 2,000 miles away would appropriate the credit. If, on the other hand, the throw miscarried, or if the venture were subsequently adversely criticized in Parliament or the press, then the unfortunate man on the spot might be quite certain that he would be spurned and repudiated and thrown remorselessly to the wolves. Moreover, although not in the least afraid of responsibility, and confident from reports received that our splendid troops would have no trouble in adequately dealing with the Bolshevik rabble, the Mission felt that the issue was too large to be decided by subordinate officers, inasmuch as our crossing the Russian frontier would constitute a definite act of war against the Bolsheviks, and we were not at all certain whether Simla realized this or whether such a course was in accordance with the policy of H.M. Government. However, it was so decided, and our troops crossed the border and were almost immediately engaged with the Bolshevik forces, which by this time had arrived at a spot almost due north of Meshed. I have no time, unfortunately, to describe the military operations. It must suffice to say that four times we were attacked, and each time repulsed the enemy with loss. Our allies were a mixture of railway workmen, a few regular Russian officers, and a motley gathering of Turkman. The latter could have put much larger numbers in the field, but the Russian elements were averse to arming numbers, as they were in doubt whether the Turkman might not subsequently turn on them.

Meanwhile events were moving fast on the Caspian side. The Turks were almost in the suburbs of Baku when General Dunsterville's troops took a hand in the defence of that place. They came too late, were in too small numbers, and generally were inadequately supported to hold the place. Baku fell, and at once the hordes of enemy agents announced the imminent coming of the Army of Islam which was to free Asia from the British yoke. But General Dunsterville's occupation of Baku, short though it was, had enabled him to obtain control of the Caspian fleet, which was decisive so far as enemy plans were concerned. Without the fleet there could be no transport of troops across the Caspian. Nevertheless the situation remained serious. The Turks advanced from the Tabriz direction, and the G.O.C. in Mesopotamia became concerned regarding his long line of communications between Bagdad and Enzeli on the Caspian coast. Just at this critical time, however, the war in more distant theatres took a dramatic turn in our favour. In France the Allies were carrying everything before

Digitized by Google

them. In Italy the Austrian *débâcle* had begun. From Salonika the Allies were advancing with great success. In Palestine General Allenby was defeating the Turks in a campaign reminiscent of that of Jena. There quickly followed the armistice with Turkey, and the danger from the Army of Islam ceased to exist. On our side of the Caspian, however, we had been not unprepared for the worst. You all probably know that the whole area from Krasnovodsk to the Oxus is a waterless desert tempered by small and widely separated oases. Invading troops, unprepared with the enormous amount of animal transport which would be necessary, would consequently have to depend on the railway. This, had the necessity arisen, we should have been able to deny them. In granting assistance to the Transcaspian people it was an essential part of the terms agreed upon that, in the event of a hostile descent on the eastern shores of the Caspian, the railway should be handed over to us. We were prepared to destroy the wharves, lighters, and other facilities at Krasnovodsk; to evacuate its inhabitants inland; to destroy the reserves of oil fuel maintained for locomotives; and to cut off the water supply, not only at Krasnovodsk, but for a long distance inland. We were to remove or destroy all rolling stock, blow up bridges and culverts, carry away the points, and even as much of the track itself as was possible in the time available. General Dunsterville was our first line of defence against the Turko-German plans; our Mission was the second. Had he failed to obtain control of the Caspian fleet we should have hoped that the measures taken by us would have made it quite impossible, at any rate for many months, for any hostile force to approach within 300 miles of the Afghan frontier.

Time does not allow of my describing in any detail the rest of our experiences in Turkistan. In October our troops inflicted a heavy defeat on the Bolsheviks at Dushakh, and the latter retired hurriedly for more than a hundred miles. We advanced to Merv. The Government of India became anxious that our presence in that area, which was not a bit nearer Afghanistan than Meshed itself—rather further off, in fact—might cause apprehension in Kabul. I was ordered to retire to the districts on the railway near the Persian frontier. I pointed out that winter was coming on; that the whole country between Askabad and Merv afforded no shelter for our troops, having been destroyed by the Bolsheviks; that already the temperature was very low; and that, moreover, any such retirement would have a disastrous moral effect, and would almost certainly lead to an immediate Bolshevik advance. The only reply I got from Simla was the reiteration of former orders and instructions to make the best arrangements for shelter I could. This in a desert of sand, without timber or stone or even water in many places, and without any adequate supply or hospital arrangements! However, the Home Government came to

Digitized by Google

my rescue, overruled the Government of India, pointed out that our staying in Merv was the best means of supporting Transcaspia, and, in fact, that we were to stay there. And so we passed the winter in Merv and Bairam Ali, where the Brigadier's headquarters were in the private palace of the Tsar.

In January, 1919, the Mission passed from the control of the Commander-in-Chief in India to that of General Milne at Constantinople. That officer shortly afterwards came to Transcaspia and inspected the position at the front and discussed local matters with the Mission. It was evident that we should not remain indefinitely in Turkistan. The British Army was being demobilized, the expenses were great, and it was abundantly clear that the local inhabitants were quite content that we should do the fighting for them whilst they took their ease. The Russians were always claiming that they numbered 250,000 in the province. General Milne countered by asking how it was that out of such a large Russian population there were less than 200 men at the front. In February I received orders that we were to evacuate the country "forthwith." I pointed out that to carry out these orders literally might lead to serious trouble. The Bolsheviks would seize the occasion to advance directly they learnt we were no longer opposing them; many of the Russians at the front would desert to them, the rest would probably bolt. The railway workmen would refuse to work the railway; and local Bolshevik elements, which had always been in our midst, would cause trouble, and we might have great difficulty in effecting a safe and orderly withdrawal. Moreover, I felt that we could not summarily leave in the lurch those who had for so long been relying on us and who, to a man, had interpreted the British declaration to the Russian peoples as being a definite pledge that we were going to support them. Accordingly I asked, firstly, that the orders be kept secret for the present until I had prepared a suitable atmosphere for their promulgation, and, secondly, stated that I anticipated being able to effect the withdrawal, if allowed to carry it out in my own way, by the end of March. General Milne supported me in these matters and the suggestions were approved.

There was much to be done. In the first instance I arranged with the Brigadier to withdraw unostentatiously all surplus baggage, to evacuate all sick and wounded, and to hand over stores too bulky to carry and no longer likely to be of use to us to the local troops. I sent the local War Minister with a portmanteau full of notes to Baku to raise troops—good ones, if possible, but, at any rate, something to send to the front and inspire confidence on our side and lead the Bolsheviks to believe that heavy reinforcements were arriving, and that an advance was imminent. Later, when I had divulged secretly to the local Government the fact of our impending withdrawal—a communication which caused great consternation and the resignation

Digitized by Google

of three ministers—I caused to be widely spread by the many agents we had in and behind the Bolshevik lines rumours that the British were up to some deep move, which would probably take the shape of an ostentatious departure from the Merv front, but that in reality they were contemplating a wide detour by a line of wells north of the railway, right round the Bolshevik flank, that they would cross the Oxus, then very low, below Charjui, and that, when thus right across the Bolshevik line of communications, the Russians and Turkman on the Merv front, largely reinforced from Denikin's armies in the Northern Caucasus, would advance on Charjui from the west whilst the British descended on it from the east. These stories, and many others which we put about almost daily, evidently made so great an impression on the Bolsheviks that they never attempted to advance when we did leave the front. Indeed, they had packed their baggage and sent it to the rear, whilst their main body at Charjui lived in a state of nervous apprehension for many weeks.

When the time at length came when I had to make public the news of our impending withdrawal, I was inundated every day by deputations from every class of the community, begging for delay, for reconsideration of the orders, and so on. I was not able to give these poor people, who already had suffered much from both classes of Russians, the old régimists and the Bolsheviks, very much in the way of comfort. The Turkman of every class, the Yamuts from the Caspian, the Tekke of the central oases, the Salors from the regions south of Merv, were pathetically insistent on their desire that we should remain. Indeed, a British protectorate was what they all reckoned as their probable greatest happiness. During the months the British had been in the country, despite the disturbed conditions, the high prices and general scarcity, they had enjoyed, they said, greater justice than they had experienced for forty years. Tsarists and Bolsheviks were equally obnoxious to them. They had always heard much of the benign aspects of British rule in the East; now they had experienced it they wished their country permanently to become part of the British Empire. If our troops, indeed, must go, in pursuance of orders from higher authority, surely I alone might stay in their country to see justice done. They would provide an escort; and much more to the same effect. No doubt much of what they said was due to the certain knowledge that our troops alone had saved them during many months from being overrun and devastated once more by the Bolsheviks. But this was not all. I am sure they had a real liking and respect for us. The gallant behaviour of our troops in the field, their good conduct at all times, the fact that we had been able to get altered or altogether cancelled many Russian restrictions which the Turkman found harmful or invidious, my insistence that two out of the five members of the local Government should be of

Digitized by Google

Turkman race, and many other little things in which we had been able to help them, had begotten a genuine liking both for British institutions and individuals. However sorely they may have felt regarding what they regarded as our abandonment of them and their cause, they bore us no ill feeling regarding it. We were merely carrying out orders. Not only did we part as friends, but I am confident that for many a year to come the prestige of British troops and the justice of British officers will be subjects of conversation in the *auls* of the Turkman deserts.

Our evacuation proceeded almost "according to plan." There was some slight delay in procuring the necessary rolling stock, and one or two palms had to be greased. On the evening of April 1, one day behind schedule, the last Indian troops marched out from Askabad towards the Persian frontier. Simultaneously the last British troops entrained at Askabad for Krasnovodsk. Our withdrawal was accomplished. It had been a difficult and delicate task, carrying the seeds of much trouble and complication. All these had been successfully surmounted. We left without friction, and with the front intact. We thought it might have been somebody's business to say that this difficult operation had been well done. But the move was evidently regarded as being one of no more moment than a change of cantonments in India during peace-time. No one in authority made any sign. It is this sort of thing which does so much harm in the Indian Army. The neglect of the higher authorities to bestow a word of praise to troops who have thoroughly deserved it makes those troops, in their turn, come to the conclusion that the praise of such authorities is not worth having. But Simla has a bad reputation in this respect. More than ever out of touch with the army, it is slow to praise, but quick to criticize and to blame. The difference between serving under Constantinople and Simla, for instance, was most marked. From the former we were always sure of a courteous and sympathetic hearing. Our needs were well attended to. Every branch of the Constantinople commander's staff, as well as General Milne himself, came to see us and do their utmost for us. No one from Simla throughout the whole period I am dealing with ever came as far as Meshed even. And no sooner were we back in that place than once more we became liable to receive the savage and ferocious official messages for which Simla is famous, and which, in the investigations of the Mesopotamian Committee of Enquiry during the war, caused so much surprise in Parliament and the Press.

The day after our evacuation I left Askabad for Meshed. Almost at once we got news of the risings in the Punjab and elsewhere. There followed speedily the Afghan War. Had the Afghans on our side displayed any vigour they might have made things unpleasant for us. With ten or twelve thousand Afghans in Herat threatening our

Digitized by Google

communications our position might have been serious. However, it is seldom realized in Simla that Western Afghanistan as a rule does not look upon things with the same eye as Kabul. Most of the people are Shiahs, and, as the official Afghans of the East were tactless enough to engage on some serious massacres of Shiahs in Kandahar and elsewhere, we were able to make much capital of this. The Herat garrison was never a danger to us. In fact, I imagine that it was much more afraid of us than we were of it. Now began what was undoubtedly the most important and most interesting task of the Mission. Early in the day we were able to report to India the despatch of letters from the Amir and his Foreign Secretary to the Bolsheviks, announcing the independence of Afghanistan and their desire for friendly relations. The Bolsheviks were quick to seize upon so excellent an opportunity for harming the one country which, in their estimation, stands between them and their dream of universal anarchy. One Bravin, who had formerly posed as Bolshevik Minister to Persia, was selected to proceed on a special mission to Kabul. It became our task to do everything possible to prevent the consummation of Afghan and Bolshevik plans for an offensive and defensive alliance, and as a preliminary we laid ourselves out to "queer the pitch" of Bravin. In a series of communications, which, despite increasingly rigorous guards on the respective frontiers, almost invariably circulated freely amongst the people we desired they should reach, we pointed out to the Afghans that, in view of the notorious faithlessness of the Bolsheviks, they should, before admitting such dangerous people to the God-granted kingdom, extract from them suitable pledges. What more suitable than the restitution to Afghanistan of the Panjdeh district filched from them in 1885? And what more agreeable act of justice to the Bolsheviks than such restitution—the Bolsheviks, who never tired of denouncing the iniquitous, land-grabbing Imperialism of the former Tsarist Governments? The bait was swallowed. Bravin was asked what the Bolsheviks meant to do about it. He promised restitution. The Bolshevik Government, perhaps not going as far as this, at any rate held out strong hopes of such a concession to right, and talked about a frontier commission and a plebiscite of the people of the area. The Afghans, their appetite improving, demanded not only Panjdeh but the whole area almost to Merv, and asked, moreover, for a further realignment of the frontier from Sarakhs to the Oxus at Bosaga, together with further territorial concessions in Southern Bokhara. Moreover, determined there should be no doubt about the plebiscite when it took place, they sent important mullahs and numerous other agents to canvass the inhabitants, assuring them at the same time privily of their earnest desire to extirpate from Central Asia, at any rate, not only all infidels but especially the Bolsheviks. Having, through numerous agents in both

Digitized by Google

camps, a very fairly accurate notion of what was going on, and of how these two interesting parties were seeking how best to take each other in, we made it our business to keep each side unofficially informed of the perfidy of the other. The Afghans about this time, hearing that there was a serious and promising anti-Bolshevik rebellion throughout Ferghana, were *gauche* enough to send special emissaries there with letters and presents for the leaders of the insurgents. This information, too, we felt it our duty to bring to the notice of the Bolsheviks. Meanwhile an Afghan extraordinary mission had proceeded to Moscow, and had been greeted there with much enthusiasm by Lenin, Trotsky, and the rest. The definite word "alliance" was repeatedly used, large offers of military help, not only in arms and munitions of every sort, including aeroplanes, but of instructors and even troops, were made. The Afghan Mission departed confident of having achieved a great diplomatic success. They had a definite alliance, a restitution of territory, and huge promises of arms, munitions, and money. All this evidently induced Kabul, with typical Afghan impudence and aggression, to regard the Bolsheviks as sadly in need of Afghan help. Hence more Afghan arrogance and further demands. An Afghan armed force marched through Kushk without permission and proceeded towards Merv. Afghan consuls and agents appeared in every town in Turkistan. Afghan mullahs were everywhere active. As a result of our bringing these matters to Bolshevik notice there was considerable anxiety. Reinforcements were sent to Kushk. The head of the Turkistan Bolshevik Government went to Merv and Askabad to enquire into Afghan machinations. Afterwards he went to Kushk and was exceedingly annoyed at being insulted by an Afghan officer there. More Bolshevik reinforcements went to Kushk. We informed Herat, who hurriedly sent *their* reinforcements to the frontier. The Bolsheviks were warned of this, and so the game went on. The Bolsheviks became seriously perturbed about Afghan designs and ambitions. Their tone lacked its former affection. The promised help in money and arms was delayed, and finally actually countermanded altogether, because they had become at any rate partly convinced that the Afghans were fomenting a huge pan-Islamic rising throughout Central Asia against them.

Meanwhile we had fought our indecisive and unsatisfactory campaign against Afghanistan. More than 300,000 troops on the frontier had not done one-tenth as much as Lord Roberts with 5,000 men. This anti-climax was very damaging to our prestige in Central Asia, and we found it hard to explain to educated Persians and others why this huge force, with all the advantages of supreme direction from Simla, had achieved so little. In August came the so-called peace, which was no peace. It is true it pleased Simla so to regard it. But all my advices showed that the Afghans themselves re-

Digitized by Google

garded it as a temporary armistice only, a breathing space during which they hoped to get large support in arms from the Bolsheviks. During actual hostilities the Bolsheviks in Turkistan had been able to offer the Afghans nothing better than promises. They were cut off from European Russia by the left wing of Koltchak's army, and locally they were very short of arms and ammunition themselves. In September, 1919, Koltchak's armies disappeared like melting snow, and the road to Moscow was open. Open, but not working. Years of fighting on the Orenburg-Tashkent line had damaged it enormously. Bridges were blown up. Locomotives were worn out. There was no oil fuel for engines, no lubricants for the axles. Even special trains for high officials took weeks to get through. Troops had either to march or to stay where they were until railway conditions could be improved. All this was well known to Kabul, and it was realized that months must elapse before real help could reach them from their Bolshevik friends. Meanwhile they benefited by the nominal peace, intrigued in India, and agitated amongst the frontier tribes. In very numerous telegrams I reported to Simla my conviction, based on reports from numerous informants, that the Afghans were playing for time. In April, 1920, I reported that rumours were current of an imminent resumption of the war. This was scouted as absurd. A few days later Simla themselves wired me that the Afghans had invaded Chitral, that there were various disturbing signs along the whole length of the frontier, and, in short, the position was such as to make it probable that war would be immediately resumed. Troops in the interior of India were hurriedly sent to the frontier. Matters hung fire for some months, our troops standing on the frontier, and then things just fizzled out.

Why did they fizzle out? At the very time when everything pointed to a renewal of the war, the Afghans had definitely notified the Bolsheviks of their willingness to renew the war and to carry all the frontier tribes with them, provided the Bolsheviks would assist them with certain specified arms, ammunition, and money. But, partly because the raising of the maritime blockade against the Bolsheviks had impelled hopes of recognition by the Western Allies, and very largely because of my Mission's numerous *exposés* of Afghan designs had materially chilled the Bolsheviks' former enthusiasm for them, Moscow had decided not to strengthen the armaments of Afghanistan. Kabul was put off with excuses of various descriptions, until at last the chilling truth was realized that the Moscow "alliance" of October, 1919, had six months later evaporated into thin air. Without Bolshevik assistance Afghanistan was in no position to renew the war, and for this reason only, and not with any regard for the "peace" of Rawal Pindi, the war was not renewed. This Mission claims to have played a large, though an entirely unrecognized part, in averting the renewal of the war. That would certainly have cost millions, even though we

Digitized by Google

had advanced no further into Afghanistan than the half-dozen miles or so of the previous year. It might have cost many lives from battle, and more from disease. To have taken any part in averting such disasters is something of which the Mission may well be proud.

How were we able to do the work I have described? Well, I had some most excellent officers, speaking numerous languages. I had agents up to distances of a thousand miles or more, even in the Government Offices of the Bolsheviks. I had relays of men constantly coming and going in areas which I deemed important. There was hardly a train on the Central Asian Railway which had not one of our agents on board, and there was no important railway centre which had not two or three men on the spot. Travellers of every sort and description were cross-examined at scores of different places. Intelligence cannot well be improvised. It needs to be slowly built up. But we started with nothing beyond a few agents and ended with a great deal. The organization of this system was splendidly carried out by certain officers of my Mission. I do not think we ever made any grossly inaccurate reports, such as I often received from centres elsewhere. On the other hand, we sent in a stream of information from every part of the huge area for which we were responsible. It was a veritable *tour de force* for the officers I have in mind to have organized and to have brought to such a state of efficiency in so short a time so excellent an intelligence system.

What has been their reward? In May, 1920, when I left the Mission, I wrote strongly in their favour to Simla. No notice being taken of this letter, I wrote again some months later. I was then told to submit recommendations. These went in in October, 1920, for the consideration of the Commander-in-Chief. They lay for weeks in his office, and he gave up his command, apparently, without seeing them. In May, 1921, I ascertained my recommendations were still lying unnoticed in Simla. In June I wrote to the India Office, and was told a reminder had been sent to Simla on the subject. Later on I ascertained that a report had been received, but no recommendations. Then I was told that names had come through and were being considered. In November, 1921, the India Office informed me that the list of names had been sent to the Army Council for consideration. The Council is still, apparently, considering the matter, if it has not entirely rejected the proposals. At any rate, none of the rewards so richly deserved by the officers whose services I brought to notice have been gazetted. I can only surmise that neither the Commander-in-Chief in India, the India Office, nor the Army Council have the faintest conception of the important work carried out by this Mission, and to the success of which these officers of mine made so constant and so powerful a contribution.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe Colonel Redl is present at this meeting,

Digitized by Google

and I am sure we shall be very greatly obliged if he could supplement in any way the excellent remarks we have had.

Colonel REDL: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am afraid that at very short notice I am really rushing in after General Malleson has given you a very realistic picture of what took place. I think that the only thing I can do—you are probably all anxious to sample the Arctic conditions of weather which await us outside—would be to give you a very short account of what occurred to us when we were unfortunate enough to lose General Malleson, and he returned to India. The position, roughly speaking, at that time was that the Afghan situation was by no means too stable. We did not know what was going to happen, and the Bolsheviks themselves were in a very much stronger position than they had been for some time before. Even before General Malleson left they had completely succeeded in driving our late allies across the sea—or into the sea into their graves—and, with the exception of Ferghana, they practically had the whole country under their thumb after taking Khiva, Bokhara, and the outlying parts. In Bokhara they seized the opportunity soon after to eat up the country, drive the Ameer out, and create as much chaos and trouble in Turkistan as they could—a task which, if we had been able to carry out our original Mission, they would probably have found difficult to complete; however, having their hands more or less free in the summer of 1920, they turned their attention to Persia. As they operate, if possible, by disintegrating a country, their idea was no doubt to stir up as much trouble as they could in Persia—in fact, to light a fire and then to come in as preservers and put it out. They tried various methods of getting at different elements of the Persians, and they thought that on the whole the Kurds who inhabit the mountain region between Meshed and the Russian frontiers might be the readiest material. Chiefly with the assistance of an ex-robber, named Khudu, of whom this Society heard at Major Blacker's lecture, using this man as an instrument they got these people to put up a rebellion, which completely "flummoxed"—as one might expect it would—the local Persian authorities. The Kurds came into conflict with a small detachment of our troops on the frontier, and not unnaturally were defeated; but the movement itself was not upset. Khudu occupied a very strong position in a mountain valley, which was almost impossible to get at; and the only people to go against him at first were some Persian gendarmerie, commanded by a Persian prince. He arrived, but immediately developed rheumatism, and did not get rid of it for some time—not until he returned to Meshed. While he was indulging in this rheumatism we found matters getting very dangerous indeed. We managed to get pressure put on the Governor-General to send out a further force, which he did. The rebellious Kurds were in a valley surrounded by heights and towers—a very interesting position indeed

Digitized by Google

to attack. The Persians attacked with some bravery, but did not succeed in getting in. They had good guns but no ammunition, and the guns for which they had ammunition would not shoot. Altogether matters were in a very bad way. A good deal of pressure was put on General Lesslie, who succeeded General Malleson, to place a British column we had at the time on the frontier at the disposal of the Persians to assist them. It was a very difficult demand to resist in a way, but compliance was exactly what the Bolsheviks wanted. These troops were guarding the main line from Askhabad, and of course it absolutely suited the Bolshevik book to move us off that on to a side issue. We regretfully had to decline, and say we could not move; they must find their own salvation. Eventually, through surrounding the Kurds, they were able to do it. They carried the position, and Khudu and his people fled. That left us fairly quiet for a bit. We had been told that the troops were to withdraw to India during the autumn. Just before the withdrawal of these the rebellion of the Kurds took place; there were various incidents of that sort. One day we got a message from the Governor-General that a large detachment of Bolsheviks had arrived, seized Khakistar, and imprisoned everyone. The only thing to do was to send off a flying column which ought to have been going to India instead of to the frontier. That gave us two columns out. In the end it appeared to be only an incursion of about 200 Turkmans, who were rebuked by their Bolshevik masters, and soon retired. But it indicated the ease with which the Bolsheviks could have come in and made things unpleasant. In the autumn of 1920 our troops went down by successive columns by the excellent line of communications made by General Dixon, and they got down to India without much trouble. We had left with us then a "large force," consisting of one and a half squadrons of cavalry and a certain amount of other oddments, twenty or thirty Ford vans and cars, and some thousands of local levies raised in Seistan and Khorasan, and Kurdish levies numbering about 300, whom we kept in Kuchan with half a squadron of cavalry. The way was easy for the Bolsheviks to come in, but they apparently thought that our troops had not really withdrawn, but were hidden behind mountain ranges, and would come out at the right moment. Possibly that had a certain amount to do with keeping them away. Of course, at the time the Persian Government was in negotiation with the British Government for results which did not come off. It is quite possible that the Bolsheviks might have come in if things had been going against their wishes; but as the English-Persian agreement did not eventuate they had no real reason to intervene. In November General Lesslie returned to India, and I remained in command of the Mission and remaining troops until the spring of this year. In the winter we got notice that we should be called upon to retire, and all the levies that we had we were told to

Digitized by Google

disband. So we gradually disbanded them and got ready to march. I was told to get off when I could find a favourable moment, which occurred at the end of March last. We were stopped by snow, but eventually got away. It was not a particularly easy task; we had to get rid of many tons of stores and material, including arms and much ammunition, and we had to march down by a line of communications from which all personnel had been withdrawn some months before. We had formed dumps of provisions before we started, and managed to keep these and the water supply safeguarded by the help of our Consular authorities in Khorasan and Sistan. The troops started away in very inclement weather. We just avoided frostbite at the one end and sunstroke at the other; so the troops passed through various extremes. I would add that throughout the whole of this period Khorasan was flooded with Bolshevik spies and propagandists. The general tenor of the propaganda was virulently anti-British, and particularly directed to fomenting disorder in India, for which purpose a special propaganda school was maintained at Tashkent. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know if Major Blacker is here. If so, we should be glad to hear him.

Captain BLACKER: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have heard of the excellence of the Bolshevik propaganda, but there was a time when the Bolshevik propaganda was not quite so good as it became in 1919. In 1918 I was unfortunate enough to be on the wrong side of the Bolshevik front, and the Bolsheviks used to put out a good deal of news about the war. The war was still going on. I remember standing behind a little group of workmen who were reading a Bolshevik *communiqué*—this was the time when strikes were taking place in England—making the most of them. But an ordinary Russian remarked that this was pure Bolshevik propaganda, because at that time, when the war was on, every cat and dog in England was mobilized. Again, when the fall of Baku took place the Bolsheviks announced it with glee, but people did not believe it because they thought it was also propaganda. The business of finance is a curious thing; it seems curious that the Bolsheviks, without any money at all, were able to command an army against us in a war where we could not afford to maintain troops at all. At that time in Tashkent we always knew when there was a financial crisis on, because the printing press was driven by electricity, and when a financial crisis took place its acuteness was measured by the dimness of the electric light. It is curious that the German emissaries who were opposed to us in a sense in 1918 in Turkistan were always well provided with actual gold coins for propaganda. I need scarcely say that a gold coin is of much more use to an emissary than paper money or promises. There is one aspect of the whole operations in Turkistan; that is, as I heard a very clever French officer say the other day, that war, like other activities of the

Digitized by Google

human race, is subject to evolution. First we had war between individuals, then between families, then between tribes, latterly between nations: now we are confronted with a war between races, which one sees sometimes in many distant corners of Asia and even Africa. Of course, he went on to say, this was only preliminary to war between sexes and planets, but I think that is a little too far to go at present.

The CHAIRMAN: I think at this late hour we should hardly like to prolong the discussion, interesting as it has been. General Malleson and the other speakers have been good enough to tell us of events previously unknown. It is most unfortunate that those events cannot be more widely known, because those who dealt with them deserve the very highest credit for courage and diplomatic skill. (Applause.) I am sure I am interpreting the wishes of all present when, in your name, I convey to Sir Wilfrid Malleson our most hearty thanks for his very interesting and most humorous recital of those very important events in which he took so active and successful a part.

This ended the meeting.

Digitized by Google

REVIEWS

DATES AND DATE CULTIVATION OF THE 'IRAQ.

Mr. V. H. W. Dowson, of the Mesopotamian Agricultural Department, on his election as a member of the Central Asian Society, has presented to the library copies of Parts I. and II. of his monograph on "Dates and Date Cultivation of the 'Iraq" (W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge). Part III. is still in the press.

Mr. Dowson, who was employed in Lower Mesopotamia during the years 1917-20, and thus had an exceptional opportunity of studying the cultivation of the date, was placed on special duty for three months in 1919, during the date harvest, in order that he might make a close examination of the varying conditions under which the date is cultivated in Mesopotamia, especially in the great gardens on the banks of the Shatt-el-'Arab, with a view to the discovery of an equitable basis for the taxation of date gardens.

The monograph, which is lavishly furnished with admirable illustrations, gives proof of the method and care with which Mr. Dowson brought the attention of a trained mind to bear on his problem, and of the pains which he took to find a solution. It also shows that, owing to the great difference in yield and price of the chief varieties of date, among other factors, any attempt at systematic adjustment of the burden would involve such prolonged and scientific enquiry as the industry is unlikely to receive in the near future. Nevertheless, although the primary object may not have been attained, Mr. Dowson's monograph remains as a useful compilation of facts connected with the date industry in 'Iraq, reviewed and analyzed after diligent enquiry at first hand with commendable thoroughness and acumen. One impression which also imparted itself to Mr. Dowson strikes the lay mind on perusal of his work. It seems almost certain that if greater pains were taken with the handling and packing of the best varieties of date grown on the Shatt-el-'Arab, especially the Basrah "khadhrawi," the dates of 'Iraq might compete at least on equal terms with the produce of North Africa in the markets of Europe and North America, and better prices might be realized, to the benefit alike of the Mesopotamian cultivator, garden owner, and exporter.

The attractiveness of the monograph, and even its value, are diminished by methods of transliteration of Arabic names, which are quite unscientific and altogether unworthy of a writer as well acquainted with the spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia as Mr. Dowson. It is to be hoped that in the third part—that dealing with the varieties of date grown in the 'Iraq—this defect will be remedied.

E. B. H.

Digitized by Google

River Control in Mesopotamia. By E. B. Howell, C.S.I., C.I.E. *Quarterly Review* for January, 1922.

This very ably written article brings before the public a subject hitherto, I believe, untouched in the press. Mr. Howell speaks with an intimate knowledge of his subject, based upon study of it on the spot during the years of the war. Not only is the consideration of great water problems a fascinating pursuit in any country, in Iraq it is the consideration of the very existence of a spacious land. The story of the investigation by irrigation officers of the mysterious silting up of the rivers, and the curious phenomenon of their continually raising their own beds till they ran on causeways, is well told. The successful outcome of their careful studies, and the equally successful means taken to make the Tigris behave like a normal river by making it do once more for itself what man had hitherto made impossible, are fully and graphically described. It is easy to realize, moreover, that had the steps not been taken, the time was not far distant when the lower Tigris and Euphrates would have ceased to exist as rivers, and have become a number of shallow ditches, feeding enormous wastes of marshes, isolating Baghdad from the Persian Gulf. The article is one of the most interesting on Mesopotamian topics that has appeared for a long time.

E. B. S.

Pioneers of Progress: Empire Builders: Sir Robert G. Sandeman. By A. L. P. Tucker, C.I.E. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1921. Price: 2s. 6d. net.

In this little study of Sir Robert Sandeman Mr. A. L. P. Tucker has achieved a remarkable feat of selection and compression. In the space of sixty small pages he has given a moving and essentially truthful picture of a character not without complexities in all its surface simplicity, and a career long, strenuous, and filled with controversy and achievement. The feat is the more remarkable since, in order to make his story interesting or even intelligible to a public unfamiliar with Indian frontier history and geography, he has been compelled to devote a full sixth of his scanty space to a setting of the scene and an exposition of the events leading up to his drama. This is excellently done in Chapter II. ("The Indian Frontier"), which, with the aid of the sketch-map,* should enable the least instructed of his readers to follow the story with sufficient understanding.

Mr. Tucker has been well inspired in basing his appreciation largely on the section of R. B. Hittu Ram's Baluchistan Chronicles, englished by General Sir Claud Jacob under the title of *Sandeman in Baluchistan;* for this gives us —what is often lacking to a just estimate of empire-builders whose work lies amongst uncivilized or semi-civilized peoples—a view of its subject's character and achievements as they appeared in the eyes of the people among and through whom the work was done. True, "the Chronicler," as Mr. Tucker calls him, was not himself a Baluch. But he was born and brought up amongst Baluch, though outside the hills; he knew the chiefs and tribes of Baluchistan and understood their feelings as few have done before or since, and, as Sandeman's trusted henchman and confidant, he had been for twenty-six years a close

* Regrettable omissions from this map are the town of Sibi, and the Bolan Railway, now the principal line of communication with Quetta.

Digitized by Google

eyewitness of all his dealings with the people. When all due allowance has been made for the tinge of hero-worship which renders the Chronicler's work so engaging, his picture of his hero may be accepted as, in all essentials, that which filled the minds of the tribes of Baluchistan.

What, then, was the secret of the power exercised by this man—a man, as Mr. Tucker quite justly says, not brilliantly clever, not highly educated or trained, not even endowed with the faculty of clearly expounding in words the faith that was in him? What was it that enabled him, in the face of very strong opposition from many of his superiors and fellow-workers, in the face of the frequently reluctant and distrustful attitude of the Government of India, to effect the peaceful conquest of a great province; to compose the inveterate feuds that had embroiled its tribes from time immemorial, and persuade or compel them to cease from preying on one another and on their neighbours; to establish a system of self-government which made this new conquest a source of real strength to the Empire in days of stress; and to leave, in the province he had created, a name that is still, almost literally, "a name to conjure with"? Mr. Tucker finds the most conspicuous of his great qualities to have been personal courage, deep sense of duty and inexhaustible tenacity and patience, and, above all, passionate "love for his fellow-creatures, especially the half-civilized peoples among whom his life was spent." Personal courage, indeed, is the condition *sine qua non* of successful work on the Indian frontier, and no doubt Sandeman's conspicuous, though never harebrained or uncalculating, boldness did much to establish his fame and authority among the tribes. His tenacity or, as his opponents sometimes called it, his obstinacy, was a proverb both among his colleagues and superiors and among those over whom he ruled. "Sinneman Sahib is not the sort of Sahib that lets go," a shrewd Indian, who had suffered somewhat from this characteristic in him, once said to the writer with immense emphasis and a sort of rueful admiration. And his love for his fellow-creatures, and especially for the people of Baluchistan, undoubtedly inspired and informed that passion for bringing order out of chaos that is writ large across his history. By inspiring him with sympathetic understanding, it gave him that insight into the minds of chiefs and tribesmen, and power of divining the motives which would appeal to them, which at times seemed almost uncanny, but which were in fact due to the vivid realization and unswerving application of a few simple principles.

First, and perhaps most important, Sandeman saw that tribes living on the verge of semi-starvation, and subsisting from of old largely on plunder, must be given bread, or the means of earning it, before any attempt could usefully be made to impose law and order upon them. It was this which inspired his doggerel couplet (an inversion of a similar effort by the Khan of Kalat), which Mr. Tucker paraphrases (p. 41):

"When *reasoning* fails,
Then twist their tails,"

but a more exact rendering of which, both in the letter and the spirit, would be: "When *feeding* fails, Then twist their tails"; for, though Sandeman believed in reasoning, he knew, as a Scotsman, that it is ill reasoning with an empty belly. It was this, with the knowledge that Satan finds mischief for idle hands to do, that led him to the large employment of tribal levies, so mistakenly denounced by some of his opponents as blackmail. (Doubtless there were

Digitized by Google

"periwigged lords of London" who cried, "Blackmail!" when Pitt raised the Highland regiments.)

Secondly, he held that most uncivilized or half-civilized tribes, being of highly aristocratic constitution, can only be successfully managed through their hereditary chiefs and natural leaders, and that these should be strengthened and supported by every legitimate means. This principle, it is true, was of full application only in the case of the Baluch and Brahui tribes; but he held, in the writer's opinion justly, that there is much exaggeration in the view which attributes an exclusively democratic spirit to Pathan tribes, and that, particularly among southern Pathans, much better results may be obtained by working through chiefs and headmen than in any other way.

Thirdly, he saw that men, and especially half-civilized men, greatly prefer self-government, however rude, in accordance with their own ancient laws and customs, to the application by strangers of foreign codes and rules, however civilized and excellent. He regarded it as one of the conditions on which the people had accepted our occupation of Baluchistan that they should continue to be governed, as far as possible, in accordance with their ancient customs. Hence his institution of *Jirgas*, which, with the levies as executive auxiliaries, provided the machinery for self-rule. Hence, too, his sleepless jealousy of the inevitable tendency to regularize, to introduce Indian laws and regulations.

In his realization of, and strenuous adherence to, principles such as these, he was helped, rather than hindered, by his lack of academic training. He had no temptation to that pedantry in administration which is a besetting vice of every highly-trained bureaucracy. To him a tribal custom, if not absolutely in conflict with elementary laws of humanity, was as good as any law of the most enlightened civilized State; indeed, in its own place, it was a great deal better. For him the clear light of faith in which he saw his goal was never interfered with by those side and cross lights of varied, more or less irrelevant, knowledge which often confuse the accomplished, many-sided administrator.

But these explanations, good so far as they go, do not, it seems to me, quite touch the heart of Sandeman's secret. They do not fully explain to us his almost unerring sagacity in matters, whether or not connected with his own province, in which human nature, and Oriental human nature in particular, was involved. They do not explain the fact that in almost every case in which Sandeman's views, however apparently ill-founded, were overruled by the Government of India, even on grounds apparently the most incontrovertible, time has proved him to have been right; or why trouble has resulted in every case in which, since his death, his system has been departed from in his own province. They do not altogether explain our feeling that, if something analogous to Sandeman's system had been applied in the early days of the Indian Empire, and if in the history of British India there had been more Sandemans and fewer—shall we say?—Macaulays, we might have been spared the sight of some of the strange and disquieting results that have arisen from our persistent pouring of Western wine into Eastern bottles.

We are finally driven back, as the Chronicler was evidently driven back, on an explanation which amounts to a confession of our inability to account fully for the phenomenon. "Sir R. Sandeman," the Chronicler says, "was created by God, it would appear, for putting in order the distracted country of Baluchistan." We should, perhaps, put much the same thought in a manner more in accord with Western ways of speech if we said that Sandeman was a man

Digitized by Google

with a strong vocation for rule, and with a touch in him of the divine fire of genius. But if the Chronicler and those for whom he spoke saw in the matter the hand of Providence, who are we that we should gainsay them ?

C. A.

THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY"

To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the *Indian Antiquary*, Lt.-Colonel Sir Richard Temple, who for thirty-seven years has been the Editor-proprietor, has written a short account of the history of the magazine, which has had among its contributors many great Indian and Oriental scholars in India itself as well as all over Europe and America. The object of the *Indian Antiquary* has been to provide a means of communication between the East and the West on subjects connected with Indian research, and a medium to which students and scholars, Indian and non-Indian, could combine to send notes and queries of a nature not usually finding a place in the pages of Asiatic societies. The main aim has been to promote and encourage research. The subjects with which the magazine has been principally concerned have been the Archæology, Epigraphy, Ethnology, Geography, History, Folklore, Language, Literature, Numismatics, Philology, Philosophy, and Religion of the Indian Empire and, to a certain extent, of its surroundings. Notable contributions have been published on all these subjects, several of them having been preliminary studies of books subsequently well known to Indian and Oriental students and even to general fame.

OBITUARY

CAPTAIN H. C. DILLON FITZGIBBON, M.C., 13TH HUSSARS.

On the morning of January 13, 1922, a frontier affray took place near Gul-ambár (165 miles north-east of Baghdad) between Iráq Levies and a party of hostile Kurds. The Levies suffered twenty casualties, and Captain H. C. D. FitzGibbon was killed. Gul-ambár is in Southern Kurdistan, near the Persian frontier. Captain FitzGibbon was the youngest son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Louis Dillon FitzGibbon, and received his commission (temporary) on September 30, 1914. He had been awarded the Silver Medal for Military Valour (Italy). It is hoped a more detailed notice may appear in the next number of the Journal.

A. C. Y.

SIR FREDERIC W. R. FRYER, K.C.S.I.

The very recent presence of Sir Frederic Fryer at the Council meetings of the Society had but little prepared its members for the deeply to be regretted intelligence of his death on Monday, February 20, 1922. To most, if not to all, the members of that Council, that intelligence came

Digitized by Google

through the Press notices, which paid a justly appreciative tribute to an honourable and distinguished career and to a very charming personality. We are concerned with him here as a member of the Central Asian Society—a Society which he joined in 1906, three years or so after he vacated the Lieutenant-Governorship of Burma. The annexation of Upper Burma in 1885 had converted that great Province into a chief-commissionership, a post held successively by Sir Charles Bernard, Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and (from 1895-9) by Sir Frederic Fryer. From 1897 to 1903 Sir Frederic ruled that Province with the title of Lieutenant-Governor. In fact, with one brief interlude, he gave the last seventeen years of his active service to the administration of Burma, and in 1903 he was succeeded by Sir Hugh Barnes, who is also to-day a Vice-President of the Central Asian Society. When in 1907 Sir Frederic read before the Society a paper on "The Tribes on the Frontier of Burma," we knew well that the lecturer was dealing with a subject on which long experience had made him an expert. When Sir George Scott a few years later dealt with "The Red Karens," we listened to a second expert who had had very special experience of the tribes which dwell between Burma on the west and China and Siam on the east.

In 1911 Sir Frederic was invited to accept a seat on the Council of the Society, and that seat he held until, in 1919, he was elected a Vice-President. He was punctilious and regular in his attendance at Council meetings, and during a period of eleven years he rendered to the Society notable and faithful service, which will be remembered with gratitude. It is of such men, as of his friend Sir Henry Trotter, that the Society genuinely feels the loss.

A. C. YATE.

February 25, 1922.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO MARCH, 1922

Digitized by Google

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1921-22

Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. THE MARQUIS CURZON OF KEDLESTON, P.C., K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., ETC.

Chairman of Council:

1921. THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents:

1919. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
1920. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1920. GENERAL SIR E. BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
1921. COLONEL SIR CHARLES YATE, BART., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.
1921. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
1921. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.
1921. SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.

1920. Hon. Treasurer: SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.

1921. Hon. Secretaries: LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE. G. C. STEPHENSON, ESQ.

Members of the Council:

1920. GENERAL SIR REGINALD WINGATE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., D.C.L.
1920. CAPTAIN THE HON. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P., D.L.
1920. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1920. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.
1920. THE RT. HON. SIR MAURICE W. E. DE BUNSEN, BART., P.C., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B.
1921. G. C. STEPHENSON, ESQ.
1921. GENERAL SIR C. C. MONRO, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., A.D.C.GEN.
1921. SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
1921. MISS ELLA SYKES.
1921. COLONEL C. B. STOKES, C.I.E.

Assistant Secretary:

MISS M. N. KENNEDY.

OFFICES: 74, GROSVENOR ST., W. 1.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS

The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.

A

1910. Sir Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, K.C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.-W.F. India.
1921. Acland, Captain P. Dyke, attd. Aviation Dept., Vickers Ltd., Vickers' House, Broadway, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1920. Adye, Maj.-Gen. Sir J. K., K.C.M.G., C.B., etc., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
†Aglionby, Captain A.
1921. Ahmed Bey Hassanein, F.R.G.S., c/o Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W. 7.
1916. Ainscough, Thomas M., O.B.E., H. M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Post Box 683, Calcutta.
1919. Alexander, Y. Patrick, F.R.G.S., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
1922. Alexander, Major J. U. F. C., Chantry House, Eccleston Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Allchin, Geoffrey C., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
10 1920. Allen, W. E. D., Commonwood House, Chipperfield, Herts.
1920. Allenby, Field Marshal the Rt. Hon. the Viscount, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., Cairo, Egypt.
1921. Altham, Lieut.-General Sir E. A., K.C.B., C.M.G., Prior's Barton, Winchester.
1921. Antonius, George, Department of Education, Jerusalem.
1922. Armitage-Smith, Sidney A., C.B., 29, York Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
1920. Ashton, Captain F. T., c/o Postmaster, Basra.
1920. Austin, Lieut. A. P. M., c/o Ministry of Finance, Baghdad.

B

1908. *Baddeley, J. F., 34, Bruton Street, W. 1.
1921. Badger, Kenneth Howard Collins, Goring Heath, Reading.
1917. Bahrein, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.
20 1910. Bailey, Major F. M., C.I.E., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1906. *Bailward, Brig.-Gen. A. C., R.A. (ret.), 57, Egerton Gardens, S.W. 3.

Digitized by Google

1920. Balfour, Lt.-Col. F. C. C., C.I.E., M.C., Caledonian Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Ballard, Mrs. C. R., Hadham Mill, Much Hadham, Herts.
1916. Baluchistan, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta.
1918. Banks, Mrs. M. M., Hornton Cottage, Hornton Street, W. 8.
1920. Bannerjee, Gauranga Nath, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., (Professor of Ancient History, Calcutta University), 107/11, Mechua Bazar Street, Calcutta.
1921. Bannister, T. H. C., Stanmore Hall, Stanmore, Herts.
1920. Barman, Maharaj Kumar J. C. Deb, Comilla, Tipperah.
1920. Barman, Col. Thakur Mohin Chandra Deb, Agartala, Tripura State, Bengal.
1905. *Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., 29, Campden House Court, W. 8. Vice-President.
1921. Barnett, Mrs. L., 8, Royal Crescent, W. 11.
1922. Barrett, Field Marshal Sir A. A., G.C.B., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, W. 1.
1913. Barrow, General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., India Office, S.W. 1; Artillery Mansions, S.W. 1. Vice-President.
1920. Barstow, Captain A. E., M.C., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Bartlett, P. E., Indo-European Telegraph Department, Persian Section, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Bombay.
1922. Barrington-Ward, F. T., K.C., 8, Green Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
1920. Base, Edward H., 5, Station Road, Lowestoft.
1919. Bateman, H. G., F.R.G.S., c/o Messrs. Booth, Billing and Co., Bradford.
1920. Beale, Captain C. T., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad; E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Beattie, Dr. J. Hamilton, United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Beatty, Colonel Commandant G. A. H., 1st Cavalry Brigade, Risalpur, N.-W. F. P., India.
1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Bell, B. H., Law Courts, Baghdad.
Bell, James, 107, Godolphin Road, Shepherd's Bush, W.
1921. Bell, Sir Charles, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Resident, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.
*†Bennett, Sir T. J., C.I.E., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent.
1921. Bennett, Captain S. G., M.C., 8, St. Albans Crescent, Bournemouth.
1921. Bentinck, Major A. D. W., Coldstream Guards, 53, Green Street, Park Lane, W.
1910. Bigg-Wither, Lt.-Col. F., I.A., Fron, Nr. Flint, N. Wales.

Digitized by Google

1921. Bingham, Captain D'Arcy, 109th Infantry, I.A., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., Bombay.
1921. Bingley, Lieut.-General Sir A. H., K.C.I.E., C.B., Simla, India; United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Birch, Lt.-Col. J. M., D.S.O., 20, Bina Gardens, S.W. 5.
1920. Blacker, Captain L. V. S., Queen Victoria's Own Corps of Guides, Junior Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1921. Blackwood, J. H., 37, Paternoster Row, E.C. 4.
1916. Bombay, Sec. to Govt. Political Dept., Bombay, India.
1919. Bone, H. Peters, 5, Hamilton Mansions, Kings Gardens, Hove, Sussex.
1921. Bonham-Carter, Sir Edgar, K.C.M.G., C.I.E., 5, Hyde Park Square, W. 2.
Bosanquet, Sir O. V., K.C.I.E., 1, Vicarage Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.
1921. Bourdillon, B. H., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Bourke, D. R. S., Indian Forest Service, Feltimore, Harlow, Essex.
1921. Bowman, H. E., C.B.E., Director of Education, Jerusalem.
1921. Braham, Captain G. N., M.C. (Mesopotamian Civil Administration), 61, Oxford Street, Southampton.
1922. Bramley, Colonel P. B., C.I.E., O.B.E., D. G. Police, Palestine.
1922. Brasher, C. G., 23, Victoria Square, Clifton, Bristol.
1920. Bray, Major F. E., M.C., 21, Evelyn Gardens, S.W. 7.
1920. Bray, Major N. N. E., M.C., Political Dept., Govt. of India, c/o Political Secretary, India Office, S.W. 1.
1921. Bridcut, Lieut.-Col. S. H., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St, James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Bright, Captain L. L., Junior Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1; Equatorial Batt., Egyptian Army, c/o Postmaster, Khartoum.
1920. Bros, Major H. Alwyn (R. of O.) Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Browne, Claude M., 10, Queensberry Place, S.W. 7.
1921. Browne, Lt.-Col. H. H. Gordon, D.S.O., 17, Bardwell Road, Oxford.
1916. †Bruce, Brig.-Gen. C. D., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Brunskill, Major G. S., 135, Sloane Street, S.W.
1920. Buchanan, Sir G. C., K.C.I.E., Kt., 16, Victoria Street, S.W.
†Buchanan, W. A., The Cottage, Knebworth, Herts.
1921. Buchanan, Mrs., 32, Elsworthy Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1921. Buckley, Brig.-Gen. B. T., C.B., C.M.G., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Bullard, R. W., C.I.E., Colonial Office; East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Bunbury, Captain N. L. St. P., 106th Hazara Pioneers, Fort Sandeman, Baluchistan, India.
1919. Bunsen, The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de, Bart., P.C., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., 3, Portland Place, W. 1. M. of C.

Digitized by Google

1919. Burdwan, The Hon. Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., T.O.M., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of, The Palace, Bardwan, Bengal, India.
1921. Burn, Major A. H., O.B.E., 59th Scind Rifles, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Burn-Murdoch, Major I., O.B.E., Officers' Club, Aldershot.
1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
1920. Busk, H. Gould, F.G.S., Dodnash Lodge, East Bergholt, Suffolk.
1921. Butler, F. H. C., South End, St. Cross, Winchester.
1920. Buxton, Leland W. W., 45, Kensington Park Gardens, W. 11.
90 1921. Buxton, Dr. P. Alfred, Dept. of Health, Government House, Jerusalem.

C

1920. Cameron, Major G. S., M.C., Dy. Director of Agriculture, Lower Baghdad, Mesopotamia.
1918. Campbell, John MacLeod, Glen Saddell, Carradale, Argyll.
1922. Campbell, Captain W. F. C., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1907. †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Carey, Lieut.-Col. A. B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., c/o Director of Public Works, Baghdad; 52, The Close, Norwich.
1920. Carleton, Col. the Hon. Dudley, 21, Upper Berkeley Street, W. 1.
1919. Carnock, The Rt. Hon. Lord, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3. Chairman of C.
1922. Carnock, Lady, 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1921. Carver, Captain F. E., O.B.E., The Moot, Downton, Salisbury.
100 1921. Carver, Mrs. L. M., The Moot, Downton, Salisbury.
1921. Castells, Captain E., 6th Gurkha Rifles, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W. 1.
1920. Chakravati, Professor Nilmani, M.A., 18, Sitaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
1921. Chamier, Captain A., O.B.E., 55, Warwick Road, S.W. 5.
1921. Champain, Brig.-Gen. H. B., C.B., Oak Lodge, Ham Common, Surrey.
1921. Chapman, Captain A. J. B., I.A.R.O., c/o Messrs. Lloyd's Bank, 72, Lombard Street, E. 6.
1921. Chardin, Captain F. W., 20, Empress Avenue, Woodford Green, Essex.
1920. Charge, H. L., Mayfair, Upper Terrace Road, Bournemouth.
1923. Chatterjee, K. N., B.A., 12, Madan Mohan Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta.
1921. Cheeseman, Allan, 147, Croxted Road, Dulwich, S.E.
110 1921. Chelmsford, The Rt. Hon. Viscount, P.C., G.M.S.I, G.M.I.E., G.C.M.G., G.B.E., etc., 116, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Chesney, G. M., 69, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. 5.

Digitized by Google

1920. Childs, W. J., The Quadrangle, Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1903. *Chirol, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Chitty, Christopher, 24, East Heath Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1920. Chondhurry, R. G. K., M.A., B.L., Zemindar, Tako, 24, Parganaks Dt., Calcutta.
1918. Christie, Miss A., 40, Ovington Street, S.W. 3.
1920. Christie, Miss E. R., F.R.G.S., Cowden Castle, Dollar, N.B.
1921. Churchill, The Rt. Hon. Winston Spencer, M.P., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Clayton, Brig.-Gen. Sir Gilbert F., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
120 1920. Clayton, Brig.-Gen. W. W., Director Special Section, Public Security Dept., War Office, Cairo.
1919. Coales, Oliver R., H.B.M. Consul-General, Shanghai, China; R. Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Cobbe, Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. S., V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1; 3, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1920. Cole, Major J. J. B., F.R.G.S., Rifle Brigade, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall.
1918. Collis, Mrs., 17, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W. 6.
1921. Colvin, Ian, 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.
1921. Colvin, George, 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.
1921. Colvin, Mrs., 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.
1920. Connal-Rowan, Major J. F. Meiklewood, Gargunnock, Stirlingshire; Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Cooke, Captain R. S., Dalnottarhill, Old Kilpatrick, N.B.
130 1922. Cooper, Captain E. S. Storey, M.C., c/o Eastern Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
1920. Cornwallis, Col. Kinahan, C.B.E., D.S.O., F.R.G.S., Adviser to the Ministry of Interior, Baghdad; Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Coryndon, Sir Robert Thorne, K.C.M.G., Governor and C.-in-C., Uganda Protectorate; Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Costello, Brig.-Gen. E. W., V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O., 12, Cardinal Mansions, S.W. 1.
1920. Costello, Mrs. E. W., 12, Cardinal Mansions, S.W. 1.
1919. Cowell, Mrs. M., 26, St. George's Court, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1908. Cox, Major-Gen. Sir Percy Z., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1920. Crawfurd, Lt.-Commander C., R.N., c/o Admiralty, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Cree, Thomas D., O.B.E., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 65, Cornhill, E.C.
1914. Crewdson, Major W. T. O., R.F.A., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W. 1.
140 1921. Cronyn, Sub-Lieutenant St. John, H.M.S. *Tetrarch*, Queenstown.
1907. Cuningham, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

Digitized by Google

1922. Cunliffe-Owen, Lieut.-Colonel F., C.M.G., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1907. *Curzon of Kedleston, The Rt. Hon. the Marquis, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants; 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W. 1. Hon. President.

D

1921. Daly, Captain T. Denis, Royal Welsh Fusiliers, Raford, Leamington; Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.

1908. Daukes, Major C. T., C.I.E., Political Department, Government of India, Loralai, Baluchistan, India.

1921. Davies, J. Fisher, c/o Messrs. the Imperial Bank of Persia, Basra, Mesopotamia.

1921. Davies, R., Standard Oil Company of New York, Rue Rakovska, 127, Sofia.

1906. Davis, W. S., Coglan House, Longhope, Glos.

1918. Davis, Mrs., 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.

150 1920. Deedes, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Wyndham H., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Civil Sec. Palestine Government, Government House, Jerusalem.

1921. Dickson, Colonel W. E. R., C.M.G., C.I.E., Caledonian Club, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1919. Digby, Bassett, F.R.G.S., 49, Elm Park Mansions, Park Walk, Chelsea, S.W.

1906. Dobbs, Sir H. R. C., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Simla, India; East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.

1903. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.

1910. Douglas, Lieut.-Colonel H. A., The Vicarage, Langton Green, near Tunbridge Wells.

1920. Douglas, Major-Gen. J. A., C.M.G., C.I.E., Ashmore Lodge, Cold Ash, near Newbury, Berks.

1922. Dowson, V. H. W., Mesopotamian Agricultural Department, Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

1921. Drower, C. Stefana, Credit Lyonnais Bank, 14, Cockspur Street, S.W. 1.

1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.

160 1921. Duggan, C. E., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Karachi, India.

1921. Duncan, J. A. L., Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.

1920. Dunsterville, Col. K. S., C.B., 12, Oakwood Court, Kensington, W.

1920. Dunsterville, Major-Gen. L. C., C.B., The Cronk, Port St. Mary, Isle of Man.

1903. *†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane, W. 1.

1907. *Durand, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Penmayne House, Rock, Wadebridge, Cornwall.

1920. Dyer, Brig.-General R. E. H., C.B., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

Digitized by Google

E

1921. Edmonds, Major C. J., East India United Service Club, 16 St. James's Square, S.W. 1., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1920. Egerton, Lieut. Gen. Sir R. G., K.C.B., K.C.I.E., 43, Cheyne Court, S.W. 3.
1921. Elger, L.C., A.M.I. Mech. E., Queen's House, Kingsway, W.C. 2.
170 †Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Elsmie, Major-General A. M. S., 27, Woodville Gardens, Ealing, W. 5.
1920. Empson, C., 1, Driffield Terrace, The Mount, York.
1911. Etherton, Lieut.-Colonel P., H.B.M. Consul-General, Kashgar.
1918. Evans, T. Herbert, St. David's, Lisvane, Glam.

F

1920. Fardell, Mrs. H. A., 16, Brechin Place, S.W. 7.
1921. Farrer, Hon. C. C., 100, Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, W. 8.
1919. FitzHugh, Capt. J. C., D.S.O., M.V.O., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross.
1921. Flaxman, H. T. M., O.B.E., Assistant Divisional Adviser, Mosul, Mesopotamia.
1915. Flower, Hon. E., Durrow Castle, Durrow, Queen's County, Ireland.
180 1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Forbes, Dowager Lady, Ladies' Park Club, 32, Knightsbridge, S.W 1.
1920. Forbes, Mrs. Muriel, Naval and Military Hotel, Harrington Road, S.W.
1921. Forster, M. Courtier, 96, Vineyard Hill, Wimbledon, S.W.
1920. Fowle, Major T. C., I.A., H.B.M. Consul, Seistan and Kain, East Persia.
1921. Fraser, Commander Bruce A., R.N., Whitecroft, Nailsworth, Glos.
1921. Fraser, Captain D. de M. S., Political Dept. Govt. of India, c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Fraser, E., 14, Chester Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Fraser, M. F. A., F.R.G.S., Beaufort, Knaphill, Nr. Woking.
1916. Fraser, Sir Stuart M., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
190 1922. Fraser, Major-General Sir T., K.C.B., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W.
1921. Fraser, W. M., c/o Messrs. R. G. Shaw and Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E. C.
1921. Fremantle, Lieut.-Colonel F. E., T.D., O.B.E., M.P., Bedwell Park, Hatfield.

Digitized by Google

1921. Frost, Lieut.-Colonel F. D., C.B.E., M.C., I.A., 22, The Beach, Walmer.
1920. Fuller, Captain N. B., M.B.E., Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W. 1.

G

1908. Gabriel, Lieut.-Colonel Vivian, C.V.O., C.S.I., Marlborough Club, 52, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Ganguly, Manomohan B. E., M.R.A.S., 50, Raja Raj Bulbul Street, Calcutta.
1919. Garbett, C. C., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Garbett, Captain R. B. L., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad; c/o The Eastern Bank, Crosby Square, E.C. 3.
1920. Garland, Major Herbert, O.B.E., M.A., Agent for Mesopotamia, The Residency, Cairo.
200 1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly; Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.
1920. Gaster, Dr. M., 193, Maida Vale, W. 9.
1919. Gaulter, Mrs., 152, Earl's Court Road, S.W. 5.
1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1921. Geary, Mrs., c/o National, Provincial and Union Bank of England, Ltd., 67, Bishop's Road, W. 2.
1920. Geden, Rev. A. S., Royapettah, Harpenden, Herts.
1922. Gillman, Major-General Sir Webb, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., R.F.A., 17, Hill Street, Berkley Square, W. 1; Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.
1919. Goold-Adams, Col. Sir H. E. F., K.B.E., C.M.G., Jamesbrook, Middleton, Co. Cork; United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Gorbold, Captain Roland, R.A.O.C., F.R.G.S, c/o Sir C. R. McGrigor, Bart., and Co., 39, Panton Street, Haymarket.
1920. Gordon, Lieut.-Col. P. J., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
210 1920. Gourlay, W. R., Government House, Calcutta.
1920. Gowan, Captain C. H., M.C., 13th Hussars, Cavalry Club, Piccadilly.
1920. Graham, Colonel R. J. D., Dunalastair, North Inch, Perth.
1919. Grant, H. D., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S., Automobile Club, S.W. 1.
1921. Grant, Sir A. Hamilton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Brooks's Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Gray, Lawrence, c/o Irrigation Department, Baghdad.
1920. Gregson, Lieut.-Col. E. G., C.M.G., C.I.E., Buncrana, Rake, Liss, Hants.
1920. Grey, Lieut.-Col. W. George, Solars, Chiddingfold, Surrey.
1920. Grieve, Captain A. McLeod, 3rd Black Watch, 21, Queen's Crescent, Edinburgh.
1920. Griffin, Captain A. C., O.B.E., R.E., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.

Digitized by Google

1921. Grove White, Major M. FitzG., D.S.O., O.B.E, R.E., R.E. Office, Maryhill Barracks, Glasgow.
1921. Gumbley, Douglas W., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

H

1920. Hadow, Major H. R., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Hall, Captain A. H., O.B.E., Annfield, Rothesay, Scotland.
1922. Hall, H. R., D.Litt., F.S.A., British Museum, Bloomsbury, W.C.
1920. Harapvasad, Mahamohopadhyaya, Shastri, C.I.E., F.A.S.B., 26, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.
1920. Hardinge, The Rt. Hon. Sir A., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Coldharbour, West Hoathley, Sussex.
1918. Harford, Frederic Dundas, C.V.O., 49, Egerton Gardens, S.W. 3.
1921. Harker, O. Allan, Indian Police, 18, Portsea Place, W. 2.
1921. Harris, F. I., c/o Messrs. Imperial Ottoman Bank, Kermanshah.
1921. Harris, Captain L. J., O.B.E., 20, King's Gardens, N.W. 6.
1920. Haughton, Major H. L., 36th Sikhs, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Hauser, Captain S. B., c/o The High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1920. Hay, Captain W. R., Assistant Political Agent, Chitral, N.-W.F., India.
1920. Headley, R. H., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1920. Hendley, Major-Gen., M.B., C.S.I., Hon. Surgeon to H.M. the King, Caxton, near Cambridge.
1921. Hiles, Major M., O.B.E., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1919. Hill, Lt. H. Brian, F.R.G.S., c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton & Co., Calcutta, India.
*†Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., Parklands, Merrow, Surrey.
1921. Holt, Major A. L., M.B.E., M.C., R.E., c/o Director of Railways, Baghdad.
1919. Hope, Miss T. M., Crix, Hatfield Peverel, Witham, Essex.
1921. Horridge, J., Haverholme, Bramhall, Cheshire.
1921. Horsfield, Captain R., c/o Director of Railways, Baghdad.
1921. Hotson, J. E. B., I.C.S., Sukkur, Sind, India.
1920. Houstoun, G. L., The Farm, Kyrenia, Cyprus.
1908. Howell, Lieut.-Col. E. B., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1; Foreign Office, Delhi-Simla, India.
1920. Hubbard, Lieut.-Col., Royal Aero Club, 3, Clifford Street, W. 1.
1921. Hughes, J. A., M.C., 67, Castletown Road, W. 14.

Digitized by Google

1922. Humphrys, Major Francis H., C.I.E., H. B. M. Minister, Kabul, Afghanistan.
1921. Hunt, Captain J. M., 87th Punjabis, I.A., The Red Cottage, Baschurch, Shrewsbury.
1921. Hunt, Captain W. E., Hillside, Bath.
1920. Hunter-Weston, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Aylmer, K.C.B., D.S.O., D.L., M.P., 2, Culford Gardens, S.W. 3; Hunsterton, West Kilbride, N.B.
1918. Hunter, Mrs., 81, Holland Park, W. 11.

I

1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.
1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1915. Ingram, Captain M. B., Foreign Office, Whitehall, S. W., Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1919. Inman, Miss H. M., 12, Sloane Terrace Mansions, S.W. 1.

J

1921. Jacob, General Sir Claud W., K.C.B., Chief of the General Staff in India, Simla, India.
*†James, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham. Vice-President.
†Jardine, Mrs., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
1921. Jardine, R. F., Assistant Political Officer, Dohuk, Mosul.
*†Jardine, W. E., C.I.E., I.C.S., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.
1920. Jeffreys, Major J. F. D., I.A., Political Officer, Kut-el-Amarah, Mesopotamia.
1919. Jeejeebhoy, Lieut. J. P. B., F.R.G.S., Pedder Road, Bombay.
1920. Jhalawar, H. H. Maharaj Rana Sri Bhawani Singh, Sahib Bahadur of, K.C.I.E., Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.
1921. Joyce, Lieut.-Col. P. C., C.B.E., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

K

1920. Kay, Professor D. M., "Kildonan," St. Andrew's, Fife, N.B.
1920. Keeling, E. H., M.C., United University Club, 1, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1907.†*Kelly, Col. J. G., C.B., 1, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, S.W. 5.
1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
1921. Kennett, Mrs. Barrington, Remenham, Wraysbury, Bucks.
1921. Kerr, Captain E. Teviott, I.A., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Kettlewell, Captain L., D.S.O., Stourpaine Vicarage, Blandford.
†King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.

Digitized by Google

1922. Kirk, Captain F. C. de L., 5th Batt. K.A.R., Northern Frontier, Kenya Colony, Africa.
1922. Knapton, A. G. H., Rope Hill, Lymington.
1922. Knollys, Major Denis E., 19th Punjabis, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1918. Kuwait, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.

L

1921. Ladd, W. E., Post Box 39, Baghdad.
1921. Laidlaw, Lieut. R. E. F., Royal Munster Fusiliers, attd. Egyptian Army, c/o Postmaster, Khartoum.
1920. Laithwaite, John G., 39, Bryanston Street, Portman Square, W. 1.
1904.†*Lamington, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1.
1920. Lane, D. A., R.R. No. 1, St. Anne's, Ontario, Canada.
1921. Lane, Lieut.-Colonel W. B., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.M.S., 35, Addison Way, Golder's Green, N.W. 11.
1920. Lang, Commander G. H., D.S.O., R.N., 13, Abbey Court, Abbey Road, N.W.
1920. Law, Bimala Charan, M.A., B.L., F.R.H.S, M.R.A.S., 24, Sukea's Street, Calcutta.
1920. Law, Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
1921. Lee, W. H., M.C., Wymondham, Hythe, Kent.
1920. Lees, Captain G. Martin, M.C., D.F.C., E. I United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Lees, Mrs. H. L., F.R.G.S., Rowchester, Hale, Altrincham, Cheshire.
1921. Lee-Warner, Captain W. Hamilton, S.S.C.S., Singapore.
1920. Léon, M. Henri M., Ph.D., L.L.D., 8, Taviton Street, Gordon Square, W.C.
1921. Leslie, Lieut. L., Shropshire L.I., The Barracks, Shrewsbury.
1920. Leveson-Gower, Col. C., C.M.G., C.B.E., 13, Cottesmore Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.
1921. Lloyd, Captain H. I., M.C., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Lloyd, Major C. G., C.I.E., M.C., Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1908. *Lloyd, H. E., Sir George A., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., Government House, Bombay.
1912. Loch, Major P. G., I.A., Political Dept., Government of India, c/o Messrs. The Alliance Bank of Simla, Ltd., Simla, India.
1921. Loch, Lieut.-Colonel G. H., C.I.E., I.A. (retd.), United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1908. Lockhart, Lady, C.I., 187, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1920. Longrigg, Major S. H., Political Officer, Kirkuk, Mesopotamia.
1918. Lovett, Major-General Beresford, C.B., C.S.I., Hillside, Harvey Road, Guildford.

Digitized by Google

1921. Lovett, Sir H. Verney, K.C.S.I., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Lowis, H. R., I.A., Underhill, London Road, Camberley.
1921. Lubbock, Brig.-General G., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., 26, Cadogan Gardens, S.W.
1909. Lyall, Major R.A., I.A., 3rd Kashmir Rifles, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Lynch, Stephen, c/o Euphrates and Tigris S.N. Co., 3, Salter's Hall Court, E.C.
1922. Lynden-Bell, Captain L. A., M.C., 2nd Seaforth Highlanders, Meerut, U.P., India.
1922. Lytton, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, Knebworth House, Knebworth.

M

1909. *Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., Les Vaux, St. Saviour's, Jersey, Channel Isles. M. of C.
310 1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.
1921. McGrath, Lieut.-Colonel A. T., 43, South Audley Street, W. 1.
1920. McGrath, Mrs. Rosita Forbes, 43, South Audley Street, W. 1.
1920. MacGregor, Lady, Hampton Court Palace, Hampton Court.
1922. Machray, Robert, 78, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.
1921. McIntyre, Captain H. M. J., I.A., No. 8 Mountain Battery, Landi Kotal, Peshawar, India.
1921. Mackarness, H. J. C., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Mackay, F. F., Leigh Vineries, Wimborne, Dorset
1920. Mackenzie, Lady M. M. Owen, 6, Chesham Street, S.W. 1.; Brantham Court, Suffolk.
1920. Mackie, Captain J. B., Castle Cary, Somerset.
320 1921. Mackintosh, C. A. G., Ministry of Finance, Egypt; Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
1906. *McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., 59, Pont Street, S.W. 1. M. of C.
1920. McNearnie, Captain H. D., Political Officer, Mosul.
1920. Macpherson, C. F., c/o Messrs. Gray, Mackenzie and Co., Basra.
1920. McRobert, Sir Alexr., Douneside, Tarland, Aberdeenshire.
1921. Makant, Captain R. K., M.C., Gilnow Lodge, Bolton, Lancs.
1903. *Malcolm, Major-General Sir Neill, K.C.B., D.S.O., Singapore, S.S.
1921. Malleson, Major-General Sir Wilfrid, K.C.I.E., C.B., Foxhurst, Ashvale, Surrey.
1921. Marklew, E. G., 23, Richmond Road, W. 2.
1920. Marling, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., British Legation, Copenhagen.
330 1920. Marrs, Major R., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Marshall, Justice J. E., Egyptian National Court of Appeal, Zamaleh, Gezira, Cairo.

Digitized by Google

1920. Massy, Col. P. H. Hamon, C.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall.
1921. Mathews, Captain L. Gard, F.R.G.S., Colonial Service, British Somaliland; 2, Napier Terrace, Plymouth.
1920. Mathieson, Wilfred, Minchinhampton, Glos.
1920. May, Major W. R. S., C.I.E., Twyford House, Alnmouth.
1912. Medlicott, Lieut.-Colonel H., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Mellor, Donald, 180, The Grove, Wandsworth, S.W. 18.
1920. Meston, The Right Hon. Lord, K.C.S.I., etc., Hurst, Cookham Dene, Berks.
1921. Meyer, Sir William S., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., 42, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W. 1.
340 1920. Michell, Roland, C.M.G., 22, Lansdowne Crescent, W. 11.
1920. Millard, W. S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.
1922. Milne, George, I.C.S., Craigellie, Lonmay, Aberdeenshire.
1921. Minchin, H. C., Gorsedene, Farnham, Surrey.
1920. Minchin, Captain H. C. Stephens, Gorsedene, Farnham, Surrey.
1921. Moberly, Brig.-General F. J., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., P.S.C., Historical Section, Committee of Imperial Defence, 2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
1920. Mocatta, Major V. E., O.B.E., 14th Hussars, 31, Great Cumberland Place, W.
1920. Molony, Wm. O'Sullivan, Christ Church, Oxford.
1921. Monro, General Sir C. C., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., A.D.C.Gen., 20, Egerton Gardens, S.W. M. of C.
1920. Monteath, D. Taylor, O.B.E., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
350 1921. Monteath, G., I.C.S., Buckerell Lodge, Honiton, Devon.
1920. Mookerji, Dr. Radhakumad, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Mysore University, Mysore.
1903. *Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7. M. of C.
1921. Moore, Captain J. H., Walton Grange, Swindon, Wilts.
1920. More, Major J. C., D.S.O., 51st Sikhs (F.F.), Political Agency, Kuwait, Persian Gulf.
1921. Morgan, C. Stuart, c/o Messrs. Strick, Scott and Co., Ltd., Baghdad.
1920. Morison, Sir Theodor, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Overdale, Lindisfarne Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1921. Mousley, Captain E. O., R.F.A., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Mukhopadhyaya, Panchanana (Hon. Presidency Magistrate), 46, Bechu Chatterji Street, Calcutta.
1920. Mules, Sir Chas., C.S.I., M.V.O., O.B.E., 29, Bramham Gardens, S.W. 5.
360 1920. Mumm, Arnold L., F.R.G.S., 112, Gloucester Terrace, W. 2.
1920. Murchison, C. K., M.P., Hargrave Hall, near Kimbolton, Huntingdon.
1921. Murphy, Lieut.-Colonel C. C. R., 83rd Infantry, I.A., Cannanore, Malabar, India; Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

Digitized by Google

1921. †Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Murray, Major S. G. C, C.I.E., I.A., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1921. Muspratt, Colonel S. F., C.S.I., D.S.O., A.D.C., 12th Cavalry, I.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Mylles, Captain C. C., M.C., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, 14, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 2.
1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

N

1920. Napier, Major A. Harper, I.M.S., c/o Marshall, Terne, N. Queensferry, N.B.
370 1921. Nariman, R. K., M.I.C.E., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Newton, Mrs. Frances E., 156, Sloane Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Nicolson, Major the Hon. F. A., 15th Hussars, 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1922. Nightingale, Colonel M. R. W., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Noel, Major E., C.I.E., D.S.O. (Political Dept. Govt. of India), Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Noel, Major J. B. L., M.G.C.
1920. Noone, H. V. V., c/o Messrs. R. G. Shaw and Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E.C. 3.
1921. Norbury, Major P. F., D.S.O., I.A., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Northcote, D. S., 23, Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1916. North-West Frontier Province. The Hon. the Chief Commissioner, Peshawar, India.

O

380 1920. O'Connor, Captain K. K. O., M.C., 14th Sikhs, c/o Deputy Commissioner, Abbotabad.
1921. O'Connor, Captain R. L., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Shiraz, Persia.
1920. O'Dwyer, Sir Michael F., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., 26, Brechin Place, S.W. 7. M. of C.
1905. Oliver, Captain D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Olver, Lieut.-Colonel A., C.B., C.M.G., c/o Messrs. Holt and Co., Whitehall Place, S.W.
1920. Orgill, Captain T. C., 2, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge.
1920. Ormsby-Gore, Major the Hon. W. G. A., M.P., J.P., D.L., F.R.G.S., 5, Mansfield Street, Cavendish Square, W. 1. M. of C.
1921. Outlaw, Captain W. H., 40, Charles Street, Berkhamstead.

Digitized by Google

P

1920. Parker, Lieut.-Col. A. C., D.S.O., Governor of Sinai Peninsula, Arîsh, Sinai.
1920. Parr, E. Robert, Black Birches, Hadnall, Shrewsbury.
1920. Patranavis, S. C., B.A., Sub-Registrar, Kendna P.O., Dt. Mymensingh, Bengal.
1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1921. Pead, T. D., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Pearce, Captain M. Channing, Cintra, Swanage, Dorset.
1921. Peek, Sir Wilfrid, Bart., D.S.O., 2, Clarendon Place, W. 2.
†Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1921. Pedder, Captain G. R., 13th Hussars, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1907. Pemberton, Col. E. St. Clair, R.E. (ret.), Pyrland Hall, Taunton; B. 6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1.
*†Penton, Sir E., K.B.E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1. Vice-President and Hon. Treasurer.
1920. Peralta, Miss Louise, 45, Powis Square, W. 11.
†Perowne, Lieut.-Col. J. T. Woolrych, 32, Lowndes Square, S.W.
1921. Perry, Miss C. E., 185, Clarence Gate Gardens, N.W. 1.
1919. Philby, H. St. John, C.I.E., I.C.S., c/o High Commissioner, Jerusalem.
1921. Phillips, Miss L. B., 9, Rosslyn Mansions, S. Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. 1.
1920. Pickthall, Captain C. M., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Pickthall, Mrs. W. M., c/o Ladies' Army and Navy Club, Burlington Gardens, W. 1.
*†Picot, Lieut.-Colonel H. P., Indian Army (ret.), 86, Ebury Street, S.W. 1, Junior United Service Club. M. of C.
1921. Pitcairn, G. D., White Cottage, Amport, Andover.
1920. Platt, Sir T. Comyn, 47, Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.
1920. Popham, Lieut.-Colonel E. Leyborne, D.S.O., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Bombay.
1922. Price, Brig.-Gen. C. H. Uvedale, C.B., D.S.O., I.A. (ret.), 7, Rothsay Road, Bedford.
1921. Prichard, J., Judicial Department, Baghdad; Wick, Glamorganshire, Wales.
1921. Prior, Mrs. Upton, Ethorpe, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks.
1921. Pulley, Major H. C., O.B.E., I.A., c/o Eastern Bank, 4, Crosby Square, E.C.

R

1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1916. Rajputana, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General, The Residency, Mount Abu, Rajputana, India.
1921. Ralston, Major W. H., 47th Sikhs, c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.

Digitized by Google

1920. Rawlinson, General The Lord, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., Commander-in-Chief, India.

420 1922. Rawlinson, Colonel Alfred, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., The Cottage, Oxgate Lane, Cricklewood, N.W.

1922. Rawlinson, Mrs., The Cottage, Oxgate Lane, Cricklewood, N.W.

1921. Ready, Major-General F. F., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., Lynch House, Winchester.

1921. Redl, Lieut.-Colonel E. A. F., C.M.G., C.I.E., The Sycamores, Newick, Sussex; Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.

1922. Renshaw, Captain C. M., I.A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1920. Reynardson, Capt. H. Birch, 1st Oxford and Bucks L.I., 14, Lancaster Gate Terrace, W. 2.

1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.

1919. Ridgeway, Col. R. Kirby, V.C., C.B., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1921. Rivett-Carnac, Captain H. G., I.A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1922. Roberts, Captain A. H., 87, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

430 1922. Roberts, Captain G. H., I.A., Club of Western India, Poona.

1921. Roberts-Goddard A., Royal Aero Club, Clifford Street, W. 1.

1921. Robertson, Field-Marshal Sir William R., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., etc., 88, Westbourne Terrace, W. 2.

1921. Robertson, Algar, 26, Porchester Terrace, W. 2.

1921. Robertson, Miss R., 26, Porchester Terrace, W. 2.

1921. Robertson, Miss V., 26, Porchester Terrace, W. 2.

1920. Robinson, Captain F. A., M.C., R.A.M.C., The Vicarage, Holme on Spalding Moor, Yorks.

1920. Rodd, Major W. J. P., D.S.O., R.A.O.C., 27, Sussex Gardens, W. 2.

*†Ronaldshay, The Earl of. Vice-President.

1920. Rooker, S. K., M.C., 63, St. James's Street, S.W.

440 1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., 46, Abingdon Villas, Kensington, W. 8.

1921. Rundle, Captain C. A. Grant, M.C., c/o Messrs. Henry S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.

1920. Rynd, Major F. F., D.S.O., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

S

1918. Salvati, Signor M. N., Via Lamarmora 41, Torino, Italy.

1920. Sammadar, J. N., F.R.E.S., Patna College, Patna, India.

. Sampson, A. C., M.C., §1, Elgin Court, Elgin Avenue, W. 9.

†Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.

. Schomberg, Lieut.-Colonel R. C. F., D.S.O., Seaforth Highlanders, Caledonian Club, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

Digitized by Google

1918. Shah, Sirdar Ikbal Ali, 33, Cornwallis Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.
1920. Shakespear, Lieut.-Colonel J., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., 15, Alexandra Court, W. 9.
1920. Shakespear, Col. L. Waterfield, C.B., C.I.E., Deputy Inspector-General, Assam Rifles, Shillong, Assam.
1920. Shastri, Professor Ashutosh, 23/1, Beniatola Lane, Calcutta.
1921. Shepherd, Miss E., 66, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1920. Sheppard, Captain E. W., O.B.E., M.C., War Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1922. Sheppard, Sir William D., K.C.I.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1919. Silberrad, C. A., I.C.S., "Sunnycroft," Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
1920. Simpson, J. Alexr., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1921. Simpson, B. Lenox, c/o British Legation, Peking, China.
1920. Sircar, Ganapati, 69, Beliaghatta Main Rd., Calcutta.
1920. Skrine, F. H., C.S.I., 147, Victoria Street, S.W.
1920. Slater, Captain A., I.A.R.O., c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Charing Cross.
1920. Slater, Mrs. E. M., 13, Dawson Place, W. 2.
1920. Smith, A. L. F., M.V.O., Baliol College, Oxford.
1920. Smith, Captain Godwin, c/o Messrs. Richards, Thynne and Co., 130. Tooley Street, S.E.
1922. Snelling, Captain C. G., I.A., Indian Political Dept., Quetta, Baluchistan; United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Soane, Major E. B., C.B.E., East India United Service Club, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Spencer, Dr. Gordon, St. James's Vicarage, Preston, Lancs.
1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R.E., 4, Via Michele, Florence, Italy.
1920. Stanham, Major H. F., R.A., Western Command, Chester.
1922. Stanley, Lieut.-Colonel J. H., C.B.E., Royal Societies' Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1917. H.M. Stationery Office, Princes Street, S.W. 1 (Journal subscriber).
1921. Starkie, Mrs. Maud, 3, Aldford Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
1919. Stebbing, E. P., Hawthornden Castle, Lasswade, Midlothian.
1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.W.F. Province, India.
1920. Stephenson, G. C., 99, Inverness Terrace, W. 2. M. of C. Joint Hon. Sec.
1921. Stephen, Major F. W., M.C., Royal Societies' Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Stevenson, Lieut.-Colonel K. L., R.A.O.C., G.H.Q., Baghdad.
1920. Stewart, C. W., 3, Newburgh Road, Acton.
1920. Stewart, G., M.P., House of Commons, Westminster; Whiteholme, Hoylake, Cheshire.
1920. Stirling, Lieut.-Col. W. F., D.S.O., The Residency, Jaffa, Palestine.

Digitized by Google

1907. Stokes, Colonel C. B., C.I.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1. M. of C.
1903. Stoner, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W. 8.
1921. Storrs, Mrs. F. E., 65, Chester Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Sutton, Major-General H. C., C.B., C.M.G., 9, Elvaston Place, S.W. 7.
1921. Swan, L. M., c/o Ministry of Finance, Baghdad.
1920. Swettenham, Sir F. A., G.C.M.G., C.B., 43, Seymour Street, W. 1.
1920. Sydenham, The Rt. Hon. Lord, of Combe, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., etc., The Priory, Lamberhurst, Kent.
1920. Sykes, Lady, Sledmere, Malton.
†Sykes, Miss Ella, 26, St. George's Court, S.W. 7. M. of C.
1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., 29, Trevor Square, Knightsbridge, S.W. 7.
1904. Sykes, H. R., Lydham Manor, Bishop's Castle, Shropshire.
1907. Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy M., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., Villa Bel Évent, Dinard, Brittany.

T

1920. Tagore, Profulla Nath, 1, Durpondrian Tagore Street, Calcutta.
1921. Tainish, Lieut.-Col. J. R., Railway Directorate, Baghdad.
1920. Talbot, Colonel the Hon. G. Milo, C.B., Bifrons, Canterbury.
1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.
1920. Tatton, R. Grey, 2, Somers Place, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, c/o Mesopotamia Persia Corpn., Teheran, Persia.
1919. Teague-Jones, Major R., 80, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1919. Teichman, Eric, C.I.E., Sitka, Chislehurst, Kent; British Legation, Peking, China.
1920. Temple, Lt.-Col. Sir Richard, Bart., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., The Nash, Worcester.
1922. Tennant, Hon. Mrs., St. Anne's Manor, Sutton, Loughborough.
1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Thomas, Captain H. Prichard, 126th Baluchistan Regt., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Charing Cross.
1921. Thomas, Major E. C., Ray Lodge, Lingfield.
1921. Thomas, Roger, Agricultural Directorate, Baghdad.
1922. Thompson, Captain David, 15th Lancers, I.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1; c/o Messrs. The Alliance Bank of Simla, Ewart House, Bombay.
1920. Thomson, J. S., I.C.S., c/o Commercial Bank of Scotland, 62, Lombard St., E.C.
1921. Thomson, Colonel Sir W. M., K.C.M.G., C.B., M.C., Cardrona, Dunblane, Perthshire.
1919. Thorburn, Major H. Hay, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
1921. Thornton, Lieut.-Col. C. E., C.M.G., 16th Cavalry, I.A. (ret.), 31, Sydney Street, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1922. Thorpe, Miss M., 25, Pembridge Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, W. 11.

Digitized by Google

1922. Thuillier, Major L. C., I.A. (Survey of India), c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., C.M.G., Standlynch, Four Marks, Hants.
1921. Todd, Captain H. I., Imperial Police, 45, Lee Road, Blackheath, S.E. 3.
1921. Tomlinson, A. G., c/o Messrs. Hills Bros. Co., Basra, Persian Gulf.
1921. Tozer, P. H. S., Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly.
1920. Trench, Rev. A. C., M.C., Chaplain's Office, Bolarun, Deccan, India.
1920. Trott, Captain A. C., 5th Devon Regt., St. John's College, Cambridge.
1919. Trotter, Lady, 18, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
520 1908. *Tucker, A. L. P., C.I.E., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.
1920. Tudor Pole, Major W., 61, St. James's Street, S.W.
1921. Tweedie, Mrs. Alec, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.
1920. Tyler, H. H. F., C.I.E., I.C.S., c/o Imperial Bank of India, Madras.

V

1921. Välyi, Felix, 115, St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.
1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1919. Van Ness, Major W. Waters.
1920. Varma, Raj Kumar N. Chandra Deb, Comilla, Tipperah, India.
1920. Vasu, Rai Sahib Nagendra N., Prachyavadya Maharnara, 9, Visvakosha Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta.
1922. Venning, E. G., Liskeard, Cornwall.
530 1920. Vidyabhusan, Amulya Charon, Professor, Vidyashagar College, 82, Maniktola Street, Calcutta.

W

1921. Waley, A., Alderhurst, Englefield Green, Surrey.
1921. Waley, Captain E. G. S., 14, Oxford Square, W. 2.
1921. Wallace, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Willoughby, 209, Ashley Gardens, S.W. 1.
1921. Wallace, Mrs. E. F., 64A, Sinclair Road, Kensington, W. 14.
1920. Waller, Major A. G., I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Indian Dept., Charing Cross.
1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W. 1.
1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W., and Moystown House, Belmont, King's Co., Ireland.
1921. Walpole, Mrs. Horace, 15, Bruton Street, W. 1; Heckfield Place, Basingstoke, Hants.
1922. Walpole, C. A., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
540 †Walton, Sir Joseph, M.P., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Wapshare, Lieut.-General Sir Richard, K C.B., C.S.I., c/o Messrs. The Alliance Bank of Simla, Bombay, India.

Digitized by Google

1921. Warburton, H. G., I.C.S. (ret.), Holmesdale, Fleet, Hants.
1921. Ward, Colonel J. S., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.B.E., Port Director, Basra.
1920. Ward, Captain W. Kingdon, F.R.G.S., c/o Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W. 7.
1920. Ward, W. R., O.B.E., Union Club, Trafalgar Square, and c/o Imperial Bank of Persia, 25, Abchurch Lane, E.C.
1905. Watson, Lt. Col. John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.
1920. Watson, Sir Logie P., c/o Messrs. Cooper, Allen & Co., Cawnpore, India.
1921. Watson-Armstrong, Captain W. J. M., c/o Bank of Montreal, Vancouver City, B.C.
1921. Webb, Captain W. F., attd. Indian Political Dept., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
550 1920. Webb-Ware, Lieut.-Col. F., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., Fort Anne Hotel, Douglas, Isle of Man.
1921. Weir, Major J. L. R., Indian Political Dept., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Wellcome, Henry S., 6, Gloucester Gate, Regent's Park, N.W., and Khartoum.
1921. Weldon, Captain S. W., The Retreat, Palmer's Green, Alderman's Hill, N.; East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Wheatley, H., Govt. Quinine Factory, Naduvatam, India.
†Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W. 1.
1920. Whitehorne, Captain Cecil, M.C., The Welch Regiment, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
1922. Wightwick, Major H. M., Bombay Political Service, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Bombay.
1921. Wigley, Captain P. J. R., M.C., I.A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Wigram, Rev. Dr. W. A., Watling House, St. Albans.
560 1921. Wilkinson, Captain L. C. R., R.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co. (R.A. Branch), Charing Cross, S.W.
1921. Willcox, Sir W. H., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., F.R.C.P., 40, Welbeck Street, W. 1.
1921. Williams, Robert, 35, Prince's Gardens, S.W. 7; Park House, Drumoak, Aberdeenshire.
1921. Williams, Captain L., O.B.E., 25, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
1921. Williamson, Dr. H., 10, Carlyle Mansions, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Willingdon, H. E. Lord, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Government House, Madras.
1921. Wilkinson, Hon. Mrs., Dringhouses Manor, York.
1921. Willoughby, Brig.-Gen. M. E., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Wilson, Lieut.-Col. Sir Arnold T., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.; c/o Messrs. Strick, Scott and Co., Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.

Digitized by Google

1920. Wilson, Major W. C. F., I.A., Mesopotamian C. S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament St., S.W. 1.
570 1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Alban, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament St., S.W.
1921. Wilson, W., c/o Messrs. The Imperial Bank of Persia, 25, Abchurch Lane, E.C. 4.
1919. Wilson-Johnstone, Lieut.-Colonel W. E., C.I.E., D.S.O., c/o War Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1920. WINGATE, General Sir Reginald, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., etc., Knockenhair, Dunbar. M. of C.
1921. Wishart, G., Muirbrow, Hamilton, N.B.
1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
1918. Worthington, A. B. Bayley, Town Thorns, Rugby.
1921. Wright, Captain S. A., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

Y

*†YATE, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal, Shropshire. Vice-President and Hon. Sec.
1905. *YATE, Colonel Sir Charles E., Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.L., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales Terrace, W. 8. Vice-President.
580 1916. Yorke, Mrs. R. F., F.R.G.S., M.R.I., F.R.S.A. Ladies' Imperial Club, 17, Dover Street, W. 1; 22, Craven Hill, W. 2.
*†YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1. Vice-President.
1918. Young, General H. G., C.I.E., D.S.O., etc., Tobercooran, Carmoney, Co. Antrim, Ireland.
1921. Young, Rev. R. A., 20, Great Peter Street, Westminster.

JOURNAL SUBSCRIBERS

Army and Navy Club.
Cairo. Middle East Section, Royal Air Force.
Calcutta. Imperial Library.
London Library.
Mosul-Department of Education.
New York. American Museum of National History.
Rome. Instituto per l'Oriente.
Royal Geographical Society.
Royal United Service Institution.
H.M. Stationery Office.
Tokyo. Dr. G. E. Morrison's Library.
Tokyo. South Manchuria Railway Company.

Digitized by Google

RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. The Central Asian Society was founded in 1901 for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his

Digitized by Google

membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Honorary President, (2) the Chairman of the Council, (3) eight Vice-Presidents, (4) the Honorary Treasurer, and (5) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be an Assistant Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary President shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for five years, and shall be eligible for re-election. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for four years. Two shall retire annually by rotation, and not be eligible for re-election as such until after the expiration of one year. They are eligible on retirement for re-election on the Council.

13*a*. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Assistant Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence by any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman,

Digitized by Google

exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Assistant Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the latter is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of the Vice-Presidents and twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the

Digitized by Google

sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the third Thursday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Thursday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION.

_____

_____

being desirous of becoming a Member of the CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, *we whose names are hereunto subscribed do hereby recommend to the Society as a Candidate.*

Proposer _____

Seconder _____

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. IX.

1922

PART III.

CONTENTS.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM ARCHÆOLOGICAL MISSION IN MESOPOTAMIA, 1919. By Dr. H. R. Hall, D.Litt., M.B.Æ., F.S.A.

SOME NOTES ON AEROPLANES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE AIR ROUTE FROM CAIRO TO BAGDAD. By Air Commodore H. R. M. Brooke-Popham, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

THE CAPE TO CAIRO RAILWAY, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT. By Mr. Robert Williams.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY DINNER CLUB.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1921.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1922-23.

MEMBERS ELECTED SINCE MARCH 9, 1922.

CHAIRMEN OF COUNCIL SINCE 1901.

PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE BRITISH MUSEUM ARCHÆOLOGICAL MISSION IN MESOPOTAMIA, 1919

By Dr. H. R. Hall, M.B.E., D.Litt., F.S.A.
Deputy-Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Services Institution, Whitehall, on Thursday, February 9, the Right Hon. Lord Carnock in the chair. A lecture was given by Dr. H. R. Hall, Deputy Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, on "The British Museum Archæological Mission in Mesopotamia, 1919."

In opening the proceedings, the Chairman said: Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to announce that since our last meeting nine new members have been elected to the Society, and if any persons here feel disposed to become members, or put themselves up for election, Captain Stephenson, the Hon. Secretary, will be happy to give any information after this meeting about the Society. I am glad to say that we have the pleasure of the presence here of Dr. Hall of the British Museum, who proposes to read us a paper on the British Museum Archæological Mission in Mesopotamia. I think Dr. Hall is sufficiently well known to all who take the slightest interest in that subject to obviate any necessity that I should introduce him. I will therefore ask him if he will kindly deliver his lecture. (Applause.)

The capture of Baghdad in 1917 and the British occupation of the whole of Mesopotamia, with the exception of the Mosul district, that followed turned the attention of British archæologists towards the possibility of starting active excavation in the mounds of Babylonia again as soon as possible, under direct British auspices and while our forces were in occupation of the country. Accordingly, the Trustees of the British Museum, by arrangement with the War Office, entrusted Captain R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., formerly of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, and one of the most eminent British Assyriologists, who was then actually on the spot in Mesopotamia as an intelligence officer, with the task of carrying out the proposed excavations. Captain Thompson was deputed from the Army for this purpose. He began work in the district of Naṣrīyah, and after a week spent on the site of the ancient city of Ur "of the Chaldees," the modern Tell el-Muḳayyar, and examination of other sites in the neighbourhood of Sūḳ esh-Shuyūkh and the Hammar Lake, such as Tell el-Laḥm and Tell ej-Judēidah, he concentrated his efforts on what is in many respects the most interesting site in Babylonia, Tell Abu Shaḥrein, the old Eridu, which the Babylonians themselves

Digitized by Google

considered to be the most ancient city in their country. Ur and Shaḥrein were sites of old interest to British, and especially British Museum archæologists, as in 1854 they had both been investigated for the first time by Captain Taylor, whose digging results were already in the Museum. At Shaḥrein Captain Thompson worked for a month, using the nomad Arabs who came up to that part of the world in the spring (a sept of the Dhiffīr) as his workmen by arrangement with their sheikh, Hamūd, and, by his method of sinking pits all over the mound, and carefully recording the objects found at different depths, has given us first accurate knowledge of the beginning of culture at Eridu. He also collected a rich harvest of the implements of chert, flint, and obsidian, and the fragments of painted pottery that had been in the course of centuries washed by the winter rains out of the lower strata of the mounds on to the surrounding plain, where they now lie for the picking up. His discoveries have now been fully published in *Archæologia*, vol. lxx. (1920).

His season's work finished, he returned to England, and, in view of the promising results, the Trustees of the British Museum, at the recommendation of Sir F. G. Kenyon, K.C.B., the Director, decided to send me out as his successor, owing to the serious illness of my since deceased colleague and friend, Professor Leonard W. King, who otherwise would himself have proceeded to Mesopotamia to take charge of the work. I was at the same time to place my services as adviser in archæological matters at the disposal of the Mesopotamian authorities so long as I was out. I was accordingly demobilized from the Intelligence branch of the Army and, on my arrival at Basrah under the auspices of the War Office, was attached to the Mesopotamian Political Service with my Army rank of Captain.

In this capacity I proceeded, at the direction of my temporary chief, Lieut.-Colonel A. T. (now Sir Arnold) Wilson, the Chief Civil Commissioner, to Baghdad, and, after a visit to Ctesiphon, inspected the ruins of Babylon and Birs Nimrūd. At the former place I carried out certain works of conservation that were necessary, especially in the "Hall of Belshazzar," with the help of sepoys of the Erinpura Battalion, kindly lent me by Brigadier-General E. W. Costello, V.C., then commanding at Hillah, who always showed great interest in the archæological remains in his command. At the same time I made an inventory of the antiquities then in the German house at Kweiresh, close by, which Professor Koldewey, the German excavator of Babylon, had been compelled to abandon in 1917. The house had been plundered by the Arabs before the arrival of our troops from Baghdad, but luckily the antiquities did not appear to have suffered much; the museum-room seemed more or less intact with its contents. But the others, the living-rooms of the house, had suffered a wild *Verwüstung*, as their owners would have called it. Furniture and household

Digitized by Google

utensils, boxes and books, were all scattered about, and a pile of rubbish in one room was pathetically crowned by the celluloid dog-collar and *Mantschetten*, or cuffs, of some Teuton (fancy wearing such things in Mesopotamia!), for which obviously the Arab had no use. Reverently these relics were reduced to order and the house tidied up; and when the work of making the inventory of antiquities and writing various reports and recommendations to be transmitted to the Government at Baghdad was completed, and a new roof built to protect the stacks of boxes of architectural fragments which lay in the courtyard, the house was again sealed up, to await the day when, as it is hoped, it may be again opened as a local museum for Babylon, and the living-rooms used as a hostel for architects and archæological students.

At Birs Nimrūd I had to report on the stability of the fragment of the *ziḳḳurrat*, or temple tower, that still stands like a jagged tooth above masses of brickwork, vitrified by some great conflagration, that crown the mound. So fierce must the heat have been that consumed the tower that it may be suggested that crude oil or *mazūt* was used; piles of brushwood soaked in oil were probably heaped up against the tower, and then the torch applied. If, as is probable, the tower was burnt by Elamite conquerors, this seems quite possible.

At Nippur I recommended certain minor works of conservation of walls, etc. On account of the danger of rain and the resulting impassable mud, to get to Sūḳ el-Afej, near which Nippur lies, from Dīwānīyah and back at the beginning of February, was rather a risky proceeding if, as was the case with me, one was hurried. And sure enough after we had got to Afej the rain came down, and I have a vivid recollection of what was probably one of the most sodden, mournful, and miserable days of my life, marooned in pouring rain and squelching mud at Sūḳ el-Afej, which, to say the least of it, does not look its best as a "county town" under such conditions. However, the next day was fine and delightful, and the journey in a *bellam*, with its awning and its picturesque carved prow, *à la* Cleopatra on the Cydnus, up the local canal, and the ensuing ride to Nippur, was an experience as pleasant and interesting as the previous day's had been wretched. But on the return to Dīwānīyah on the following day the Fords stuck in the mud, and only the strenuous energy of Captain Daly, the local political officer, who accompanied us, extricated us from the slough of despond.

Then southwards again, with a Burmese chauffeur at the wheel, beguiling the way with conversation in excellent English about Rangoon and the Shwē Dagōn, *phungyis*, and *pwēs*, and *Nats*, and comparisons between Burma and Mesopotamia, by no means to the advantage of the latter. So to Rumeitha and Samāwa, afterwards notable as chief centres of the revolt on the Euphrates in 1920. A year previously, however, they were peaceful enough, and with their

Digitized by Google

palm groves and comparatively prosperous look (so different from the miserable Tigris towns on their treeless banks of arid mud, past which I had steamed for so many weary days on the way from Basrah to Baghdad), reminded me more of Egypt than any other part of Mesopotamia ever did.

From picturesque old Samāwa, embowered in its palms on both banks of the Euphrates, to ugly modern Naṣrīyah, looking rather like a new Greek town with its broad shadeless streets crossing at right angles, in a motor-boat, and the scene of excavation was reached. Out in the desert loomed the red bulk of Tell el-Muḳayyar, which was now to be my home for four months. I camped under the shadow of the *ziḳḳurrat*, and got to work on February 14, 1919, with seventy Turkish prisoners of war, kindly lent by the military authorities, and the Arab *reises* whom I had brought from Babylon. The nett results of the excavations were (1) the uncovering of the foundations of Ê-kharsag ("The House of the Mountain"), a palace of the kings Ur-Nammu (or Ur-Engur) and Dungi, of the Third Dynasty of Ur (*circa* 2300 B.C.), and the discovery of Ê-makh ("The Noble House"), a temple of the goddess Ninsun; (2) the clearance of the south-east face of the *ziḳḳurrat*; (3) the discovery of part of the *temenos* wall of the temple, with its cellars or casemates in the foundation; (4) the exploration of some streets of the ancient city, in which later inhabitants had buried their dead in earthenware coffins or *larnakes*. The burnt brick walls of (1) were well and carefully built, usually 5 feet thick, showing that the ancient inhabitants well knew the proper thickness to make a wall in Mesopotamia, to keep out both the heat of summer and the cold of winter. The same people, apparently, who buried their dead in the pottery coffins had re-occupied the site of Ê-kharsag at a later date, probably the Assyrian period (ninth to seventh centuries B.C.), and had built amidst its ruin their own feeble and careless brick constructions, largely utilizing the ancient material. Tablets of this later period, beautifully written in cuneiform, containing legal documents, were found in these later constructions. A deposit of these was unearthed at the moment of a visit from Sir John Hewett, G.C.S.I., late Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces (then on a mission to Mesopotamia), and his staff; and I was, of course facetiously, accused of having "salted" the dig on his honour! Traces of the great fire, by which, in all probability, Ur was destroyed by the Elamites about 2285 B.C., were everywhere to be seen; and remains of stone statues, smashed to atoms probably by the same destroyers, were also found.

When the desert surface was sufficiently firm to bear the weight of a car, and there was no immediate danger of rain and mud, I went out to Shaḥrein, fourteen miles away, and eventually transferred my work there. From the top of the Ur *ziḳḳurrat* one could see the drab top of Shaḥrein, with its base and ends cut off by mirage, looking like

Digitized by Google

an airship as it swam in the heat-haze. An hour or so's bumping and lurching over the heath and thorn-covered surface of the so-called desert (in reality a steppe) brought me to the base of the mounds of Eridu, isolated like an island in the centre of its surrounding depression, which was the site of the lake, the "sea" in the midst of which the ancient town of the "beloved abyss" (as the Sumerians called it), once stood. For geological reasons it is improbable that Eridu ever stood on the shore of the Persian Gulf, as used to be thought. The "sea" referred to in the cuneiform texts is this lake.

The top, or rather tip, of this *ziḳḳurrat* rises at the north end of the mounds to the height of 80 feet. It is of crude brick, unburnt, and so keeps its drab hue, whereas Tell el-Muḳayyar, the *ziḳḳurrat* of Ur, is red from the savage fire of the Elamites that once consumed it, like Birs Nimrūd. The fierce rains of winter have worn it down into a curious peaked shape at the summit. All round are the mounds in which Captain Thompson had sunk his pits in the preceding year. I also had the help of his Dhiffīr Beduins, with some of my Turks. My object was not to sink pits for stratigraphical evidence, as Captain Thompson had done, but to select some portion of the ancient city of Eṛidu itself and dig it out at one level, so as to obtain an idea of the buildings of the city. I accordingly excavated a series of houses and streets of the late Sumerian period, apparently of about the age of Gudea, or perhaps a century or two earlier. These houses were built of rectangular crude bricks faced with coarse lime-plaster, occasionally decorated with horizontal bands of red, white, and black painting. Little was found in them, but the harvest of the surrounding plain, with its stone implements and its painted pottery lying on the surface, was again immense. The stone walls and bastions of the town (an unusual feature in Babylonia) were also explored in part. They are built of a rough coral rag, found not far away to the south, in a ridge which effectively disposes of the view that Eridu once stood on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

The heat at Shaḥrein, for it was now the beginning of May, was great, and it was with relief that I moved away over the desert again, with combined camel and motor-car transport, to the small mound of el-'Obeid, ten miles away to the north and near the railway-line between Ur and el-Khidhr, which was to be the scene of our best discoveries. I had already found this mound in the course of a reconnaissance from Ur, being attracted to it by the identity of the remains lying on the surface around it with those at Shaḥrein, and had tentatively attacked it with men sent out by car from Ur. Now, having shifted camp to it, I set to work to dig out the remarkable "beasts" of copper, the *behaimīn* (monsters) of which we had already found the first traces.

Tell el-'Obeid is what the Arabs of the *rīf* call it; the Beduin name is Tell el-Ma'abed, "the mound of the place of worship," which is per-

Digitized by Google

haps the original and more correct form. It is the site of a little rectangular building, 110 feet long by 85 feet wide, apparently the platform of a small temple or the base of a small *ziḳḳurrat*, of the earliest Sumerian time, built of the characteristic plano-convex burnt bricks of the fourth millenium B.C., and with the recessed or panelled exterior characteristic of that time. It was apparently a shrine of the goddess Damkina, the consort of Enki, the god of Shaḥrein. At the south-east end of this construction, beneath a brick platform of the time of Dungi, in a confused heap, as if they had been thrown into a *favissa*, were found the *behaimīn*.

The find resembles in nature and circumstances the famous deposit of gold, copper, and stone figures, *etc.*, of the Old Kingdom found at Kōm el-aḥmar (Hierakōnpolis) in Upper Egypt by Mr. J. E. Quibell in 1897.

Four life-size heads of lions with rudimentary foreparts but little else in the way of bodies, one smaller lion's head, two heads of panthers or cats, and two small bulls about the size of greyhounds: these were the beasts. They were of copper, and their cast heads had been filled with bitumen and clay, while their hammered bodies, or what remained of them, had been rudely nailed over wooden cores, just like the Egyptian copper or bronze (?) statues of King Pepi and his son from Hierakōnpolis (Sixth Dynasty, *circa* 2700 B.C.). The fact of the heads being cast, which appears to be generally agreed upon by the sculptors and metal-workers who have examined them, is very surprising, and is important in the history of metallurgy. The bitumen and clay filling of the heads reminds one of the description of the image in "Bel and the Dragon," that was "brass without and clay within" (*cf.* Dan. ii. 34).

The lion heads had inlaid eyes of red jasper, white shell, and blue schist, teeth of shell, and tongues of red jasper. All were in very bad condition, the copper being oxidized through and through, so that hardly any metal remained; and it is lucky that the bitumen cores reproduce for us, as if they were casts, the appearance of the copper heads. They, too, have suffered, but can easily be put together, while the reconstitution of the copper heads themselves is not beyond the powers of the restorer's art, and, it is to be hoped, may be attempted in the near future. Dr. Alexander Scott, F.R.S., is now studying the proper method of treatment.

Of the bulls, one fell to green powder almost immediately after discovery, but not until after it had been photographed; its head alone remained intact. The other can eventually be restored. An isolated bull's head is one of the finest examples of early Sumerian art in this *genre* known. The gold horn of another bull was also found, of thick hammered and polished gold, stuffed with bitumen again to give it strength. Cheek by jowl with these remains were found a small seated statue of a man, about 2 feet high, made of trachyte, of the usual early Sumerian type, with shaven head, prominent nose, and

Digitized by Google

enormous eyes, and the torso of another, possibly of the same man, but made of white limestone, and inscribed with a dedication in the most archaic cuneiform characters for Kur-Lil, the doorkeeper of Erech, to the goddess Damkina. These figures date the whole find to the epoch of Ur-Ninā of Lagash, about 3200 B.C. or earlier—a date otherwise deducible from the style of the animal heads.

Finally, as a crown to the whole work, was found close by the remarkable copper slab, 8 feet long by 3 feet 6 inches high, on which in high relief are the crudely cast copper figures of two stags, with heads in the round, walking to left and right respectively, whose tails are grasped by the talons of a lion-headed eagle in full face, who occupies the centre of the relief, while his wings fill up the space above the stags. This antithetical group represents Imgig, the mythical bird of the god Ningirsu, seizing his victims. The relief is the largest example of the group yet known, and is a notable relic of early Sumerian art.

Its excavation and removal was a very ticklish job, on account of the terribly oxidized condition of the copper, already so bad when discovered that the figure of the eagle could only be discovered by the eye of knowledge, since where the stags were we knew the eagle must be, but, sure enough, his wings were evident to settle the matter.

However, by careful labour the work was done, and the whole relief transported *en bloc*, without cutting up, to England, where it awaits the needful treatment and restoration. As a beginning the head of one of the stags has been treated, and is now on view, with the other objects described, in the British Museum.

Other interesting objects were found here, such as pottery rosettes, with petals of red, white, and black stones, on long shanks for insertion in crude brick walls, and pillars, originally wooden, faced with mosaic designs of red sandstone, black bituminous limestone, and mother-of-pearl, fastened by copper wire into a bitumen backing. These are quite new to our knowledge.

And the immediately surrounding tract gave us the same prehistoric stone implements and painted pottery as at Shaḥrein. This pottery is in itself one of the most important results of the expedition. That of 'Obeid differs little from that of Shaḥrein, but is often finer and with more delicate designs. Both are of the same type as that of de Morgan's "second style," found at Susa, and are identical with that found by Pézard at Bushire. At 'Obeid I found a few bits of the "first style." It is not wheel-made, but belongs to the age immediately preceding the invention of the wheel, and may be dated not later than 3500 B.C., in the chalcolithic period of culture, before metal was exclusively used. It is often highly fired, almost vitreous. This ceramic seems to have been common to Mesopotamia, Elam, Northern Persia, and Turkistan at that period, and connects definitely with similar pot-fabrics of somewhat later date in Asia Minor, while further connections may be adumbrated for it, from Thessaly to Honan.

Digitized by Google

The Sumerian of the historic period, the full age of metal, used a plain drab ware, which persisted, with the sole addition of green or polychrome glaze, till the end of Babylonian culture. The old black-painted vitreous ware was never revived.

I found also at 'Obeid, as Thompson and I had at Shaḥrein, the same votive (?) sickles of hard pottery, the strange curved pottery nails, *etc.*, which had already been discovered by our predecessor, Taylor, at both sites in 1854.

It was now the end of May, and the heat unbearable: 116° F. in the shade. El-'Obeid could not be finished, but still awaits the completing spade, while of Ur, of course, but a sample or two had been taken. It was impossible to go on in that season, and I hoped to return before long. Financial and political considerations have, however, denied us the fulfilment of that hope. It is, nevertheless, still permissible to hope that the work thus begun may eventually be taken up again, and the excavation of this interesting group of ancient sites be carried a step further. Completion of the exploration of such an enormous site as Ur is, of course, a thing of the dim and distant future, and work at Shaḥrein entails peculiar difficulties, notably the want of water, which I had to have brought daily by car in tanks from the railway at Ur Junction, fifteen miles away.

I left Basrah at the end of May, and, after an archæological visit to Upper Egypt and to Jerusalem, reached England again in August, 1919. My work would not have been possible without the help, not only of the Chief Commissioner and his subordinates, but also of the Commander-in-Chief, Major-General Sir George MacMunn, whose interest in antiquities is well known, of Brigadier-General C. E. Sutton commanding lines of communication, and of the railway officers to whose ever ready and cordial assistance we owe so much.

I was alone during most of the work, having a British warrant officer, Sergeant-Major Stanley Webb, to look after the prisoner diggers and help on occasion; he, however, remained permanently at Ur. The Commander-in-Chief kindly lent me an R.E. officer, Lieutenant H. D. O'Sullivan, for a week at the end of the work in order to make proper plans of the buildings discovered. These, with photographs, were published in the preliminary account of the excavation which appeared in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for December, 1919.

The Chairman: I do not think that at this late hour I can venture to invite anybody to make any observations, but I think we must all be deeply indebted to Dr. Hall for having allowed us to pass an hour so agreeably and so profitably among the memorials of an ancient past, which has been so beautifully illustrated by the plates he has shown us. I am quite sure that I shall have your entire concurrence in thanking Dr. Hall most warmly for having come here this evening, and entertained and instructed us during his lecture. (Applause.)

Digitized by Google

SOME NOTES ON AEROPLANES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE AIR ROUTE FROM CAIRO TO BAGDAD

By Air-Commodore H. R. M. Brooke-Popham, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, March 9, 1922, when a lecture was given by Air-Commodore Brooke-Popham, entitled, "Some Notes on Aeroplanes, with Special Reference to the Cross Desert Route from Cairo to Bagdad."

Sir Michael O'Dwyer presided.

The Chairman opened the proceedings by asking the Hon. Secretary (Colonel A. C. Yate) to read the names of the newly elected Members of the Society.

The Hon. Secretary (Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate): We have to-day elected as Members of the Society: Lady Carnock; Major Hon. F. A. Nicolson, 15th Hussars; Major-General Sir George Scott-Moncrieff, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., R.E.; Colonel P. B. Bramley, C.I.E., O.B.E.; Colonel M. R. W. Nightingale, C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., I.A.; Mr. C. A. Walpole, O.B.E.; Captain C. G. Snelling, I.A., Indian Political Department; Mr. Robert Machray. I think I might mention with regard to Mr. Robert Machray that he is a very well-known writer on the Middle East, and that his latest article on the subject is in the *Fortnightly Review* for February, entitled, "The British in the Middle East." I mention it because I consider he is a great acquisition to the Society.

The Chairman: We have met to-day to hear a lecture which Air-Commodore Brooke-Popham is kindly giving us, "Some Notes on Aeroplanes, with Special Reference to the Cross Desert Route from Cairo to Bagdad." It is a subject which will interest everyone concerned in increasing our knowledge of Central Asia, and the lecturer whom we have been fortunate enough to secure is an expert who can tell us more about the subject than probably anybody else. I will not waste any more time, but will ask Air-Commodore Brooke-Popham to give us the benefit of his notes.

Air-Commodore Brooke-Popham: 1. Last summer I paid a visit to Egypt and Iraq with the object of finding out the particular troubles that are experienced with aeroplanes and engines in tropical climates. My stay in those countries only lasted for a total of four and a half

Digitized by Google

weeks in July and August, and that, of course, is quite an insufficient time to get more than a superficial knowledge of the subject. In fact, I feel rather a fraud in presuming to give a lecture this afternoon.

2. First, with regard to wind. For people who move only on the surface of the sea and earth the wind is either abominable or invigorating, according to the state of one's health. On land it only becomes a nuisance when it blows the hat off one's head or a tile off one's roof, but the matter is very different for those who move in three dimensions instead of two. For them the wind is one of the most important factors in their daily life.

When we talk of the speed of an aeroplane, it always means speed through the air. The speed relatively to the ground depends entirely upon what the air is doing at the time. If, therefore, the aeroplane has a speed of 100 miles per hour and is moving east, and there is an east wind of 50 miles per hour, the aeroplane will be only moving at the rate of $(100-50)=50$ miles per hour relatively to the ground, but if the aeroplane turns round so as to fly with the wind, then it will be moving over the ground at a speed of $(100+50)=150$ miles per hour, though its speed through the air will be the same in each case.

If a man is out of sight of the ground he has no direct means of telling how he is moving relatively to the ground; any instruments that he has only tell him his speed through the air, and unless he knows the force and direction of the wind he cannot tell his speed with reference to the ground by any direct means.

The trouble about the wind is that it does not remain constant at different heights above the ground, but varies with altitude. It is practically always stronger at, say, 2,000 feet than it is near the ground, but frequently it changes in direction as well. The most common change is clockwise. A pilot who is flying entirely by compass above the clouds out of sight of the ground, must therefore allow for the variation of wind strength and direction in order to make an accurate course to his destination. I lay stress on the words "entirely by compass" because it is now practicable to navigate aeroplanes by sextant and observation of the sun or stars, as in the case of ships at sea, though this, of course, presupposes a trained observer.

Another point about the wind is that an aeroplane should always get off and alight facing directly into the wind, otherwise it will have a certain amount of sideways movement when it reaches the ground, and this means risk of damage to the undercarriage.

3. An aeroplane depends for its support upon the reaction of the air on its wings, and the amount of this reaction depends, amongst other factors, upon the density of the air. Further, the amount of power given out by an internal combustion engine also depends upon the density of the air amongst other factors. In tropical climates the air is less dense than it is in England, and the result is that the perform-

Digitized by Google

ance of aeroplanes is distinctly worse in Iraq or India than it is here. This means that aeroplanes take a longer run to get off, climb slower, have a lower ceiling, and land faster. Flying at ground level at Bagdad in the middle of a July day is roughly equivalent to flying at a height of 4,000 feet in England.

There is no difficulty now in flying by night so long as the pilot has a prepared aerodrome to land on.

Flying actually in clouds is very unpleasant, chiefly because a pilot quickly loses all sense of direction unless he has a reference point of some sort to guide him. And remember, in the case of an aeroplane, it is not merely a question of going round in a circle on the surface of the earth, like a man lost in a fog, but also of losing all sense of vertical and horizontal as well.

An expert pilot, however, can fly in clouds with the instruments now available and keep a reasonably accurate course.

With the standard wireless set using continuous waves, as used on aircraft in the Middle East, a range of 500 miles from air to ground and of 300 miles from ground to air can be obtained under normal conditions. Atmospherics are, however, very bad in the afternoon, especially during April and May, and wireless communication is usually impracticable at such times.

It may be noted that direction finding wireless can be used to enable aircraft to locate their position or to fly on to a transmitting station, and also to assist in locating aircraft if stranded in the desert.

It is also possible to communicate between aeroplanes and the ground by dropping messages or picking them up. In the latter case, the message is attached to the end of a string, which is supported on two sticks about 6 feet high, and the aeroplane picks up the string by a small grapnel carried at the end of a wire, and trailing out behind and below the aeroplane.

4. I did not do a greal deal of flying in the Middle East, but so far as my experience went, the eddy currents, etc., in the middle of the day were in no way so violent as to make flying dangerous, or even difficult for an experienced pilot, and I have certainly had far worse bumps during bad rain storms, both in England and in France, than when flying in Iraq in the middle of the day. This, of course, presupposes that one does not fly into a dust storm. These must be horrible, and the trouble is that they go up to very great heights in Iraq, certainly over 12,000 feet at times.

Another thing that is disconcerting is the sudden changes of wind direction that one gets near the ground in the desert. On one occasion just after midday the wind, which was about ten miles per hour on the ground, kept changing 90 degrees in a few seconds—viz., from east to north and back again—and the smoke from a smoke-bomb, which was put out to give a guide to an unfortunate aeroplane trying to land,

Digitized by Google

covered a segment of approximately 90 degrees instead of blowing in a straight line. About two hours later the wind suddenly died down completely, and five minutes afterwards began to blow steadily from a point a little south of west. One also gets sudden gusts, I suppose due to a small eddy; these are also liable to cause landing troubles.

Above a height of about 1,000 feet above the ground there is a westerly wind, apparently permanent, between the Mediterranean and Iraq; the result of this is than an aeroplane will do the journey from Cairo to Bagdad quicker than in the inverse direction.

5. I might say that I had nothing whatever to do with the making of the route from Cairo to Bagdad, but have merely been over it like a sort of Cook's tourist. The total distance from Cairo to Bagdad as the machines fly is 833 miles, of which 467 is over the Arabian Desert. The main objects in starting it were, first, to have the means of supplying Iraq with aeroplanes by air from Egypt, instead of sending them round in cases via the Red Sea and Persian Gulf; secondly, to form the first stage of the air route from Cairo to India and Australia; and thirdly, to establish the means of quick communication between Iraq and Cairo, and so with England. Normally, a letter going from London to Bagdad travels via the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, Bombay, Karachi, the Persian Gulf, and Basra, and takes between five and six weeks, thus making Iraq, from the point of view of communication, one of the furthest outposts of the Empire. The air route is altering all this. I have seen in Bagdad a London paper only nine days old. A pilot has arrived in Bagdad eight and a half hours after leaving Cairo, and an officer has arrived in London six and a half days after leaving Bagdad. A regular fortnightly mail service is now running in each direction.

From very ancient days a caravan route existed between Damascus and the Euphrates, running practically due east of the former. There is water on this route, whereas to the south of it, where the desert air route now runs, there is practically none, except after the rains.

The question then arises—Why fly across the southern part of the desert instead of continuing to follow the caravan route, as has been done on several occasions? The reason for that lies in the fact that under the Peace Treaty the northern boundary of our zone of influence comes a long way south of Damascus, and cuts the old caravan route about half-way across. We cannot fly military aeroplanes over other people's zone of influence.

6. With regard to the nature of the country, the word "desert" is somewhat of a misnomer. It is not a sandy desert at all, but most of it rather a steppe, which would probably be very fertile if there were more water. The surface is quite hard, and in many places is covered, or partially covered, with a sort of scrub which is, of course, all dried up in the summer. It rains, I believe, for about one week in the year,

Digitized by Google

and after that there is a large amount of grazing for camels. The desert lies high, being nearly all over 2,000 feet above the sea, in some places well over 3,000.

The desert is uninhabited as we should understand it, although after the rains a good many nomad Arabs wander over it, grazing their camels. At first there is a considerable amount of surface water, though this soon dries up. However, the camel food that has grown remains succulent for some time, so that the camels do not want to drink. The attendants live on camel's milk. They drink water when they can, but this is reserved chiefly for their women and children. I believe that they sometimes go for as long as two or three months drinking nothing but camel's milk.

Even in the summer there will be an occasional raid across the desert. The object of these is to steal someone else's camels. The raids are generally carried out according to strict rules. For instance, it is very wrong for a raiding party to kill any individual of the tribe whom they are raiding, although the raided tribe may defend themselves. When a man is killed a blood feud is started, but can be cancelled by adequate compensation.

The current rate of exchange, when I was out there, was forty camels per man. Again, if the raiders get off with camels belonging to a widow, she can run after them, and, using the proper formula, say she is a widow, and demand her camels back. I am told that this is generally done. One of the political officers told me that he was talking to a sheik and told him that raids were forbidden by the British, and asked why did they still go on doing it, pointing out that Englishmen never raided each other. The sheik thought for a moment, and then said: "Yes; but you play football."

7. The first Air Force party to be sent across this desert was the car convoy. The object of this was partly to select possible landing-grounds, but chiefly to make a definite track across the desert which aeroplanes would follow. I have sometimes seen some criticisms of this track, and people say, why don't we fly straight across? Well, from the point of view of pure flying this would be the simplest thing to do, and if one did get a few degrees out of one's course one would simply go on until one met the Euphrates; but unfortunately in this year of grace 1922, one cannot guarantee against engine failure in some form or other.

If an aeroplane comes down in the middle of this vast desert it is exceedingly difficult to find, even with the aid of wireless, the result being that, if there were no form of track, we should be bound sooner or later to lose pilots. However, so long as one has got a track and the aeroplanes follow it, a machine having a forced landing would be bound to be picked up, because even if the wireless did break down, rescue parties would be sent out within twenty-four hours from each

Digitized by Google

end, and they would follow along the track until they saw the damaged machine. Then steps would be taken either to drop water or other supplies, to land in the vicinity, or help in some other manner.

Up to June 25 of last year no European, so far as is known, had ever crossed this part of the desert from east to west or vice versa. People have, of course, been along the caravan route to the north, and others, such as Miss Gertrude Bell, Mosil, and Colonel Leachman had wandered over a large part of the desert, but mainly in a direction of north to south. It was, therefore, somewhat of a bold conception to decide to send off a small party to cross this unknown desert. The fact that it was accomplished successfully, I think, reflects great credit on those responsible for its initiation and organization, as well as the actual performers. The car party had many difficulties to contend with, especially during the first part, where a passage through lava had to be found. Final success was due chiefly to effective co-operation between aeroplanes and the cars, the former reconnoitring the route and bringing out supplies from Amman. On the outward journey six Crossley light tenders and three Rolls Royce cars belonging to the Machine Gun Corps were taken. All bar one vehicle made the complete journey to Bagdad and back.

A great many experiments were carried out as to the best method of marking the route, but it was eventually found that the wheel tracks of the cars themselves were sufficient in most places, each vehicle following closely in the tracks of the preceding ones. Over certain portions of the route it was necessary to use a sort of wide, shallow plough, and this was also used to make arrows by the side of the track occasionally. I don't suppose a car track of this nature would be of much value in a sandy desert, but it is certainly most effective between Amman and the Euphrates, and there is no real difficulty in following it from the air. One has to use one's brains a little bit—*i.e.*, sometimes one has to look two or three miles ahead, and sometimes one has to look almost vertically downwards. From the pilot's point of view there is a great advantage in having a continuous line of this nature to follow, instead of occasional marks such as bomb-craters, and it is rather fascinating to watch the little narrow line stretching away in the distance, the one thread linking you not only to civilization, but to food and water. Most of the track has recently been gone over again, and it will probably require re-doing once a year.

Before this car party started, the maps of that part of the world observed a discreet blankness, but now the route followed by the cars and some of the prominent points near it have been accurately fixed by surveyors. They made use of the stars for fixing their position at night accurately, and this method entails knowing the exact time. The chief surveyor took a small wireless set with him, and every night

Digitized by Google

about half-past ten used to set it up and listen in for the time signals from the Eiffel Tower, and thus checked his chronometer to a tenth of a second. There is something rather romantic about this, the operator in the centre of a great city working his sending key, and, all unknown to himself, enabling some stranger over 2,000 miles away to locate his position in a trackless desert.

8. Now as regards the journey itself. I won't say anything about the part from Cairo to Amman, because many people know that part of the world. The Dead Sea looks quite pretty from the air, and quite reminded me of the Italian Lakes; but the Jordan, at any rate in the summer, is disappointing, being a miserable, dirty little trickle; in fact, I quite sympathized with Naaman in not wishing to bathe in it.

Amman is a town with about 12,000 inhabitants, including a great many Circassians, who were originally sent there by the Turks to keep control over the Arabs. In olden days it used to be the headquarters of a Roman Legion. There are still remains of a Roman amphitheatre and of one or two temples, and when you go down to a bazaar in Amman you will probably find yourself on a stone which, when examined, is seen to be the capitol or base of a Roman pillar. Amman is at present the capital of Trans-Jordania, and Abdul, king of that part of the world, has his court in a big camp at Amman. The aerodrome here is very dusty, about 2,600 feet above the sea, and has higher ground around. It is an unpleasant aerodrome to get off from in a slow-climbing machine.

The first point out from Amman is Azrak, distance fifty miles. There is no village or anything there but water springs, which form a series of pools in the summer and a lake in the winter. The ground immediately round these pools is fertile, and the place forms rather a centre for nomads. The Romans had a fort here, the foundations of which are still to be seen, and the Persians built a castle, the ruins of which are still left. The water is beautifully clear and quite good to drink, so long as one takes it from near a spring. Where it has been evaporating in the pools it tastes very salt.

From Amman to Azrak the country is undulating and bare; in fact, one may say the desert begins a few miles east of Amman. At Azrak one begins to get into the first part of the lava country. There are masses of this lava about, but so far as is known there is no volcano. The lava appears to have welled up out of the earth through a sort of crevasse and merely flooded over the whole countryside. The Persian castle and the old Roman fort I referred to are built of lava.

9. From Azrak onwards one also comes across what are called mud flats. These are large areas of a sort of light yellow soil, which looks white and almost dazzling in the sun. They are perfectly level

Digitized by Google

and smooth, nothing grows on them, and some of them are several square miles in extent. In many ways they form an absolutely ideal aerodrome, the only drawback being that they are so smooth and level that it is very difficult to judge one's height; in fact, it is like alighting on a perfectly smooth sea. The surface is quite hard, and though it is cut into by tail skids, is but little affected by aeroplane wheels. These mud flats are probably formed of the matter which is carried down in suspension by streams during the rains—in fact, are the dry beds of shallow lakes. Some of them may, however, have a volcanic origin. They are covered with water during the rainy season; in fact, one or two were still wet in July, but the water is only about an inch deep, and the ground surface remains hard, so it is possible for aeroplanes to land without damage.

I spent a night on one of these mud flats owing to the fact that one of three machines in my flight had to land on account of engine trouble.

This formed another instance of the value of wireless in the desert. The machine that had engine trouble sent out a wireless message to say it would be forced to land. That was taken down in my machine and the message handed to me, and at the same time it was being received at Bagdad and Amman, and from the last transmitted to Cairo. So, in a few minutes, there was I, up in the middle of the air over the desert, Bagdad, and Cairo, all knowing that this particular machine was having to land, and why.

Several of these mud flats and other places have been marked as specially suitable for aeroplanes to land on, but no personnel, stores, or supplies are kept at any of the desert landing grounds.

After a bit of fairly open steppe country one then comes to the second lava outcrop about 110 miles from Amman. The lava here is much more continuous than it is close to Azrak, and it was here that the car convoy met with their greatest difficulties. It is a most depressing area of country to fly over, and it has quite a bad effect upon one's nerves—at any rate, some people's. I know I felt as if the end of the world had really come, and there was no one left alive except my pilot and myself, and that the sooner we joined the rest the better. The lava ends just before the landing-ground marked F on the wall map, and from there, practically, till one reaches the Euphrates, the country is open steppe. A peculiar thing about this lava country is that there are traces of some ancient civilization on it. There are several circles of lava blocks, which may very likely be the remains of houses, but, in addition, there are straight walls, which, from the air, look like the boundaries between fields; in fact, they are not unlike an open stone-wall country in England, such as that round Cirencester. I noticed these walls principally on the eastern edge of the lava.

The lava ends quite abruptly about 130 miles from Amman.

El Djid is a sort of half-way place between Amman and Bagdad,

Digitized by Google

and one constantly sees it referred to. It is marked on many maps; in fact, some people think that there is a large village, and even a town there. El Djid really consists simply of two wells, one of them about 160 feet deep, bored through solid limestone. Who made them I do not know. The water tastes very good.

There is another well at Rutba, some thirty miles N.E. of El Djid, otherwise there is no permanent water between Azrak and Ramadi.

10. On the occasion that I crossed the desert to Bagdad there was quite a gathering at El Djid, on July 20. There was the R.A.F. car convoy returning from the East, another car convoy which had been reconnoitring for a railway came down from the north, and my flight of three aeroplanes from the west—three independent parties all meeting at this poor little well in the midst of the vast uncharted desert. One couldn't help feeling that it was the beginning of its future conquest by the mechanical genius of the West. On this particular occasion the party that came down from the north told me that they had come across a sheik who had been wounded two days before in the course of a raid made on him, and suggested that, as this sheik had been friendly to the R.A.F. convoy at the time it was moving to Bagdad, it would be a good thing to fly him to Bagdad for hospital treatment. This was referred by wireless to Sir Percy Cox in Bagdad, who agreed, and so we decided to do it. A couple of Ford cars were sent off to pick up the sheik and take him to the landing-ground known as L.G. 4A. About four hours later I started off with three machines, and, just as we got over the L.G. 4A, we saw two little black dots hurrying along over the desert, these being the two Ford cars with the wounded sheik and a friend of his. We landed all right, put the sheik into one of our machines, the Vickers Vimy, and eventually got him to Bagdad in safety. What the sheik thought of it I do not know; poor man, he was not given much of a chance to object. Hustled first into a Ford car, then out of that into this strange-looking contraption of wood and canvas, borne for hundreds of miles through the air, lifted into an ambulance, and, before he knew what was actually occurring, he was lying on a bed in Bagdad hospital and being X-rayed. Somewhat alarming for a wild sort of child of Nature, who had probably never slept in a house in his life.

I was told at the time in Bagdad that this action would have a wonderful effect upon the desert tribes, as showing that the Air Force did not exist merely for destructive purposes, but also for helping and benefiting the population whenever possible, and further at any rate—in the case of that particular tribe they would be friends of the Air Force for ever.

There was a sequel a few days later which proved the truth of these remarks. One of our machines on landing at El Djid to fill up with petrol was damaged. A flight of six more machines was sent out

Digitized by Google

from Bagdad to take out spares and mechanics to repair it, and the whole party had to spend the night at El Djid. Just about sunset they saw five men on camels ride up and proceed to take up an outpost line round them. These five men remained thus on guard all through the night, and at dawn mounted their camels and rode silently away. It was found later that these were five men from our wounded sheik's tribe who, learning that the Air Force were in some trouble, had taken steps to ensure that they were not molested during the night.

I may add that the sheik has recovered and is now back with his tribe.

There appears to be a sort of natural fellow-feeling between the nomad Arab and the Air Force pilot, and I think flying rather appeals to the romantic side of the Arab's nature. Perhaps both feel that they are at times in conflict with the vast elemental forces of Nature, forces which could completely overwhelm them at any moment, were it not for the fact that Nature is on the whole tolerant to such puny little creatures as human beings. I came across a case of the same sort of friendly feeling occurring in the Sinai Desert and in Trans-Jordania.

11. About forty miles beyond El Djid there is a series of low flat-topped hills.

As one approaches the Euphrates, about twenty miles from Ramadi, one passes over a couple of bitumen pools, horrid, nasty-looking things.

The approved method of marking landing-grounds is for a man to stand on the landing-ground, holding one end of a rope 20 to 30 feet long. The driver of a car holds the other, and then with the first man as centre and the rope as radius proceeds to drive in a circle as fast as he can. He soon cuts through the top crust, and very soon a beautiful circle is made.

In the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris there are traces of the old civilization, chiefly in the way of canals, which are now dry. Nearly all the existing cultivation in that area lies close by the banks of the two rivers, and between them is practically a desert. So far as I can make out there is not much point in building canals at present in this part of the world, because if one did put more land under cultivation there is no labour to work it. One cannot import labour, partly because the climate is unsuitable and partly because the Arabs won't have it, so if one wants to make Iraq prosperous the only thing to do is to reduce the infantile mortality, which I believe at the present amounts to as much as 70 per cent.

Bagdad is a disappointing place—at any rate, approaching it from the air—being simply a glorified mud village and hardly distinguishable at evening from the desert.

The intense heat of the Iraq Plain in summer is very noticeable when descending in an aeroplane. At a height of about 2,750 feet one seems suddenly to enter an oven, and wonders for a few minutes how

Digitized by Google

one will be able to live in such conditions. The air blast on one's bare skin is quite painful.

12. As regards the equipment to be carried on aeroplanes crossing the desert there are certain things that are essential.

First, a supply of water and food for every individual. At present the military machines carry five gallons of water and ten days' rations per head. The rations by the way want to be suitable for the desert. Bully beef and army biscuit are not very appetizing; but things like dates, tinned fish, if it hasn't gone bad, and some form of thin biscuit are what is wanted, especially dates. A small medical companion is also desirable, and this should consist not merely of bandages, but contain a few of those medicines that one does want in the East—*e.g.*, permanganate of potash for water, phenacetin, and chlorodyne.

Then as regards the machines. Always take at least one spare wheel, some Very's lights, smoke flares for dropping from the machine to give wind direction on the ground, signalling strips for making signals to a rescue party in case one has trouble, picketting gear for the machine, propeller covers, a few small tools and weapons of some sort. Picketting gear is most important in the desert, because you never know when a sudden gust will not come up, and they are sometimes so violent as to upset a Handley-Page.

13. It is very important that a machine crossing this desert should be able to fly the whole way across, or at any rate between Ramadi and Amman, without having to fill up with petrol. At present, although a D.H.9A can fly from Amman to Bagdad, it cannot fly from Bagdad to Amman without refilling. This is, of course, on account of the permanent westerly wind. This means carrying petrol in tins usually slung on under the lower planes and then landing to fill the tank. Now a landing in the desert is apt to lead to trouble, largely on account of the vagaries of the wind. As a case in point, when Sir G. Salmond and I were flying back from Bagdad we landed at El Djid to fill up with petrol. The first of the three machines to land damaged its undercarriage, not badly, but it could not get off as it stood. We decided to leave it there and proceed with the other two.

Here again came in an instance of the value of wireless. We sent up one of the two remaining machines to despatch a message to Bagdad, 250 miles, giving orders with regard to salving the machine and personnel. The receipt of this order was acknowledged by wireless at once. Shortly after our arrival at Amman we heard also by wireless that the orders had been executed, and that six machines had been sent from Bagdad to take out a spare undercarriage, tools, trestle, etc. Unfortunately, one of these six also damaged itself; in fact, a good deal worse than the first machine. Well, if any attempt had been made to rescue that second machine, I suppose twelve aeroplanes would have had to come out, and then two of those twelve

Digitized by Google

would have crashed, and so one would have gone on in a sort of geometrical progression. However, the Officer Commanding, Iraq, wisely decided to cut his losses, and made no attempt to get back the second damaged machine, though, with the shadow of the super axe in sight, I might add that its engine and instruments were salved.

All this trouble was due to the necessity for landing to refill with petrol.

14. A journey across the desert is still somewhat in the nature of a military operation. There is always a good sporting chance of trouble with some body of Arab raiders, and the first thing one does if one has to spend the night in the desert is to get one's machine-gun ready. Small parties—*i.e.*, two or three men—cannot be left out alone at present, but have to be reinforced or brought back.

15. As you know, it has been decided by the Cabinet that the responsibility for the military control of Iraq shall devolve upon the R.A.F.

Without entering into a lengthy discussion on this, I should like to indicate one or two of the special advantages of air power in this connection. The normal course of any form of small war in which this Empire engages is roughly as follows:

Some tribe raids another under our protection, refuses to pay taxes, or eats a missionary. After due preliminaries and failure to obtain any apology, an expensive expedition is organized, and, after a lapse of some months, either gains or fails to gain its objective. Even in the former case the tribe that committed the enormity has probably forgotten all about it, and so the effect is not so great as might have been anticipated. The main difficulties are—

First, the need for a line of communication, which has to be guarded.

Second, the delay in starting, due to large amount of transport and troops that have to be collected and organized, mainly for the L. of C.

Third, the slow movements, even after the expedition is ready to start.

Fourth, natural obstacles met with—*e.g.*, deserts.

Now, provided the objective is within, say, 200 miles of their base, aeroplanes have none of these difficulties. They can act within a few days, in some cases within a few hours, of receipt of orders, and they want no L. of C. There must be a great saving not only in time, but in money and in life.

As a case in point, may I remind you of the Somaliland operations, January, 1920. The following is an extract from the despatch of the Governor of Somaliland, Second Supplement to *London Gazette*, October 29, 1920:

Digitized by Google

"Twenty-three days of active operations have sufficed to effect the final overthrow of the Dervish power. For this, credit is primarily due to the Royal Air Force. They exercised an immediate and tremendous moral effect over the Dervishes, demoralizing them in the first few days. Our casualties amongst troops were confined to three native ranks killed and eight wounded, and one of the Camel Corps was slightly wounded. Neither the R.A.F. nor the Royal Navy suffered casualties."

Then, again, the rapidity with which aircraft can act may be the means not only of preventing a disturbance increasing and becoming a really serious affair, but of nipping it in the bud.

An interesting case was that of Colonel Jacob's Mission, which was interned at Baji, near Aden, in November, 1919. The local authorities estimated that a whole mixed brigade would be required to rescue this Mission, and I believe this had been actually asked for. It was, however, decided to see what moral effect could be produced by aircraft, and, consequently, two single-seater machines, with a total of eight men, were sent on the deck of a steamer, and landed on an island, the distance from which to Baji was fifty-five miles. The succeeding events can now be best described in the form of a diary:

November 26.—One machine flew over the neighbourhood of Baji. Colonel Jacob reported no good effect, rather the reverse.

November 28.—One machine flew over Baji and dropped a few bombs in a previously selected spot for demonstration purposes. Colonel Jacob reported excellent results of aeroplane demonstration and a great advance towards settlement.

December 12.—Mission was released without any troops being sent.

The following is an extract from the report of the G.O.C., Aden, on the occurrence:

"The effect of two flights by a single aeroplane over a hostile tribal area was so great that men, women, and children were filled with alarm, and brought to bear immediately the full weight of their influence against continued hostility to the Government."

I like sometimes to think of the number of women and children that were saved from becoming widows and orphans by those two little aeroplanes and their eight men.

I have sometimes seen criticisms levelled against the use of aircraft for this sort of purpose on the grounds that they are merely an instrument of terrorism, that bombing is necessarily indiscriminate, and even that any action we take amounts chiefly to bombing women and children. I think this is a most unfair statement to make, and, in any case, I fail to see that killing women and children by means of aircraft bombs is more cruel or reprehensible than killing them by means of shells from a gun. However, apart from that, I do not believe that aircraft really are going to rely entirely upon terrorism in

Digitized by Google

Iraq, but that they will have a distinct effect in pacifying and civilizing a semideveloped country.

There are the opportunities afforded by rapid communication. This will not only enable political officers to visit distant parts of the country at very short notice, but will also afford a means of conveying tribal leaders to the headquarters of the Government, and thus afford the opportunity of personal interviews, with all the benefits that accrue therefrom.

Further, there are the opportunities for doing direct friendly action to individuals in isolated districts. An instance of this has already been referred to.

Time alone can prove the wisdom or otherwise of the decision to make the R.A.F. responsible for the control of Iraq, but all the experience so far available shows that the decision is correct, and that it will result not merely in crushing opposition, but in preventing it, thereby saving many lives—lives not only of Englishmen, but of natives, too—and this, I know, is the opinion of those best qualified to judge on the spot.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Air-Commodore Brooke-Popham has given us a very lucid, interesting, and humorous account of his experiences, and he has shown that even in the desert there is a human side The only fault I find with his lecture is his modesty with regard to his own achievements and the achievements of the Air Force. That is characteristic of all brave men. I have been particularly interested in his closing remarks as to the effect of the Air Force, both in preventing disturbances and repressing them. About three years ago in the Punjab (April, 1919), the province of which I was then in charge, we were confronted with a serious outbreak of rebellion all over the centre of the Punjab. We had but few troops, the bulk of the army being still overseas, but a few days before the rebellion broke out four aeroplanes, by a happy chance, arrived from Quetta. The presence of those was, to my mind, worth four British regiments. On April 10 an outbreak of rebellion took place in Amritsar, and all the Europeans whom the mob could lay hands on were murdered. On the 12th the mob at Kasur—thirty miles off—tore up the railway, attacked a train, and attempted to murder all the Europeans travelling by it. They murdered two and seriously wounded four more. We were dealing with these outbreaks on April 15 when suddenly there was a fresh report from Gujranwala, the headquarters of a district on the main railway-line, forty miles north of Lahore. All communications by road, rail, telegraph, and telephone were cut. Messages were got through from an adjoining station to the effect that the mob had broken out and had attacked and burned all civil buildings and post offices, had torn up railway-lines and attacked the gaol. The few European women and children in the place had been hurried into the

Digitized by Google

fortified Treasury buildings, which were being attacked by the mob that was burning and looting everything around them. The lives of the Europeans were in imminent peril. This came on top of half a dozen similar reports, and I telephoned at once asking for military aid, but the reply was that all communications were interrupted, and that there were no troops to spare, even if they could be got there in time. Could we get assistance from Rawal Pindi in the north? We were informed there that they had heard of the outbreak, but they, too, could not send timely assistance. The position seemed hopeless, but I remembered the aeroplanes, and telephoned to the General: "Have you any aeroplanes left?" He had one; the others had been sent out scouting in other directions to see what damage had been done, but he had one left. I asked him to send that out to Gujranwala, make a demonstration, attack and disperse the mob who were looting and burning, and rescue the Europeans. I was glad to see it leave about 2 o'clock. It arrived at 3 o'clock, and found the rebellious mob in possession of the civil station. They had already burned the railway goods sheds and destroyed property to the value of £50,000. They had burned the English church, the post office, and were attacking the gaol with the idea of letting loose the prisoners, and the fortified building in which the few Europeans were taking refuge, defended by two British police officers and a small body of Indian police. That was the situation when the single aeroplane arrived. Within half an hour the situation had been completely changed. The aeroplane dropped a few bombs on the rebellious crowd, killing four or five and wounding twenty or thirty more. In ten minutes they had all dispersed, taking refuge in the city. It hovered about the place. The news of what had happened in Gujranwala was bringing in people from the neighbouring villages to join in looting and plundering, but a few warning shells dropped from the aeroplane drove them home. The aeroplane came back to Lahore at 4.30, and at 5 o'clock I received a message that all was well at Gujranwala. No further attempt was made to start a disturbance in Gujranwala. We got troops in late that night, but if we had had to wait for the arrival of troops and the restoration of communications, the Treasury buildings would have been burnt, the half a dozen Europeans murdered, and the rebellion would have rapidly spread.

This rebellion was accompanied by a general railway strike. At one railway junction, Sama Sata, in the Native State of Bahawulpur, there were about fifty Europeans and Eurasians connected with the railway works. All trains had stopped running; they were beleaguered on all sides. It was impossible to send troops—the nearest military station was over a hundred miles away—and the only means of restoring communications and saving these people from probable attack was to send an aeroplane. The place was in the middle of a desert, but the

Digitized by Google

aeroplane arrived and hovered around, and its mere presence had the extraordinary moral effect that the strike came to an end, and trains pulled up in the station were allowed to move out, and the relieving train bringing troops was allowed to move in. As to the effect of the four aeroplanes in that troublous week—one of the worst I have ever had to go through—I think four battalions would not have done what the four aeroplanes did in the time. I mention this as an example of the extraordinary value of aeroplanes, not only for suppressing, but for preventing, outbreaks. I am sure the knowledge that Government had at its disposal those aeroplanes, probably magnified by popular rumour into many more, prevented outbreaks throughout the length and breadth of the Province.

We have many gentlemen here well acquainted with the route described by Captain Brooke-Popham who have helped to make it, and I trust they will join in the discussion.

Major General Sir FREDERICK MAURICE: I am afraid I have had nothing to do with the route to Bagdad, but I wanted to say one word upon the last part of the lecture; that is, with reference to the extraordinarily interesting experiment now beginning of the control of Iraq and Palestine by the Air Force. It has been the subject of a great deal of controversy. There are many differences of opinion on the subject: there are those who are doubtful about its utility, and there are even those who maintain that it would be far better to abolish the Air Ministry altogether, and put the aeroplanes that the Army require under the War Office, and those the Navy require under the Admiralty. I differ from that view and for this reason. We are, as far as the fighting forces are concerned, in a period of evolution. There are doubts expressed as to the value of the battleship; there are doubts expressed as to whether infantry and cavalry will play in future wars the part they have played in the past. But amidst all these uncertainties one thing seems to me to be absolutely certain, that is, that no one can foretell what will be the power of the Air Service ten years hence. We must remember that the air traffic as we know it now is barely ten years old, and I am quite certain that it is vital to us with our scattered Empire to give this new service the freest possible development, and for that it seems to me a matter of the greatest importance that it should remain under the control of its own Ministry. (Hear, hear.) I am quite certain, and I say this with no disrespect to the War Office at all—I have been serving a good many years in the War Office—but I am quite certain if the War Office to-day had been in the control of the military part of the Air Service we should not have heard the romantic story of adventure that we have heard this afternoon from Air-Commodore Brooke-Popham. It is natural that in times of financial stringency men should stick to what they know and avoid experiments. I had that very much borne in upon me in regard

Digitized by Google

to the air in 1910. I had an opportunity of attending the first experiment in France of the employment of aircraft for military purposes. I had my first flight. I came back full of enthusiasm and made a report to the War Office stressing the enormous value of air reconnaissance for military purposes. A certain very highly placed official in the War Office sent for me and told me I was visionary; that aircraft were far too fragile to be used in war at all, that the airmen who were flying then had a peculiar bird-like sense, and that there would not be anything like sufficient of such people available for military purposes. That was in 1910, and we had to struggle against a great deal of doubt and conservatism to get what little Air Service we had at the beginning of the war. You probably know that the one aeroplane which actually discovered the German turning movement at Mons was shot down, and that that was the first indication to the Germans that the British troops were at Mons. If we had been in a position to send out six aoreplanes instead of one, our Expeditionary Force would have got away from Mons with comparatively little loss. This shows the vital importance of allowing the new service with all its technicalities to develop freely. Therefore I am very cordially in favour of this great experiment that is being tried. No one can foresee whether it will be completely successful, but it seems to me that the data are sufficiently good to warrant its trial, and I hope it will be allowed to develop under its own Ministry.

Captain ACLAND: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I really did not want to speak this afternoon at all because I see so many distinguished people here whose views on the subject would be far more interesting and instructive than anything contributed by myself. However, I am glad to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate Air-Commodore Brooke-Popham on his most excellent lecture, and to thank him for demonstrating to us what wonderful work can be executed by the Air Force, and how simple were the means which have given such very definite results. The laying of this air line undoubtedly required resource, imagination, and not a little personal courage, but the organization required was really on a small scale when compared with other pioneer enterprises which have been carried out in the past in opening up new territory. The result attained in linking up Cairo to Bagdad and bringing Bagdad into close touch with civilization is to my mind a lesson which should be pondered on, not only by administrators, but also by the commercial community.

It seems to me that by courageous and intelligent use of the air the development of communications is accelerated to an extent which is almost unbelievable were it not the fact, and I feel that a start once having been made it should be an axiom with us all that in opening up a new territory air problems should receive prior consideration,

Digitized by Google

and, if found possible, aerial lines should be laid down and allowed to develop to bring trade and eventually render clearer the policy to be followed in the ultimate laying of railroads, etc. Thus, as in the achievement which has formed the subject of our lecture this afternoon, there will be very considerable saving in time and treasure, and it is in this direction, with adequate support, that the Royal Air Force can be of untold value in peace, as well as a vital part of the defence forces of the Crown.

Brigadier-General W. B. CADDELL said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—my remarks will be entirely personal. The lecturer is an old friend of mine, and I should like to congratulate him not only on his paper but on having escaped the fate of other great men like himself who crossed, or attempted to cross, the Nile, Jordan, Tigris, and Euphrates—those great rivers of history. You will doubtless remember Sennacherib, who travelled from Assyria to Egypt—he, unfortunately, met with and had the worst of an argument with the Angel of the Lord—and was smitten. Air-Commodore Brooke-Popham is to be congratulated on having avoided such a meeting. Then there was Alexander the Great, who actually crossed all those rivers, and though I am rather shaky as regards his history, I believe that he committed bigamy in Mesopotamia by taking a second wife while his first was alive; shortly afterwards he took a fever, and though warned to keep his bed, got up, drank two tankards of whatever the local drink was, ate two wild ducks, and—died.

The lecturer being a single man had the advantage over Alexander, in that it was a physical impossibility for him to commit bigamy. As regards the charges of over-drinking and over-eating, you have only to look at the lecturer to see how well he is.

Major BURTON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I hope you will be very tolerant, because I only heard of this lecture last night, and, as it was only at the beginning of it that I was asked to speak to you, it is absolutely "unseen" to me. I hope you will tell me when you have had enough, because I understand that inexperienced speakers generally go on too long.

I was mixed up with this affair in a very small way, and it will be rather an anti-climax, after hearing about this extraordinarily pukkah expedition, to be told about a very cut-throat business that took place during the early stages of the evolution of the Cairo-Bagdad Air Route.

In March, 1920, I was detailed to take a party about half-way across the Syrian Desert to the 40th degree of longitude, rather to the north of El Djid, to find out whether it were possible to select suitable landing-places for aeroplanes, and also to reconnoitre the desert for an oil-pipe line and a railway, besides making a route report—so it was rather a tall order for one technical man.

My small party consisted of Majors Yetts and Thomas, political

Digitized by Google

officers, and a matter of half a dozen Bedouin, on camels; we disguised ourselves, because it is wisest not to attract too much attention on the desert when you are a weak party travelling on camels. This disguise served except at very close quarters, and, when on the march, we could not have been distinguished as anything but Bedouin, for we were all three old hands at camel-riding.

All our precautions, however, availed us nothing, for, six days out, we were attacked by a raiding-party, which broke all the rules that the Air-Commodore has been telling us about. (Laughter.) He did not by any means exhaust them, for they are only supposed, for instance, to attack at dawn, whereas they attacked us at half-past ten at night. If you are provided with "safe-conducts," as we were, they are supposed to cease fire immediately he announces the fact, whereas ours, directly he stood up, was shot down and had his throat cut. Again, they are supposed to begin by firing over your heads, so that, if you have safe conducts, or do not resist, the matter is settled, either for or against you, in quite a gentlemanly way; these raiders, however, fired at our party direct, and in the first onslaught killed two and wounded two of the Bedouin. In a very short space of time they had collected all our belongings, and when they had loaded up and were driving off our camels, two of them returned and stabbed us, and I have no doubt they thought they had finished us off. Our position was, according to all human probabilities, desperate, but in a most extraordinary way, which it would take too long to describe this afternoon, we got away, and pushed on for two days to a friendly tribe, which had concentrated somewhat farther on. Before returning via the Euphrates, I was able to penetrate further, and got to Bir Molussa, which lies north of El Djid; this route had to be turned down, because it was too difficult for any kind of transport except camels, but I was able to report that there were indications that a better line was likely to be found further south. This line was taken up by Major Holt, and after he had explored part of it, this big caravan came over from Palestine and finished off the job.

Our party was, as a matter of fact, going down south after having finished this part of the reconnaissance, and was going to be transmogrified into a political expedition to visit Ibn Rachid in Arabia. With the object of propitiating him, we carried with us about two thousand pounds in gold and some valuable presents, and I often wonder whether information as to our assets leaked out in some way, and was the cause of the attack. The disappearance of all our camels and valuables prevented our going down there, and I heard afterwards that just about the time that we should have been arriving at his stronghold, he and all his family were blotted out by Ibn Saud, so we were very glad that the contretemps I have been describing prevented our going there.

Digitized by Google

As I said before, the story of how we got away is an extraordinary one—too long to tell you now—and I really scarcely understand myself how the chain of circumstances that got us out came to pass, only, like the authors of "450 Miles to Freedom," some of us prayed ourselves; and I heard afterwards that there were people who felt that our party was in great danger, and there was, consequently, a great deal of prayer going up in my family and amongst my friends. You may perhaps, some of you, disbelieve in the efficacy of prayer, but I may tell you that there is no other adequate explanation as to how we got away at all.

I have learned more about the Syrian Desert this afternoon than I knew before, and I am very pleased to have been present at this most interesting lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—it is now my pleasant duty to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer for the admirable lecture we have listened to. The lecturer has also had the advantage of bringing about the most interesting discussion which we have had the privilege of hearing. I am sure the very clear statement of policy General Sir Frederick Maurice has given us is one that would appeal to most of us as convincing, and as affording a complete refutation of the arguments which have been advanced for putting the Air Force under another department. That would be clipping its wings. We have had the pleasure of hearing from the last speaker another instance of the romance of the desert; indeed, this desert seems to be crowded with romance! The lecturer told us it was difficult to imagine there was anything left in the world but yourself and your pilot as you went across the desert; and the wonderful pictures of the desert he put before us were a reminder of the infernos described by Dante. But as long as we have men like the lecturer with stout hearts and high hopes, I do not think that we need be afraid that they will fail to overcome this or any other danger. I ask you to pass a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for all the trouble he has taken, and the very interesting lecture he has given us. (Applause.)

The vote of thanks was most heartily accorded.

Digitized by Google

THE CAPE TO CAIRO RAILWAY, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

By Mr. Robert Williams

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal Society's Rooms, Burlington House, W. 1, on Wednesday, April 5, 1922, to hear a lecture by Mr. Robert Williams on "The Cape to Cairo Railway, from the Point of View of African Development." Lord Carnock presided.

The Chairman first called on the Hon. Secretary to read the names of Members elected since the last meeting.

The Hon. Secretary (Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate): The Council has to-day elected the following gentlemen as Members of the Society: The Right Hon. the Earl Winterton; Major-General Sir George Scott-Moncrieff, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., R.E.; Lieut.-General Sir George Barrow, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.; Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Cuthbert James, C.B.E., M.P.; Mr. L. F. Nalder, C.B.E., C.I.E.; Lieutenant Kenneth Strong, Royal Scots Fusiliers.

The Chairman: I will now ask Mr. Williams to read his paper. I do not need to remind you that there is no higher authority on the subject with which he deals than Mr. Williams himself. (Applause.)

Mr. Robert Williams: It is very encouraging to myself and my fellow-workers in and for Africa to feel that your Society takes so lively an interest in the opening-up of what has been termed the "Dark Continent" as to invite me to speak to you on the Cape to Cairo Railway, from the point of view of African development. It is also appropriate for your Society to be interested in Africa, for the first explorers of Africa were undoubtedly Asiatics, and to this day practically the whole of Northern Africa is peopled by races of Asiatic origin. Had the great Sahara and Libyan deserts (an impenetrable ocean of sand extending across the continent from east to west, and 1,000 miles in width) not blocked the way, the central and southern parts of Africa would, in all probability, not have remained centuries behind the rest of the world in civilization.

Long before Vasco da Gama, the famous Portuguese navigator, in 1498 visited the East Coast of Africa, Asiatic adventurers had established themselves on that coast, and were engaged in trade with the natives. Indeed, Da Gama found an Asiatic pilot at Mombasa who

Digitized by Google

took him to India, thereby rendering him the first European discoverer of the sea route to that country.

According to Marco Polo, Chinese ships visited Zanzibar and Madagascar; in all probability they also visited East African ports, and these visits may account for the yellow-skinned Hottentots, so different in character from the negro.

The ruins of Zimbabwe, in Rhodesia—which I visited in 1891—are believed by many to be Asiatic in origin. Be that as it may, there is ample evidence to show that Africa received its first civilizing influences from Asia centuries before Europeans knew anything about the greater portion of that vast continent.

I will not enlarge further upon a subject with which your Society must be more fully informed than myself. My whole desire is to point out that whereas Asia is the home of very ancient civilization, Africa—with the ever marvellous exception of Egypt—is a continent, for the most part, as yet, uncivilized, and even in those regions where civilizing influences have been for some time at work she is as yet only in the dawn of her development.

In 1881, when I first went to Africa, there were only 300 miles of the Cape to Cairo Railway constructed—viz., the line connecting Cape Town with Beaufort West. In 1885 it was extended to Kimberley, and here for several years its progress was arrested for political reasons into which I need not enter. But even at this early date the dream had been dreamed of continuing this iron road for thousands of miles northward, through the vast and unknown spaces of Africa.

Rhodes died in 1902, when his railway had advanced only as far as Bulawayo, 1,362 miles from Cape Town and 3,600 miles as the crow flies from Cairo.

Shortly before Rhodes died I promised him I would carry his line forward.

The expeditions I had sent up in 1899 and 1901 under the leadership of my splendid colleague, the late George Grey, brother of Viscount Grey, with the object of discovering a mineral area of sufficient importance to draw the line northwards, had already revealed the great copper wealth of Katanga, besides important gold, tin, and diamond deposits.

I will not weary you with the story of the slow advance of the line to the north. I have told it often elsewhere. Suffice to say that in 1909 it at length arrived at the Congo frontier, and that, thanks to the co-operation of King Leopold and of his great financier, Monsieur Jadot, thanks also to the consistent support of his present Majesty, King Albert, the railway has now reached Bukama, on the navigable Congo, with the result that to-day one may travel from Cape Town, by train and river steamers running in direct connection with the trains, to Stanleyville, on the north side of the Congo State—a distance of

Digitized by Google

3,600 miles, of which 3,000 miles is railway—and to the mouth of the Congo River.

Meanwhile another transcontinental railway, traversing Africa from west to east, has been simultaneously coming into being. I refer, of course, to the Benguella Railway, which, with the co-operation of King Leopold of Belgium and of the Portuguese Government, I initiated some twenty years ago, and which, but for the interruption caused by the war, would have already been connected with the Cape to Cairo Railway. In about four years from now these railways will be connected. It will then be possible to cross Africa from Lobito Bay on the west coast to Beira or Mombasa on the east, or, at its junction with the Cape to Cairo line, to run southward to the Cape or northward towards Cairo.

Of the Cape to Cairo line there remain one or two small links to complete it and one big one. The small ones are along the Congo River, where steamers at present fill the gaps. The big link is the one between Stanleyville and El Obeid. This link will run over part of the Darfur Plateau and along the Nile Congo Divide.

It had long been my desire to arrange for the systematic investigation of the Sudanese side of this Divide in the hope that possible mineral discoveries would attract the Sudanese Railway southwards to complete this big link between the Cape and Cairo, and thus at last realize Rhodes' dream. The opportunity at last presented itself, and during the past year an expedition under Major Christy has been at work exploring this least known of all the great African Divides. The expedition has now returned, bringing with it a vast amount of information, much of it of a most encouraging nature. There are plentiful indications of yet another heavily mineralized zone, and I am hopeful—I cannot say more at present—that the further investigations we are now undertaking may succeed in locating deposits sufficiently large and rich to justify the extension of the Sudanese Railway southwards to meet an extension of the Uganda Railway on the British side of the Divide and to link up with the northward extension now being made from Stanleyville to the Kilo Gold-Mines on the Belgian side, and thus finally complete the railway between the two extremities of the Continent.

Those of us, therefore, who are alive ten or twelve years hence will probably witness the completion of the great trunk railway line from north to south, popularly spoken of as the Cape to Cairo Railway; and the other trunk line from Lobito Bay and Benguella on the west to Beira on the east, often termed the Benguella to Beira Railway, which, as I said, will be completed within about four years.

Now what does this portend for Africa, and not for Africa only, but for Asia, Europe, and all the world? I venture to say the completion of these railways will be followed by political and economic

Digitized by Google

effects of a very far-reaching character. To begin with, on account of its extraordinary geographical situation, Africa is the pivot on which turn all our trade communications with the East and with Australasia, whether by land or sea or air. All these routes must pass along one or other of the coasts of Africa, or through Africa itself from north to south or west to east. The African Continent is, in fact, a world highway. Nature has made it so. Those are important facts, but they are small when compared with the political and economic influence upon the world of a civilized, educated, and industrialized Africa. And Africa is rapidly becoming civilized and industrialized. Less rapidly, but none the less certainly, Africa is being educated.

Livingstone said that African civilization would come through commerce and industry. This is proving to be the case. The African native is gradually being changed from a warrior to a worker. He no longer comes—as I remember he used to come—to seek work at the mines armed with assegais. He no longer has the fear of being attacked and of having to defend himself on his way to work.

My personal experience of the native of Africa has been, perhaps, as extensive as that of any man. I have had thousands of them in my employ in the various diamond, gold, and copper fields of southern and central Africa, and in the construction of the Cape to Cairo and Benguella to Beira railways. I have travelled long distances with them all over Africa, from Cairo to the Cape, and studied them at close quarters. I have discussed the future prospects of the natives with Rhodes and with some of the greatest administrators and missionaries in Africa, and have witnessed the splendid results achieved by those missionaries, especially in the teaching of useful trades, and I have been struck by the ability of the African native in acquiring those trades. One has only to study the remarkable work of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, founded by the late Booker Washington, a liberated slave, to learn what a high level of industrial skill the negro is capable of attaining.

The following quotation from a speech by Booker Washington at the opening of the Atlanta Exposition is most applicable to Africa. Speaking of his race, he said—and this shows a mind of high and lofty order:

"In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress. . . .

"Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress: we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic. . . .

Digitized by Google

"The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized."

These are the words of a liberated slave! Instead of the sixteen millions Booker Washington refers to as forming one-third of the Southern States of America, alter the words to 190 millions, and it will apply to Africa.

What then, I ask again, is to be the future of a civilized and industrialized Africa? Observe the progress already made. Sixty years ago Africa was practically an unknown Continent. Livingstone had just published the first of his journals, and was rousing the world to the horrors of the slave trade. Even in 1881, when I went to Africa as a young engineer, the slave trade was rampant in Central Africa, and cannibalism was rife up to very recently. The "red road to the West" as Livingstone called it, along which we are building the Benguella Railway, was littered from end to end with bleaching skulls and bones, less than twenty-five years ago. To-day the slave trade in Central Africa is extinct. The coming of the railways has blotted out this atrocious traffic. In its place have come the civilizing influences of commerce and industry. The African has already been taught in hundreds of thousands to work instead of to fight. Thousands of them have been trained to the trade of carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths; others drive locomotives, work the telegraph instruments, and perform other skilled jobs. Many are entering the colleges and passing out as surveyors, architects, and medical men. In short, the African is rapidly becoming civilized. He prints and edits his own newspapers. He is beginning to realize that he is somebody and the native of a very great land called Africa. A national self-consciousness is developing as the result of the railway and other industrial developments. And all this in a short sixty years!

What about the next sixty years? Africa contains the last but also the greatest reserve of raw material for the future requirements of the whole world. It also contains a vast reservoir of the most magnificent labour. Anyone who has had any experience with the native of Africa must admit that he is magnificent human material. He has many good points and many bad. We want to develop the good and eliminate the bad. The African negro is, I affirm, naturally peaceable, cheerful, almost always singing at his work, imitative, by no means devoid of ability, with the heart of a child, affectionate, with a keen sense of humour, and an unbounded respect for the white man of high character. The mere fact that for many years Livingstone went about scatheless, and that two of his servants voluntarily bore the body

Digitized by Google

of their beloved master hundreds of miles to the coast, at great risk to their lives, to deliver it up to the white man, gives a clue to the character of the native of Africa.

These natives are a gigantic force to reckon with for good or evil. The wise or unwise handling of the millions of natives who people this continent must inevitably have a far-reaching influence on the whole world. Take, for example, the thousands of instances where the black man is capable of doing skilled work. Instead of the white man dictating to the black man what he shall be allowed to earn, as is now being done on the Rand, I would urge the white man to allow the black man to earn the full amount which his abilities and training enable him to earn. All that is possible should be done to secure the black man's confidence in the white man's sense of fair play and fair dealing. I foresee real danger in any other policy.

The highest status to which the black man may aspire must be limited only by his education and ability. In our future relations with the African, our aim should be to refrain as far as possible from accentuating the colour bar, but emphasize the vital importance of showing him that harmonious working between all classes and colours is the true secret of success.

Speaking for myself, I believe that the black man in Africa will, for a long time yet to come, be unequal in efficiency to the white man as a skilled workman, or in any position where he will be called upon to manage his fellow-natives. I believe he will long need the guidance of the white man in both his industrial and political development. Nevertheless he has begun to feel his feet, and to think politically.

In a few years, when the two great trunk railway lines to which I have alluded shall cut the continent longitudinally and transversely from sea to sea, Africa will come well within the range of the globe-trotting tourist, and the black man will be brought into still closer contact with the white, and will beyond doubt develop still further those political aspirations which are manifesting themselves even to-day. Already there is heard a demand for voting powers and for self-determination. "Africa for the African!" is the cry. The catching phrase "Self-determination!" launched during the war and offered as a panacea for most political ills, has winged its way into the recesses of Africa. Whether self-determination will always succeed remains to be seen. Self-determination carried to its logical conclusion means anarchy—each unit doing what seems right in its own eyes. As a working political principle it is only practicable if the minority in any unit area is self-disciplined enough to subordinate itself to the will of the majority. And there seem to be races temperamentally unfit for so-called "self-determination" by reason of their inability to abide by the principle of majority rule. We need not travel as far as Africa to

Digitized by Google

witness this phenomenon. The demand for self-determination has, however, been created, has gone forth, and cannot be recalled.

What, then, should be our attitude to this coming claim for self-determination on the part of the African? I regard the position of the white man in Africa as that of a trustee for the welfare of the black. In fulfilment of this trust we must assist the African to work out his own salvation. This cannot be done rapidly, and it is doubtful whether it will follow Western democratic ideals. To be successful, democratic Government demands a high level of education, a high standard of political and municipal purity, and a greater degree of experience and self-discipline than the black man is likely to attain in many generations.

We must recognize, however, that self-government is the goal to which the more educated Africans aspire, and that it is no part of the white man's duty to repress that aspiration. That does not mean that we are to yield forthwith to any clamorous demands of a noisy minority of extremists, who are bent less on the welfare of their country than on obtaining an undesirable influence over the great uneducated masses of their countrymen, too ignorant to realize that they are merely dupes in the hands of ambitious, and often unscrupulous, agitators.

It is, unhappily, one of the defects of a democratic Government that it is so easily moved to hasty and ill-considered action by the clamorous demands of a handful of well-organized extremists. We have seen it over and over again in recent years in our own country and elsewhere. We may find the same thing occurring in Africa. Already Egypt, taught by ourselves what good government means, has now been granted the right to manage her own affairs. It remains to be seen whether this grant has been accorded as the result of a genuine demand by the whole Egyptian people, or as a concession to sectionary violence. The success or failure of this experiment will constitute a supremely valuable object-lesson in dealing with future claims for self-determination on the part of other, and perhaps less civilized, of the African peoples. We do not wish to see in Egypt any repetition of the dismal failures in self-government of Hayti, San Domingo, and Liberia. Hence the highest form of statesmanship at home will be demanded in dealing with the African during his growing political pains. We must prepare him for the difficult task of self-government by training him in the ways of law, order, and justice, of industry and commerce, gradually accustoming him to positions of responsibility, and creating in him a tradition of public service.

Our duty is to guide and not to hurry him along the road of self-development.

In the short space at my disposal I cannot do more than lay down these general principles. I feel greatly strengthened, however, in the views I have expressed by Sir Frederick Lugard's valuable treatise

Digitized by Google

entitled, "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," issued since you invited me to address you, and since I began to formulate my notes for that purpose. I would strongly urge everyone interested in Africa to study Sir Frederick Lugard's volume, in which, with ripe wisdom, and a wealth of knowledge gained by long experience as an administrator, the author works out in detail the problems, and indicates the lines on which the white man may co-operate with and assist the black in his upward path towards self-government.

I associate myself whole-heartedly with one piece of wise counsel given by Sir Frederick Lugard. "*Festina lente*," he says, "is a motto which the Colonial Office will do well to remember in its dealings with Africa . . . The danger of going too fast with native races is even more likely to lead to disappointment, if not to disaster, than the danger of not going fast enough. The pace can best be gauged by those who have intimate acquaintance alike with the strong points and the limitations of the native peoples and rulers with whom they have to deal."

I endorse every word of this, and hope that the Home Authorities will definitely resolve to be guided in every decision by the opinion of the responsible white men on the spot—by those, in short, who are face to face and in daily contact with the problems to be solved.

In my personal opinion, a step that we should promptly take is towards a Federation of British Africa from the Cape to the Nile, with railway connection all the way, so as to be able to co-ordinate as far as possible one policy towards the black races, and establish some leading principles to guide us in meeting any demand by those under our tutelage for self-determination. As General Smuts said the other day, "The white man in Africa is on his trial." From so eminent and sagacious a statesman these words cannot go unheeded. For this reason, as well as for many others, I would gladly see a movement towards the Federation I suggest.

The world has need of Africa, and *per contra* Africa has need of the world. She needs the world's markets; she also needs her own markets. The north will need the products of the south, and the south will need the products of the north.

To a steady development of her commerce and her industries we must look for the ultimate means by which she can, in Livingstone's words, "be introduced into the body corporate of nations." The great iron highways we are building are the arteries through which will pulse the new life to which Africa is rapidly awakening. They will be a great asset not only to Africa herself, but through the development of Africa to the whole world.

Sixty years ago the influence of Africa beyond her own borders was nil. What will her influence be at the end of the present century? It is conceivable that you may have a United States of Africa under

Digitized by Google

one flag or possibly groups of States under different flags, united in general commercial policy, and protected by a Monroe doctrine. This is no wild dream.

I ask you therefore to project your vision into the not-too-distant future and think out for yourselves the nature of the political influence in the councils of the world of an Africa composed of Federated States, an Africa seamed with railroads, an Africa in which vast industries have been established, and in which both white and black men are co-operatively interested, an Africa upon whose resources and whose labour the whole world in large measure depends.

I ask you to consider all these possibilities—I might even say *probabilities*—in view of the boundless natural wealth of the Continent, in view of Africa's geographical position athwart the highways to the Far East and to Australasia, and last, but not least, in view of her immense, prolific, and readily civilizable population. Having regard to all these elements of greatness, I ask you how otherwise are we to deal with the problems of African development than in the sense that I have indicated?

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Reginald Wingate, I am sorry to say, has been unable to be present to-day; but he had the advantage of seeing an advance copy of Mr. Williams' lecture, and he sent some notes to Colonel Yate, the Honorary Secretary, who will now read them.

Lieut.-Colonel A. C. YATE then read extracts from the following notes sent by General Sir Reginald Wingate, G.C.B.

I much regret that I am prevented from leaving Scotland in order to attend the lecture of Mr. Robert Williams, of which I have seen an advance copy—and take a personal part in the discussion. I shall be grateful, therefore, if you would read out any extracts from the enclosed notes you think desirable in the circumstances. I recognize with the lecturer that as Africa received its first civilizing influences from Asia, so will future developments in Africa tend to bring these two great continents still more closely in touch with one another, especially when the great deserts and vast unknown spaces come to be bridged over for thousands of miles by that great iron road which is the theme of the lecturer, and I am sure all will have listened with absorbing interest to what he has to say.

From the material facts which Mr. Williams has placed before us, and from the large and wide views to which he has given such lucid expression, he has furnished us with food for thought in a variety of directions; but to me two points especially emerge:

Firstly, the modesty of the lecturer, who is so largely responsible for the wonderful transformation in the African continent during the last forty years.

Secondly, the vital importance of bringing home to the British

Digitized by Google

public, through such a lecture, the immense possibilities of Africa in the scheme of world development which Mr. Williams has so concisely summarized in its concluding paragraph.

In dealing with my *first* point, may I not say with justice that, although the name of Robert Williams is known throughout the length and breadth of South Africa, it is not as well known to the British public at home as it ought to be. Why is this? I think, on his side, it is due to modesty in his own great achievements as an Empire-builder, but on the side of the British public I think it is largely due to that selfish absorption in its own domestic concerns to the exclusion of the greater and more important interests of the Empire.

What proportion, I would ask, of the educated public have read that intensely interesting paper entitled "The Milestones of African Civilization," which Mr. Williams read before the Royal Colonial Institute in May, 1917; or his lectures at the Overseas Club on the Benguella Railway and Germany's future in Central Africa; and his sketch of Dr. Jameson; or his address before the London Chamber of Commerce in June, 1918, on German penetration in Central Africa; and, finally, his address in April last year to the African Society on the Cape to Cairo Railway?

I venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that the story of African development and the prominent part taken in it by Mr. Williams places him in the very first rank as a pioneer of civilization and administrative development.

One has only to read the discussions following on some of the papers I have quoted, to see what a high value our Belgian and Portuguese friends place on Mr. Williams' unique services in furthering the development of the Belgian Congo and the Portuguese colonies in Africa, whilst an American journalist—Mr. Marcosson, who recently travelled in Central Africa—pays a tribute to Mr. Williams' work which I cannot refrain from quoting. In his third letter to *The Times*, entitled "Wonders of the Congo," he writes:

"*British Enterprise.*—I entered the Congo at Sakania, which is on the border of Northern Rhodesia. It is the outpost of the Katanga, the most prosperous province of the colony. The Katanga is one huge mine, principally copper. The pioneer of Katanga exploitation was an Englishman, Robert Williams, the moving spirit in the construction of the Benguella Railway from Lobito Bay (Portuguese Angola) to the Katanga. Late in the nineties he sent George Grey, brother of Sir Edward, now Viscount, Grey, to the Katanga region on a prospecting expedition. There he discovered large deposits of copper, and also tin, lead, iron, coal, platinum, and diamonds. Williams organized the Tanganyika Concessions, which became the instigator of Congo copper-mining. Subsequently, the Union Minière du Haut Congo was formed by leading Belgian colonial capitalists, and the Tanganyika Concessions acquired more than 40 per cent. of its capital. The Union Minière took over all the concessions and discoveries of the British corporation. Within ten years it has grown from a small

Digitized by Google

prospecting outfit in the wilderness, 250 miles from a railway, to an industry employing at the time of my visit more than 1,000 white men and 15,000 blacks, with four completely equipped mines which produced nearly 30,000 tons of copper in 1917, and a smelter with an annual capacity of 40,000 tons of copper. A concentrator capable of handling 4,000 tons of ore per day is nearing completion."

With regard to my *second* point, the importance of bringing home to our people the immense possibilities of Africa in the scheme of world development, it is no easy matter for me to add one word to the admirable record and the sound advice on this subject given by the lecturer, but what specially appeals to me—and I think it must appeal to all interested in empire development—is the immense future opened out by the completion of the Benguella Railway and the final linking up of the Congo railway system with that of the Sudan—thus forging the last link in the dream of that great empire-builder Cecil Rhodes and his able lieutenant Robert Williams, who has so faithfully carried out his promise to his dying chief to "carry his line forward." As he truly says, if we are still alive ten or twelve years hence, we should see the completion of this vast project and the progress in African development which it implies.

Although the period covered by our lecturer extends to forty years back, I would ask you to retrace with me the salient points of the last *twenty-five* years only—for they are curiously interesting. Mr. Williams points out that the Katanga discoveries at the close of the last century formed another of those "milestones" of mineral deposits whereby the Cape to Cairo Railway would be advanced. Situated on the watershed of the Zambesi and Congo, the Katanga province of the Southern Belgian Congo is the greatest mineralized copper-belt known to the world. Slowly but surely the great iron spine advanced from the south, and though it took ten years to reach the Congo border, it arrived, in spite of every sort of difficulty and obstacle, financial and other. Simultaneously with this northward advance the Katanga copper-mines also caused Mr. Williams to initiate that other great transcontinental railway scheme from west to east—from Lobito Bay in Portuguese Angola—to connect up with the Cape to Cairo line at Katanga. It was clear that trade must follow the shortest route to the sea.* The completion of the Benguella line will

* On this point Sir Frederick Lugard, in his last publication, "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," is insistent. At p. 464, footnote 1, he writes: "The Cape to Cairo Railway can only be justified in so far as each section has a definite objective which offers reasonable prospects of being remunerative. Railways in Africa must lead by the shortest route to the seaport, and not along its length." This statement must be modified by an opinion which I heard expressed by Sir Reginald Wingate a month before this lecture, and by Sir Edgar Bonham Carter at the lecture—viz., that if grave danger threatened the British Empire in Egypt, or the Sudan, or the Suez Canal, or anywhere in that quarter, the Cape to Cairo Railway was a channel by which the Overseas Dominions could move forces to the aid of the mother-country.—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

mean a saving of close on 3,000 miles of transport, and provided the financial difficulties, which are in a fair way of being solved, are finally overcome, it is expected the railway connection between the Atlantic Ocean and the Indian Ocean will be achieved within four years. This railway has been truly called the "master key" of Africa, and I think the term must have been coined by the Germans, for it will be remembered how keenly anxious they were to secure the concession, and how bitterly annoyed they were to find that Robert Williams had forestalled them.

I believe it is now generally admitted that when the main trunk line from *north* to *south* is completed, the feeders *east* and *west* will follow; but, as we have seen, many of these feeders are already made, or approaching completion. The great gap between the two terminals of the trunk line, Stanleyville and El Obeid, is something like 1,750 miles out of a total of 4,500 miles.

Mr. Williams has made a most important proposal as to how this gap is to be bridged, and I think he is probably right in urging that the prime need is now to extend the railway from the northern terminal further south, though, in all probability, once the route is finally decided upon, work from the south northwards will advance as well.

It is a curious coincidence that with the great activity in pushing the railway northwards, consequent on the Katanga discoveries, a similar activity, but arising from entirely different causes, resulted in pushing the railway southwards into the Sudan almost at the same moment. This is neither the time nor the occasion to describe the development of the Sudan railway system; suffice it to say that within the last twenty-five years the following railway construction has been completed:—

The Wadi-Halfa–Khartoum line, with bridges over the Atbara and Blue Nile (579 miles).
The Khartoum–El Obeid line, with a bridge over the White Nile (428 miles).
The Atbara Junction–Port Sudan line, with a branch to Suakin (305 miles).
The Abu-Hamed–Kareima branch (145 miles).

Thus El Obeid is in direct railway communication (just over 900 miles) with an excellent and up-to-date port on the Red Sea.

Clearly this situation has long been thoroughly grasped by Mr. Williams, and, true to his instinct, he has sought Nature's help to guide him in his selection of the various routes between El Obeid on the north and Stanleyville on the south, where best the gap can be bridged over, and the final link forged of the great north to south chain.

He has sought, and I think he must have found, that missing "milestone" in the Great Congo Nile Divide to which he refers. Is there not some connection between what he has told us regarding

Digitized by Google

Major Christy's expedition and the following telegram, which appeared in *The Times* of the 23rd instant, in a message dated Cairo, March 22?

"An extensive mineralized area has been discovered by prospectors of the Congo-Nile Syndicate, which belongs to the Tanganyika Concessions Group. The discovery is described as of alluvial gold, which is said to have been traced in several rivers. What is believed to be the source of the gold has also been discovered in the form of an auriferous belt of rocks extending several miles. An old working carrying copper and gold has also been discovered, with evidence of an ancient copper-smelting industry in the vicinity."

If this discovery prove to be the mineralized "milestone" which, magnet-like, is to draw the railway there, then it is clearly somewhere on the great Congo-Nile Divide, and it will imply that—as Mr. Williams says in his lecture—"the unfinished link lies between Stanleyville and El Obeid, and that the line will run over part of the Darfur Plateau and along the Nile-Congo Divide."

It is, of course, possible that subsidiary lines may connect Stanleyville with Rejaf, following the present motor-road connecting the important Belgian gold-mining area at Kilo with the Nile in that vicinity—thus turning the Rapids and Dufilé, and providing a trade route along the navigable Nile waterway to Khartoum, or to the nearest point on the Sudan railway system at Kosti. But should the recent mineral discoveries prove sufficiently large and rich to justify the extension of the Sudan Railway southwards, there is little doubt that the route to be followed will be as Mr. Williams describes; and clearly, through his prescience and indomitable perseverance, the wonderful dream of his great chief, Cecil Rhodes, is far nearer completion than any of us had contemplated.

If a quarter of a century has seen such progress in the once savage Sudan—where in that short space of time the revenue has risen from eight thousand pounds in 1900 to five million pounds in 1920, and the trade to close on twelve million pounds—and if the British Government has such faith in its cotton-growing possibilities as to guarantee a loan of several million pounds for its development, shall we question the accuracy of Mr. Williams' forecast, that in the not remote future we may have an Africa composed of federated States, seamed with railroads, where vast industries have been established and upon whose resources and labour the whole world may in a large measure depend?

How is this great result being achieved? Surely it is in the main due to that great iron spine which is now nearing completion, with its many arteries and vertebræ already stretching east and west to the two oceans washing the shores of Africa. This marvellous achievement is represented by the Cape-Zambesi express, the Rhodesia-Katanga extension, the Congo-Nile steamer, rail, and motor routes, the Sudan

Digitized by Google

steamer and railway services, the connection of Stanleyville with El Obeid—in all, a distance of nearly 7,000 miles. Then, forming a sort of cross with the north and south routes, the great transcontinental east to west connection is extending from Lobito Bay to Beira, with eventual through connections via Tanganyika to Dar es Salaam and with the Uganda Railway to Mombasa.

All honour, then, to the great men who have spent their lives and their energies—some, alas! have not lived to participate in the success of their undertakings—and all honour especially to Robert Williams, who, practically single-handed, has built up an organization for the development and transportation to the markets of the world of the rich treasures his vivid imagination has discovered for us in those great mineralized "milestones" which mark the various stages in the progress of African railways.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe Sir Frederick Lugard is present this evening. We should be very grateful if he would favour us with any observations. (Applause.)

Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK LUGARD, P.C., G.C.M.G.: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad to avail myself of the opportunity which your kindness has afforded me to add my tribute of appreciation of the great work which Mr. Williams has done in Africa during the past forty years. He stands almost, if not quite, alone, both in respect of the length of time during which he has been closely associated with Africa, and in the magnitude of the material developments of which he has been both the originator and the active agent in execution. By his great railways Mr. Williams has created an unrivalled record as the foremost pioneer in the development of Africa on the material side, and the paper to which we have just listened, so full of far-sighted suggestion and of sympathy with the people, shows that he is no less concerned with the civilizing and moral progress of Africa than with its material development.

We recognize to-day how important and essential a part railways play in the rapid material development of a country like Africa, whose exports consist solely of foodstuffs and raw materials, but perhaps their civilizing and educational value has hardly been equally appreciated. Mr. Williams has told us how at first the labourers employed in construction works come with their bows and arrows and spears, and how before long these are discarded. Wild, primitive savages learn to value the regular pay, which enables them to purchase in the camp market the little luxuries of cloth, tobacco, and meat. Volunteers come forward more eagerly, soon they learn to appreciate piecework, and gradually become more skilled. The railway workshop is the most potent institution in Africa for the spread of technical education, and the railway in its various departments offers hundreds, and even thousands, of openings to the youth of the Government and Mission

Digitized by Google

schools as clerks, signallers, telegraphists, guards, stationmasters, storekeepers and accountants, etc.

Though I cannot rival Mr. Williams' forty-one years of African work, my own experience of Africa is sufficiently long and varied to justify me in expressing a hearty concurrence in all that he has said regarding the character of the negro tribes and the incalculable importance of securing their confidence in the justice and fair play of Europeans. I endorse most heartily his view both of the ability of the African and of the limitations which for many a generation preclude the possibility of his being able to stand alone in industrial and political development. The striking quotation which Mr. Williams made from the writings of Booker Washington seems to echo and confirm the views I recently expressed concerning the Colour Question in the *Edinburgh*, and since the President of the United States did me the honour to quote them and to assert that they presented the true solution of the problem, I may ask your indulgence if I repeat them: "Here, then, is the true conception of the inter-relation of colour: complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual, agreed divergence in the physical and material." This, too, as I gather from his lecture, is the view held by Mr. Williams. I would, however, like to alter one word in his description of the new spirit which is beginning to show itself among the natives of Africa. It is, I think, rather a *racial* than a *national* self-consciousness, and its exponents advocate the prerogatives of race rather than those of tribal affinities.

Mr. Williams has not told us quite as much as I, at any rate, should have liked to hear about the more recent progress and the programme for the immediate future of the Cape to Cairo and the Benguella-Beira railways. I must confess that the latter interests me more than the former, for its object is to open up a fertile plateau abounding in vegetable products, to tap the wonderful mineral deposits of the Katanga district, and to provide a means of conveying them to the nearest seaport by the shortest and cheapest means. Of this great railway Mr. Williams was the originator and constructor. The story of its inception and the difficulties encountered by international rivalries is one of extraordinary interest. In the far future, when Africa becomes civilized and industrialized, internal railways as in Europe will, no doubt, become important and remunerative means of transport, conveying the products and manufactures of one region to another. Or, again, if another Great War should break out (which God forbid), it is impossible to forecast the rôle which railways in Africa, especially those which cross the continent from west to east,

Digitized by Google

may play; but to-day the great need of Africa is for railways leading from the centre to the seaports, and she has little need of a longitudinal north to south railway. Mr. Williams forecasts an extension of the Sudanese railways southwards from El Obeid to connect with the line from Stanleyville. It is possible that from the same point a line may some day extend to the Nigerian system at Lake Chad, and, as the "Niger to the Nile," may add one more to the alliterations (Cape to Cairo and Benguella to Beira) which seem to exercise a fascination for the financier.

Turning to what Mr. Williams told us of the connection between Africa and Asia, may I remind you that not Egypt alone, but the whole of Northern Africa, is populated by races which owe much to Asiatic origins, and if we accept Gibbon's dictum that "the use of letters is the principal circumstance that distinguishes a civilized people from a herd of savages incapable of reflection or knowledge," then we must admit a partial civilization to the Moslem States of North Africa, where for the most part Arabic is the language of culture. Mr. Williams referred to the Chinese ships which at one time visited the East Coast of Africa. They are mentioned by Marmol as early as the sixteenth century, and no doubt carried on a considerable trade in tea. Sir John Kirk described the excavations made at Kilwa, where three cities were found superimposed on each other. In the lowest of the three many Chinese coins were found, and much of the pale green Chinese earthenware known as "Celadon."

I thank you, sir, for the privilege of listening to your most interesting paper, and I heartily wish you continued success in your great projects in Africa.

Sir Edgar Bonham-Carter, K.C.M.G.: Mr. Chairman, I join with Sir Frederick Lugard in thanking Mr. Williams for his valuable and extremely interesting lecture. The lecture covered so much ground that I find a difficulty in selecting matters for discussion from the many topics he so ably elucidated, and I propose to confine myself to three or four points affecting Egypt or the Sudan, countries in which I have spent many years. As regards the suggestions made by Mr. Williams as to the political future of Africa, while I think that we all here must agree with the greater part of those suggestions, I venture to select two points on which I do not find myself in agreement. The first is that the political arrangements which are now being attempted in Egypt cannot, I would suggest, in any way be regarded as a precedent for what should be done in the future with regard to more southerly parts of Africa. For the political relations of Great Britain to Egypt are entirely different from those to any other part of Africa. Besides, the Egyptians, racially, can hardly be regarded as Africans. Whatever their origin—a matter, perhaps, more in dispute than almost any other racial question—at least we know they have been very largely affected

Digitized by Google

by Arabian blood. Also they are Mohammedans, and possess a civilization which is largely Arabic in character, whereas the Southern Africans are pagans and in a much lower state of civilization. Another matter with regard to which I do not find myself in agreement with Mr. Williams is his proposal or suggestion for a possible future federated Africa. With regard to this I should say, *festina lente.* Africa is such a huge country ; it contains such different climates, such different geographical features, such different races, that I cannot see in it the basis of a future federation ; though no doubt the necessity will soon arise for arrangement between the different parts, on such questions as railways, customs, and other matters. Further, I should say that our experiences in other parts of the world, and especially in India, should make us very slow in trying to deal with the huge continent of Africa as if it in any way constituted a single political unit. (Hear, hear.) Dealing with the question of the railway, I have only a few remarks to make. Of course, to those of us who have lived and worked in the Sudan, it is a matter of the very greatest interest. The first object of those who were responsible for railway policy in the Sudan was to provide railway communication between the interior and the Red Sea, this being the shortest and cheapest route for the export and import of goods. This was accomplished by the opening in 1905 of the railway connecting the Halfa-Khartoum Railway with Port Sudan and Suakin. Subsequently the extension of the railway from Khartoum southwards was begun, and, as Mr. Williams stated, in 1912 Lord Kitchener opened the Khartoum-El Obeid Railway. El Obeid is distant about 430 miles from Khartoum by railway, about 1,000 miles by railway from Wadi-Halfa, and about 2,000 miles by railway and river from Alexandria. I need hardly mention that there is not yet complete through railway communication between Egypt and the Sudan: for there is still a break in the railway of about 200 miles between Wadi-Halfa and Aswan, along which one has to travel by river-steamer.

It is not without interest that the White Nile is navigable by river-steamer for a thousand miles south of Khartoum as far as Gondokoro. At one time it seemed likely that, as a preliminary stage in the construction of the Cape to Cairo Railway, the railway would be carried from the south as far as Gondokoro, or to some other point on the upper White Nile, where it would for the time being stop, and transport between that point and Khartoum would be carried on by river steamer. It is interesting, therefore, to hear from Mr. Williams that it is now proposed that the Cape to Cairo Railway shall join the existing Sudan railway system at El Obeid, and that only about 1,700 miles remain to be completed. The amount remaining to be completed is, therefore, a small amount compared with what has already been built.

I will conclude my remarks with a few observations on the utility of the Cape to Cairo Railway, considered from the point of view of the

Digitized by Google

Sudan. In the first place, it is obvious that, strategically, the railway will be of the very greatest importance. In the case of any disturbance in, or foreign aggression to, any British territory through which it passes, it will enable troops to be brought rapidly and easily from South Africa and the other territories which it traverses to the point in danger. Secondly, the railway will be of the highest value in facilitating the internal administration of the Sudan. There are places in the southern parts of the Sudan to reach which from Khartoum at present necessitates a journey of from a month to six weeks. The railway will enable the same journey to places through which it passes to be completed in not many more hours than the number of days now required. Thirdly, as regards the commercial point of view, I believe that it will be found that there is no great physical difficulty in the making of the railway when it gets into Sudan territory. It will, therefore, be cheaply constructed, and experience in the Sudan has been that, where you can make a railway cheaply, it is extraordinary how soon it will pay its way, even though the population through which it passes may be uncivilized and scanty. In this connection, it is relevant to point out that hitherto the Sudan has been developed, one may say, in a topsy-turvy way. For the northern part of the Sudan, which, because it is closer to the means of communication, has been developed first, is the more desert part. While in the north the Sudan is almost rainless, and vegetation is, generally speaking, confined to a narrow strip along the Nile, the rain increases as one travels south, until on the southern border there is an average rainfall of 40 inches a year, and the whole country is under vegetation. The completion of the Cape to Cairo Railway through Sudan territory will enable the development of the southern portions of the Sudan, which, from a commercial point of view, have hitherto been neglected, to be gradually taken in hand. Mr. Chairman, I will conclude by again thanking Mr. Williams for his extremely interesting lecture. (Applause.)

Sir Lee Stack (Governor-General of the Sudan): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have only landed from the Sudan in the last few days, and came here to listen, not to speak, but I would like to say how much I appreciate the opportunity of hearing Mr. Williams' lecture, in which he has developed his theory and practice of the route from the Cape to Cairo, and the transverse route from Benguella to Beira. It is interesting to me, because one of the big links, or the big link, is through the Sudan. The Sudan is as yet a poorish country, and we have not been able to develop our communications as fast as we would like to have done; but if the indications of mineral wealth which Mr. Williams has told you about in the Southern Sudan materialize, then the inducement for a railway south-westward from El Obeid is a very great one, and a further stage in bridging that

Digitized by Google

gap will no doubt be feasible. I also would like to associate myself with Mr. Williams' sentiment as regards the trusteeship the white man holds towards the black man in Africa. If we develop our possessions in the interests of the native, and not by exploiting him in the interests of ourselves, then I am sure our administration will be successful. You have heard a good deal about the Sudan from Sir Reginald Wingate and Sir Edgar Bonham-Carter, so I will not say anything more about it; but I should like to thank Mr. Robert Williams for his lecture and express the great interest it has been to me.

Mr. Donald Mellor, F.R.G.S.: Mr. Chairman,—I must say I thank Mr. Williams for the lecture. I know what a splendid help he was to the late Cecil Rhodes, and I only hope that the railway will be constructed directly as shown according to the map on the wall. If so, I think it will be a splendid monument to Mr. Williams' courage, determination, and tact. From what I have read, I know that he has had unforeseen difficulties to face, and that no man who had not got what I may call a bulldog determination to carry on the work that Cecil Rhodes inaugurated could possibly have achieved the work that he has done up to the present time. When Colonel Lugard spoke, he expressed the wish that Mr. Williams might have mentioned more about the railway line. I should have liked to hear more also, because I believe, as regards the Benguella Railway, there have been a great many difficulties. Respecting the pushing forward of this line to the border and its continuation, it all depends upon the Belgian extension from their border to the Katanga district through Lulua. The success of the Benguella line depends on that. If this extension is not made the rest of the railway is no good for the chief purpose for which it has been built. I understand that there are several other schemes that have been broached lately for a line in the Belgian Congo across country for about 900 kilometres, which apparently is an offset against the Benguella line. As regards the line from Stanleyville, as laid down on the map, there have been several schemes for lines from this place in the direction of Lake Albert. I understand that one (the southern route) has been practically dropped, and that another scheme taking a more northerly route, making connection with the Nile (north of Lake Albert), which one of the last speakers mentioned, will replace it. Mr. Williams did not say anything about this; I hope he will not mind my mentioning it. I have worked out an itinerary from Stanleyville to Capetown. It is possible to travel from Stanleyville in accordance with a properly printed timetable to Capetown in twenty-six days, and from Capetown to Stanleyville in about twenty days, because one saves time when going down the river. I greatly appreciate Mr. Williams' lecture, and I should like to thank him for it. (Applause.)

Digitized by Google

The CHAIRMAN: I think we are all greatly indebted to those gentlemen who have taken part in the very interesting discussion we have had, and I have only one comment to make on Mr. Williams' lecture —that is, that to my mind it was a little too short. (Hear, hear.) Otherwise—composed as it was in such an excellent literary style, and enunciating such broad and statesmanlike views—it was a great instruction and great profit to us all to listen to it. I therefore wish to convey, with your permission, our very heartiest thanks to Mr. Williams for his excellent paper. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: Lord Carnock, ladies and gentlemen,—allow me to thank you very much for your kind reception. (Renewed applause.)

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY DINNER CLUB

THE inaugural dinner of the C.A.S. Dinner Club was held at the Imperial Restaurant on Thursday, May 4. In the absence of Lord Carnock the chair was taken by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Membership of the Club is limited to seventy-five ordinary members, and members of the Central Asian Society only are eligible for election. Candidates must be proposed and seconded by members of the Dinner Club, and ballotted for by the Committee.

The subscription is five shillings annually, diners paying for their own dinners. No guests, except those invited by the Club, are permitted.

The meetings are held at the Imperial Restaurant, Regent Street, on the first Thursdays in November, December, February, March, April, and May.

The acting Committee consists of General Sir Edmund Barrow, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Edward Penton, and Captain G. C. Stephenson. The Officers and Committee will be elected at the next General Meeting of the Club, which is to be held on Thursday, November 2.

Members of the Central Asian Society home from abroad on leave are eligible as temporary additional members of the Dinner Club.

Digitized by Google

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1921

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions—						
To 404 at £1	404	0	0			
,, 17 at 16s.	13	12	0			
,, 28 at £1 in advance	28	0	0			
				440	12	0
,, Journal subscriptions—5 at 12s. 6d.	3	2	6			
3 at 10s. 5d.	1	11	3			
				4	13	9
Journal sales				4	17	4
Miscellaneous				2	2	6
Interest on deposit				5	6	5
				457	12	0
Balance at bank, January 1, 1921 ...	66	12	8			
Balance in hand (petty cash), January 1, 1921	0	5	4			
				66	18	0
				£524	10	0

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By rent	30	0	0			
,, general rate	7	4	0			
,, water rate	1	1	0			
,, salary	50	0	0			
				88	5	0
Journal—						
By printing	228	5	5			
,, reporting	13	14	6			
				241	19	11
,, hire of lecture halls and tips ...	7	6	0			
,, lantern	9	13	0			
				16	19	0
By office fittings				2	12	6
,, stationery, printing, etc.				15	8	9
,, dinner expenses				5	0	8
,, returned subscriptions				4	4	4
,, unpaid cheque				1	0	0
,, stamps and postage				40	17	9
,, petty cash (teas, etc.)				15	2	5
,, bank charges				0	12	2
				432	2	6
,, balance at bank, December 31, 1921 ...	18	15	4			
,, deposit	70	0	0			
,, balance in hand (petty cash), December 31, 1921	3	12	2			
				92	7	6
				£524	10	0

Audited and found correct, *May* 11, 1922.

A. L. P. TUCKER.

C. B. STOKES, LIEUT.-COLONEL.

Digitized by Google

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1922-23

Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. THE MARQUIS CURZON OF KEDLESTON, P.C., K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., ETC.

Chairman of Council:

1921. THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents:

1920. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1920. GENERAL SIR E. BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
1921. COLONEL SIR CHARLES YATE, BART., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.
1921. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
1921. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.
1921. SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.
1922. THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
1922. GENERAL SIR C. C. MONRO, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., A.D.C.GEN.

1922. **Hon. Treasurer:** SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.

1921. **Hon. Secretaries:** LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE. G. C. STEPHENSON, ESQ.

1922. **Hon. Librarian:** R. L. S. MICHELL, ESQ., C.M.G.

Members of the Council:

1920. GENERAL SIR REGINALD WINGATE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., D.C.L.
1920. THE RT. HON. SIR MAURICE W. E. DE BUNSEN, BART., P.C., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B.
1921. G. C. STEPHENSON, ESQ.
1921. SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
1921. MISS ELLA SYKES.
1921. LIEUT.-COLONEL C. B. STOKES, C.I.E.
1922. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1922. THE RT. HON. SIR ARTHUR HARDINGE, P.C., G.C.M.G.
1922. SIR EDGAR BONHAM CARTER, K.C.M.G., C.I.E.
1922. LIEUT.-COLONEL F. E. FREMANTLE, T.D., O.B.E., M.P.

Assistant Secretary:

MISS M. N. KENNEDY.

OFFICES: 74, GROSVENOR ST., W. 1.

Digitized by Google

MEMBERS ELECTED SINCE MARCH 9, 1922.

Avison, Major J. T., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
Barnes, Sir George Stapylton, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Foxholm, Cobham.
Barrow, Lieut.-General Sir George, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Commander of the Legion of Honour.
Bax-Ironside, Sir Henry, K.C.M.G., 23, Grosvenor Place, S.W. 1.
Blackett, Captain A., Palestine Gendarmerie, Ludd, Palestine.
Calder, N., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
Green, Colonel Bernard, C.M.G., T.D., 59, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.
Haig, Lieut.-Colonel Sir T. W., K.C.I.E., C.B., North Lodge, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.
Holt, Captain V., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
Inchcape of Strathnaver, Right Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 4, Seamore Place, Mayfair, W. 1; 122, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
Ironside, Major-General Sir Edmund, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Staff College, Camberley.
James, Lieut.-Colonel Hon. C., C.B.E., M.P., 3, Ormonde Gate, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
Kirkpatrick, Lieut.-General Sir George M., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
Milne, James Leslie, c/o Messrs. Shaw, Wallace, and Co., Post Box, 70, Calcutta.
Moens, Colonel A. M., C.M.G., D.S.O., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
Nalder, L. F., C.B.E., C.I.E., Savile Club, 107, Piccadilly, W.
Peel, E. G. B., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
Pouguet, Lieut.-Commander J. B. de, O.B.E., R.N., c/o Crown Agents to the Colonies, 4, Millbank, S.W. 1.
Scott-Moncrieff, Major-General Sir G. K., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., R.E., 31, Ladbroke Square, W. 11.
Skrine, C. P., I.C.S., Acting Consul-General at Kashgar, c/o Messrs. King, King and Co., Bombay.
Stack, Major-General Sir Lee, K.B.E., C.M.G., Governor of the Sudan, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
Strong, Kenneth, Royal Scots Fusiliers, Gledhow Hall, Roundhay, Leeds.
Thomas, Captain B. S., O.B.E., 22, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. 5.
Waley, R. P. S., Royal West Kents, Alderhurst, Englefield Green, Surrey.
Winterton, Right Hon. the Earl, 4, Wilton Street, S.W. 1.
Wright, Colonel G., C.B.E., D.S.O., late R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

Digitized by Google

CHAIRMEN OF COUNCIL SINCE 1901

1901-2. GENERAL SIR THOMAS GORDON, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.

1902-4. THE RT. HON. SIR A. C. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., I.C.S.

1904-6. COLONEL SIR THOMAS HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

1906-7. GENERAL SIR EDWIN COLLEN, G.C.I.E., C.B.

1907-8. VALENTINE CHIROL, ESQ. (NOW SIR V. CHIROL).

1908-14. THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

1914-17. THE RT. HON. SIR H. M. DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

1917-18. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.

1919. THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O, ETC.

Digitized by Google

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. IX.

1922.

PART IV.

CONTENTS

PERSIA AND THE GREAT WAR. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E, C.B., C.M.G.
ANNIVERSARY MEETING AND ANNUAL REPORT.
STORM WAVES IN THE MOHAMEDAN WORLD. By Sir Valentine Chirol.
THE ANNUAL DINNER.
THE EARLY DAYS OF THE ARAB GOVERNMENT IN IRAQ. From a Correspondent in Baghdad.
SOME REMARKS ON HELLENISM. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir R. C. Temple, Bart., C.B., C.I.E.
REVIEW.
OBITUARY.
LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED, JUNE AND JULY, 1922

PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

Digitized by Google

NOTICE

THE first Meeting of the Session 1923-24 will be held at the Royal Society's Lecture Room, Burlington House, W., on Tuesday, October 10, when Major Arthur Moore will lecture on "Britain and Islamic Asia."

A misapprehension, it is understood, exists as to the admission of ladies as guests at the Annual Dinner of the Society. The Council wishes it to be known that ladies are admitted as guests at that dinner.

A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

PERSIA AND THE GREAT WAR

By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, May 11, 1922, Lord Carnock presiding, when a lecture was given by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., on "Persia and the Great War."

The Chairman said: Before Colonel Yate reads out the names of the new members I should like to say that the Anniversary Meeting will be held in this hall on June 15 at a quarter-past four. I hope all members who can come will come if it is convenient for them, as we should like a full meeting. The Annual Dinner will be held on July 6, with Lord Peel, the Secretary of State for India, in the Chair; and Lord Ronaldshay, late Governor of Bengal, is to be the guest of the evening.

The Secretary (Colonel A. C. Yate): The Council has just elected the following twenty members: The Right Hon. Lord Inchcape of Strathnaver, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.; Lieut.-General Sir G. M. Kirkpatrick, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Major-General Sir Lee Stack, K.B.E., C.M.G., Governor of the Sudan; Major-General Sir Edmund Ironside, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.; Sir G. S. Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.; Lieut.-Colonel Sir T. Wolseley Haig, K.C.I.E., C.B.; Sir Henry Bax-Ironside, K.C.M.G.; Colonel Bernard Green, C.M.G., T.D.; Colonel A. M. Moens, C.M.G., D.S.O.; Colonel G. Wright, C.B.E., D.S.O., late R.A.; Lieut.-Commander J. B. de Pouguet, O.B.E., R.N.; Major J. T. Avison; Captain V. Holt; Mr. C. P. Skrine, I.C.S.; Mr. E. G. Peel, Indian Political Department; Captain B. S. Thomas, O.B.E.; Captain A. T. Blackett, Palestine Gendarmerie, Mr. N. Calder; Mr. J. Milne; Mr. R. P. S. Waley, Royal West Kents.

The Chairman: That makes twenty new members since our last meeting, bringing up, I think, the total membership to over six hundred, which I think most satisfactory. (Applause.) I think it is hardly necessary for me to introduce Sir Percy Sykes to the audience here present, as anyone who takes any interest in Persia or the Mid-East must be fully cognizant of the very active and distinguished part which Sir Percy took in events which have occurred in recent years in those regions. I think there are very few who have studied so deeply the past history of Persia. You who have read his work entitled "The History of Persia" can testify to this, and I

Digitized by Google

doubt if there are any who are better qualified to be considered one of our first authorities on Persian affairs generally, because of his personal experience derived from a lengthy residence in the country, and the close contact which he maintained with the population. I think we are particularly fortunate in getting him here this evening to give us a lecture upon Persia and the Great War. (Applause.)

THE LECTURE

To all except a few students it seemed unlikely that remote Persia would be directly affected by the outbreak of the Great War. If, however, the pages of history be studied, it will be seen that the master-mind of Napoleon, realizing that British power in the East was based on India, determined to invade that country across Persia. In 1800, in alliance with Paul of Russia, the scheme was matured, and in the following year the Cossacks of the Don received orders to invade India. They marched off without proper transport and totally unprovided with maps, but, fortunately for them, the death of the Tsar caused the scheme, which, at this period, was fantastic, to be countermanded.

In 1914, Germany determined to pursue the same policy through her instrument, the Turkish army. Operating like the spokes of a fan, with armies attacking the Caucasus in the north, Irak and Persia in the centre, and Egypt in the south, Turkey worked on interior lines, but, to some extent, British sea-power counterbalanced this advantage, troops being moved between Egypt and Irak as the situation required. Throughout the war Germany aimed at India, and had a single Turkish brigade reached Herat, the Amir of Afghanistan would, in all probability, have been forced to lead his subjects, reinforced by the warlike tribes of the North-West Frontier, to attack India. Such an attack would have constituted a deadly peril to the British.

The position of Persia at the outbreak of hostilities was unenviable. Powerless to protect her frontiers, she saw the troops of the belligerents in most of her provinces, and was unable to do more than protest. The ruling class, which was not troubled with any patriotic feelings, took advantage of the situation to make money from one side or, if possible, from both. Persia, indeed, suffered in her western and north-western provinces from the operations of Russian and Turkish armies, but she made much money out of the British, who behaved throughout as if they were operating in a friendly country.

Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, Russian troops marched across the north-west corner of Azerbaijan into Turkish territory, and drove the enemy back on Van. After a temporary withdrawal, they returned and held a strong position to the west of Lake Urmia until

Digitized by Google

the collapse of the army in 1917. We must now turn our attention to South-West Persia. Upon Turkey entering the war, a British brigade speedily arrived in the Shatt-al-Arab, and prevented the enemy from wrecking the valuable oil-refineries of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, situated on the island of Abadan, a few miles below the port of Mohammerah. After the capture of Basra and the arrival of reinforcements, a brigade was despatched to Ahwaz to guard the wells and pipe-line. The Turks made strenuous efforts against these objectives, but were repulsed and driven out of Persian soil by a British division in the spring of 1915. The main effort of the enemy in Persia was inaugurated by the despatch of missions into Central Persia. These missions were composed of a few officers with experience of the country, who enlisted local robbers and drove out the unprotected British and Russian colonies. They murdered various officials and looted branches of the Imperial Bank of Persia. Established in the chief towns, they served as bases for other missions that were sent to Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and by the end of 1915 the British had been driven out and forced to seek refuge at the coast. In no case did the Persian authorities make any attempt to protect the Entente colonies. On the contrary, the Persian Gendarmerie, that had been raised by Swedish officers, was won over to the German side through them, and materially strengthened the enemy. In the north the position was satisfactory. As the enemy Ministers had made their legations into standing camps, Russian troops were brought into Persia. The representatives of the Central Powers attempted to induce the young Shah to throw in his lot with them, alleging that the Russians would storm Tehran and make His Majesty a prisoner. Ultimately this scheme failed, and the disappointed Ministers left Tehran accompanied by some deputies and grandees whom they had bought over. The Russian troops experienced little difficulty in dispersing the enemy parties, and by the end of the year North Persia was safe for the subjects of the Entente Powers.

The year 1916 opened with the advance of a Turkish force from Baghdad, to the neighbourhood of Hamadan, the plan undoubtedly being to support the German missions. The Russians were, however, at first able to drive the Turks back to their frontier. But the fall of Kut, in April, released large Turkish forces for the invasion of Persia, and a column 18,000 strong marched into the heart of the country, driving the Russians before it. At one time it seemed that Tehran would be captured, and a further advance made towards Herat, but the Russians took up a strong position to the north of Hamadan, and, as they received some reinforcements, the Turks were finally reduced to immobility. The importance of these operations was fully realized by the late General Sir Stanley Maude, whose despatch of April 4, 1917, ran: "The enemy's plan appeared to be to contain our main

Digitized by Google

forces on the Tigris, while a vigorous campaign, which would directly threaten India, was being developed in Persia."

To remedy the unsatisfactory position in South Persia, it was decided to despatch a mission, with the object of restoring order by means of a Persian force. I was appointed to undertake this task, and reached Bandar Abbas in March, 1916. My instructions were to raise the force, that was finally termed the South Persia Rifles, and as soon as we had landed we started recruiting. At first the difficulties we experienced were many, but, mainly thanks to a very fine young officer, Captain Ruck, a useful force was finally formed, which protected Bandar Abbas and the caravan route to the interior. Germans excel in the gentle art of making enemies, and before I had been long at Bandar Abbas I received letters from the leading notables of the Kerman province begging me to free them from their tyranny. This satisfactory state of affairs was reported to the authorities, with the result that a small force of 700 Indian troops was despatched to join me, and I was instructed to march to Kerman. Everywhere we were welcomed by all classes, and the Germans, who fled towards Shiraz, were, through my influence, arrested by the Chief of the Arab tribe and handed over to me upon my arrival in the winter.

At Kerman the British colony, which had returned with the column, settled down afresh, and recruiting was started for a brigade of the South Persia Rifles. From Kerman we marched to Yezd, where we were welcomed by the British colony that had recently returned. We here received the serious news of the Turkish advance referred to above, and marched to Isfahan, in accordance with the urgent appeal of the Russian Commandant, who reported that a Turkish column was marching on that city. It appears that the size of my force was exaggerated into a brigade, and that this fact caused the Turks to halt at a village some 70 miles from Isfahan, and, finally, to retire to Hamadan. After remaining some weeks at Isfahan, we marched south to Shiraz, which was to be our headquarters, thus completing a march of 1,000 miles through Persia.

The despatch of German missions to Afghanistan could not be a matter of indifference for us, and it was decided to form a cordon along the west frontier of Afghanistan, the Russians furnishing the necessary troops in the northern section and the British in the south. The question of communications was one of extreme difficulty, as from Nushki to the Persian frontier is about 500 miles, and northwards to Kain, where the Russian section began, was about 300 miles. At that time only camel transport was available, the railway-line not having been constructed, and it was the reverse of easy to supply even a small force at such a distance from its base. The Germans opened up relations with the raiding tribes of the district of Sarhad, and encouraged them to attack the caravans. So successful

Digitized by Google

were they that there was a risk of the Eastern Persia Cordon collapsing, at the time when Brigadier-General R. E. Dyer was sent to put things right. He attacked the Sarhaddis with a handful of men, giving out that they were the advance-guard of an irresistible army. When this bluff was seen through he was in a difficult position, but the opportune arrival of reinforcements changed the entire situation, and he was able to defeat, and then to make friends with, the truculent tribesmen. His book, "The Raiding Tribes of the Sarhad," reads like a story of adventure, and we hope that one day this Society may hear an account of these wonderful operations.

In March, 1917, the collapse of the Russian army commenced, and by the end of the year it had become a mob. The British Government was faced by the fact that the northern line of approach to India was now open. In other words, if the Germans could join hands with the thousands of their men who were in the prison camps of Central Asia, they would be able to form them into an army fit to undertake the invasion of India. The situation was desperate, and desperate steps were taken to meet the emergency. In the first place, a mission was despatched across North-West Persia with the Caucasus as its objective, the idea being to rally the Georgians and Armenians to resist the Turkish advance. Major-General L. C. Dunsterville, the leader of this mission, has given the Central Asian Society an account of the thrilling exploits of his force. Here it suffices to say that it filled the gap at a critical moment by denying the oilfields and port of Baku to the enemy for a period of six weeks. The feats of "Dunsterforce" must never be forgotten.

A second mission under Major-General Sir Wilfrid Malleson was also sent across Eastern Persia to Central Asia, to prevent the Bolshevists from reaching the Caspian Sea from the east. This, too, if the remoteness of the war area be considered, was a remarkable piece of work, and here again the Society has heard a lecture from the leader of the mission. But we have not yet heard an account of how a few British naval officers and other ratings, under Commodore D. T. Norris, were able to hoist the white ensign on some merchantmen, and defeat the Bolshevist fleet. They did even more, for they dominated the Caspian. These three "sideshows" represent splendid achievements, and it has given me much pleasure to narrate them in the second edition of my "History of Persia." Indeed, they ran some risk of being forgotten.

To return to South Persia, during 1917 distinct progress had been made, owing to the arrival of a capable staff under Colonel F. E. Orton, and some reinforcements, while the capture of Baghdad reacted favourably on the situation. The position was, however, difficult. To begin with, the question of the Swedish Gendarmerie, who had arrested the British colony at Shiraz in the

Digitized by Google

previous year, had to be dealt with at once. It was in a derelict condition, and unless taken in hand would have broken up and gone off with arms and ammunition. While fully realizing the risk, I determined to take over the entire body, and, although the behaviour of the force was not satisfactory for some time, it was undoubtedly the best thing to have done; it finally behaved well, and did good work after the Armistice. Of greater importance was the hostile attitude of the powerful Kashgai tribe. For generations it had been accustomed to raid far and wide, and during the last two decades the Governor-General had been powerless to oppose its *Ilkhani*, who levied revenue, but kept it for his own use. The Arab tribes were weaker, but also addicted to raiding. We, on the other hand, stood for the restoration of order, and thus challenged the "right to rob" of these warlike tribesmen.

In March, 1918, the British retreat in France convinced the Persian Government that Germany was the winner of the World War. Consequently, the South Persia Rifles were denounced as "a foreign force and a threat to Persian independence and integrity." The Kashgais and other tribes were, at the same time, instigated to attack the British, with the result that there were serious mutinies in the South Persia Rifles, and, in May, the force of 2,000 Indian troops was invested in Shiraz. The Kashgais, who, with their allies, numbered perhaps 8,000 fighting men on an average, were attacked and defeated, but returned in greater numbers, and the position looked black, until the enemy fortunately cut the telegraph-lines. Free to act as the situation demanded, I was able to induce the Persian Governor-General to appoint the brother of the Kashgai Chief head of the tribe, with the result that, after an interesting display of Oriental diplomacy, part of the Kashgais broke away and joined the new *Ilkhani*. The Arabs also climbed off the fence and came down on our side. When the situation had thus improved, the column again attacked the Kashgais, who fled, pursued by their own tribesmen under the new *Ilkhani*. This ended the six weeks' investment of Shiraz, which proved the splendid fighting qualities of the Indian troops under British officers. It also proved how the British are everywhere true to type, for the Telegraph and Bank officials and their wives also rendered valuable services, which it is a pleasure to place on record.

While Shiraz was invested, a base was organized at Bushire by Major-General J. A. Douglas, and, in the autumn, road-making was started along the difficult route to Shiraz. There was practically no opposition, as, apart from the fact that the Kashgai Chief was a refugee, the whole country had suffered from the scourge of influenza. Consequently, progress was steady, and, in January, 1919, Kazerun was occupied, with the co-operation of a detachment from Shiraz.

Digitized by Google

Before the troops were withdrawn in the spring, a well-graded track had been constructed to Shiraz across one of the most difficult sections of country in Asia.

In conclusion, what would the results have been had these missions failed? There is the strong probability that the Germans would have been able to reorganize the thousands of their veterans who were in the prison camps of Central Asia into a powerful army. The existence of such a force on the northern frontier of Afghanistan would, undoubtedly, have induced the Afghans to join in an invasion of India, which we could not have met with success, unless large numbers of troops were withdrawn from other war areas. Furthermore, had the British force at Shiraz been overwhelmed, apart from the unfavourable effect in Persia, it is probable that a wave of fanaticism would have swept across Persia to India, and that the Panjab would have risen even before the Afghans appeared on the scene. Actually Persia benefited considerably from British operations. Communications were improved, order and security were re-established to some extent, and large sums of money were spent on the purchase of supplies, the hire of transport, and on wages. The Persian Government is unlikely to express its gratitude, but the thanks of the landowners, the muleteers, and, above all, of the peasants which we did receive, are of far greater value.

Lord LAMINGTON: Lord Carnock, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I imagine that most of us up to this afternoon, unless we have had the opportunity of previously hearing General Sir Percy Sykes, had a rather hazy and disconnected idea as to what took place in Persia during the war. Thanks to Sir Percy Sykes' lecture, I think we have now a clear and more collected thought as to events that occurred in that country. Of course, he has run over such a wide area, and over such a long period, that I dare say some of us would have liked to ask questions so as to supplement some of his remarks. For instance, how did those two German missions ever get down to Southern Persia if we had our force up by Ahwaz at that time, and the Russians were farther north?

The LECTURER: They got into Baghdad along the main road from Kermanshah, and came down to Isfahan.

Lord LAMINGTON: It was a most marvellous series of events, and we in this country ought to be proud of its having been achieved by our countrymen in Persia, not least of all by Sir Percy Sykes himself. (Applause.) As an old friend of Persia, a historian, and one with a sound knowledge of its people, he must have considerable satisfaction in thinking that he was able to conduct such a very wonderful campaign under such circumstances. For the circumstances were extremely difficult, and one can only think that there is

Digitized by Google

probably a benefit sometimes when you don't have too elaborate an organization. When you have no clerk at all, and are given a free hand, a man of the strength of character of Sir Percy Sykes is then able to do the great deeds he succeeded in doing. Not only Sir Percy Sykes; he very generously mentioned those others who played such an important part in the different missions that were sent to Persia, up to Baku in the north-west, and to Tashkend in the north-east. All those events are but seldom heard of by people in this country. What I imagine must be a sad thought to Sir Percy Sykes is that what he succeeded in doing in the political or military direction is the fact that it has been now wrecked. The very efficient body of the South Persia Rifles that he organized has had to be disbanded. We could not find the money, the Indian Government would not find the money, and, of course, the Persian Government could not find the money. Therefore that very efficient force has now ceased to exist. A sad thing it was to think what might have happened to those who had been so faithful to this country in trying to save their own country. Their enemies may be wreaking vengeance on them. It is deplorable that we have not been able to maintain that force, and by so doing secure permanent friends for ourselves in a country in which we are vitally interested. The constructive works, too, such as fine roads, will undoubtedly be neglected and fall into disrepair if order is not restored. I will not detain you longer, but everyone will agree with me that we are deeply indebted to Sir Percy Sykes for his brilliant achievements during the war; and we are very grateful to him for having come here this afternoon and delivered this lecture, which has been most informing, and which ought to give us a clear, connected idea of the campaign—of the several campaigns—that took place in Persia. (Applause.)

Sir HUGH BARNES: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel great reluctance in intervening in this discussion, because I am sure this audience must be rather looking forward to hearing the comments and personal experiences of some of those present who were active participators in the stirring events which Sir Percy Sykes has referred to. I, unfortunately, can only speak from the point of view of an onlooker. However, I may be able to supplement to some extent what Sir Percy Sykes has told you from the point of view of the Imperial Bank of Persia, with which I was connected during the war. I can certainly confirm entirely what Sir Percy has said as to the extraordinary intrigues and propaganda that were started by the Germans almost immediately after the war commenced. So immediate, so universal, and so well-concerted were the measures taken, that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that everything had been very carefully prepared before the war. No sooner had the Turks joined in than every German Consulate in the country became a

Digitized by Google

focus, not only for intrigue and propaganda, but for organized attacks upon every British interest; and the Imperial Bank of Persia, naturally, was one of the first and principal interests to suffer. Our headquarters in Persia, of course, are at Tehran, but the Bank has seventeen branches throughout Persia, and at one time no less than nine of these were in the possession of the enemy. The first to be attacked was Tabriz, nearest the Turkish frontier. Fortunately, that was very speedily succoured by the advance of the Russians. The next was Ahwaz down in the south, but in that case, also, our staff was very speedily able to return, owing to the despatch of a couple of regiments from the Basrah Field Force. Then the Turks attacked on the main trade route at Kermanshah, and gradually, during the first half of 1915, from Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, and Isfahan—from all these places—the Bank staffs were driven, and with them our Consuls and the rest of the British residents. In November, 1915, occurred the occupation of Shiraz, under the superintendence of the German Consul, Herr Wassmuss, who succeeded in persuading the local gendarmerie and other insurgents to arrest the whole of the British colony, including Colonel O'Connor, our manager Mr. Ferguson, and his wife, and the rest of the staff and officers at Shiraz. The Germans then advanced to Yezd and Kerman, and seized our branches at both places. That was in June, 1916, but that was the high-water mark of the German effort. Kerman, as you have seen from the map, is not so very far from the Baluchistan border; and the—at that time—somewhat slow-going Government of India was at last moved to take action, and was persuaded to despatch Sir Percy Sykes to Bandar Abbas to raise a force of levies and to drive the Germans out. The enemy were not very numerous. They consisted of German Consuls, of some escaped Austrian and German prisoners, and a number of "catch-'em-alive-ohs" whom they had raised. You have heard Sir Percy Sykes' very modest account of what he accomplished, how he advanced from Kerman to Yezd, Isfahan, and Shiraz, and how all our Bank people gradually came back. But, as he has told you, there was a good deal of advance and retreat on the Russian line between Hamadan and the Mesopotamian frontier, and it was not until Baghdad was occupied in the middle of May or June, 1917, that we succeeded in regaining possession of all our branches. Nor was that the end; after the Russian revolution, when the Russian troops began to go back, the Turks again occupied Tabriz, and turned out our Consul and the Bank staff; and the Bolshevists, assisted by a gentleman called Kuchik Khan, who had started a little revolution on the shores of the Caspian, attacked Resht and imprisoned our Consul and the Bank manager there. These were released by the advance of General Dunsterville and his admirable force, and I remember hearing with great satisfaction that our Bank funds had

Digitized by Google

been saved, thanks to the gallant conduct of a little company of Ghurkas, who inflicted very severe losses on Kuchik Khan's so-called army. Those being the facts, I dare say you will be able to imagine the dangers and the discomforts and privations which were suffered by the members of the British colonies in all these different places, when they were driven out helter-skelter by the violent action of the Germans and their friends. For example, as you have heard, the whole of the Shiraz party were arrested and taken down to Borasjun and imprisoned there by the Tangistani tribesmen. The ladies were separated from the men and sent on to Bushire, where they stayed for eight months in acute anxiety as to what was happening to their husbands, who did not succeed in obtaining release until the following August. Mr. Ferguson lost all his property, so did Colonel O'Connor and the other members of our staff. The Kerman Consul and Bank staff had to find their way down in December to Bandar Abbas, in a very cold season of the year, through very difficult country, as Sir Percy's slides have shown you. The Yezd staff managed to find their way to Tehran. From Isfahan the whole of the ladies and children and officers, with very inadequate supplies and very inferior transport, had to march 200 miles through the Bakhtiari Hills until they found refuge with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's people at Ahwaz. I was naturally in very close touch with our people during that period. I never heard one single word of complaint from any of them, and it was marvellous the cheerful courage and fortitude with which all their privations were borne by our fellow-countrymen and countrywomen during that time. (Applause.) When I look back on the years of the war, it seems to me there were four notable things achieved in Persia during the war-time. First of all, there was Sir Percy Sykes' great achievement of recovering the south of Persia, driving out German influence, and establishing the South Persia Rifles. Then there was General Dunsterville's romantic adventure—of which we had an interesting account from General Dunsterville himself; then, General Malleson's expedition on the extreme east and the Turcoman border; and, fourthly, there was the construction at long last of that desert railway from Nushki to the neighbourhood of Seistan on the Persian frontier. Now, General Dunsterville's force and General Ironside's force, which succeeded it, have gone; so also has General Malleson's gallant party—which is only natural, considering peace has returned. Up to this time last year we were still in hopes that the South Persia Rifles might be saved; but, as Lord Lamington has pointed out, the urgent demand for economy has led to the British and Indian Governments refusing to continue their contributions. So, much to everybody's regret, the South Persia Rifles have been disbanded. Whether that will prove to be a penny wise and pound foolish policy it is too early to say; but if South Persia does fall into a state of chaos and disturbance, that will mean great

Digitized by Google

injury to British interests and British-Indian trade, and it is just possible we may have again to intervene, at probably much greater cost than we should have incurred by maintaining the admirable force which had been raised by British officers. At any rate, the South Persia Rifles furnish another remarkable instance of the extraordinary capacity of the young British military officer, not only to create efficient soldiers out of the most unpromising material, but at the same time to gain, not only their confidence, but their affection. (Applause.) The one achievement which still remains is the railway from Quetta into Persia. But the other day I was dismayed by reading a report from India which said that the Government were thinking of pulling up the rails and dismantling that line. I hope most sincerely that such a short-sighted and retrograde measure will not be adopted. For whatever happens to Persia, that railway is bound to be of great value in the future. If Persia obtains a period of peace and orderly government, trade will increase, and this line is the only effective land route by which Persia and India can trade together. Secondly, even if Persia falls into anarchy, and we have to intervene, this railway gives us at once the opportunity and the power of putting pressure on the Persian Government by the occupation of Seistan. Thirdly, if the Bolshevist or any other Russian Government ever again becomes aggressive, and we have to give our material support, either to Afghanistan or Persia, Seistan again is the strategical point to which we can send troops to support one or other. Fourthly, if you think of it, there is only a gap of some 400 miles which separates the head of this railway from the nearest point on the Russian Transcaspian line, and if that gap is ever completed, there will be practically railway communication between India and Europe. If we are to have, as we all hope, an era of universal peace for a long time to come, it is almost inevitable that that gap will be filled up. When I look back it seems difficult to believe that thirty years have elapsed since Sir Robert Sandeman died; but it is as long ago as that since he and I, when we were together at Quetta, used to plan for and dream of the time when Quetta would be the most popular place in India, because it would be the "jumping-off" place from which our countrymen would start on their leave home—if they preferred to travel overland by rail all the way to Calais. The only other thing I have to say is that at the time of the Armistice British prestige in Persia never stood higher. Not only had we financed the Persian Government, financed our own troops, and financed the Russian troops, but we had driven out German and Turkish influence, occupied Mesopotamia, and, in short, had won the war. Our prestige, therefore, stood very high indeed. I am sorry to say that at the present moment I cannot say that this is any longer the case. From all we hear—if we are to judge by the action of the Persian Government and the tone of the Press at Tehran—England and the British are most

Digitized by Google

unpopular. This has arisen mainly, no doubt, through active Bolshevist propaganda and expenditure, but also, perhaps, through mistakes of policy, which are now beginning to be recognized. There are some slight signs of a change, and I hope that before long we shall again see Britain and Persia as closely united in friendship as they have been in former years. (Applause.)

Sir EDMUND BARROW: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have no claim to talk on Persia as I have never been there, but I have been connected behind the scenes with Persia's affairs for a long time past; and as my old friend Sir Percy Sykes, whom I have long regarded as my mentor on Persian subjects, has forwarded to me his notes for the lecture to which we have had the pleasure of listening to-day, and has asked me to make a few remarks on the influence of Persia on the Great War, I have felt constrained to do so. Moreover, it is always rather a pleasure to make remarks and criticisms on what one's preceptor or mentor has told one, so I have jotted down a few remarks which I wish to make. In the first place, Sir Percy has referred a good deal to the influence of the Russians on the campaign in the early days of the war; and it is quite true that that influence had a certain effect. But, at the same time, I think that it is more probable that it was our position in Mesopotamia that most affected the course of events in Persia. In the early days of 1916 it was not so much the Russians, I think, who put a term to the German machinations in Persia, but the presence of the British in Mesopotamia. We were there in a position from which we could tread on the tail of any advance or movement through Hamadan and Kermanshah; and I am inclined to think that it was the otherwise unfortunate advance of General Townshend to Ctesiphon which caused the failure of the Turco-German movement in Persia. On that subject I must be careful as to what I say; but I think that what really stopped the Turks, and, indeed, caused their hurried retirement a few months later from Persia, was not the Russians, but the advance of the British from Kut towards Baghdad. In this connection I should like to draw your attention to the marked influence which Mesopotamia and Persia reciprocally exercised on the strategy of the Great War; I have no hesitation in saying that it was the fear of Pan-Islamic influences on the Indian frontier, exercised through Persia and Afghanistan, which was the *ignis fatuus* that lured us on from Kut to Ctesiphon. The Press and the public attributed that ill-fated advance to an attempt to compensate for our failure at the Dardanelles, but I can assure you that the supreme consideration of the moment was the situation in Persia, and the menace to India which that situation involved at a period of dangerous military weakness in India itself. The lecturer has also told us how, later on in 1917, the Russian débacle laid Persia open to renewed Turkish penetration by way of Tabriz on the north-west and in the north-east, movements

Digitized by Google

which led to the Dunsterville and Malleson missions. I need say nothing regarding the former, as Sir Percy Sykes has commented on it so fully; but, as regards the latter, I would point out that, though it is true our enemies hoped to utilize against us the war prisoners who had been interned in Turkistan by the Russians, that hope proved fallacious. The prisoners were almost entirely Austrian subjects, and, for the most part, Poles, Magyars, Czechs, and other races who had little or no sympathy with either German or Turkish aspirations, and who, consequently, were a broken reed in Bolshevic hands. The ease with which a few hundred Indian soldiers of the 26th Cavalry and the 19th Punjabis defeated the Bolshevists in front of Merv a little later proves this. Nevertheless, I should like to say that the exploit of the Indians on that occasion merits far more credit and applause than it has ever got; it was a notable feat which added greatly to English prestige throughout Persia and Central Asia. (Applause.) Sir Percy has told us of the evil influence on Persia of the great German offensive of March, 1918, against our Fifth Army in France—how the Persian Government thought we were beaten, and how readily the Persians turned against us. This episode illustrates the importance of prestige in Oriental affairs. Our prestige had been shaken by a military disaster in distant Europe, and the East was once more gathering to join our enemies. Our hold on Shiraz, Meshed, and Bushire at that critical moment saved the situation; without those centres of resistance an acute crisis might have arisen at Kabul. Once again we were saved, for a time at least, by the influence of a sideshow; the threatened conflagration was damped down. Sir Percy Sykes concluded his lecture with an expression of sympathy for Persia. I am sure we are all sorry for the condition of things in Persia, and we must all condole with the unfortunate position which has now arisen. But in the East the unforeseen nearly always occurs, and I feel confident that Persia will be saved, as it has been before now, by some strong man. We have the example in old days of Nadir Khan, a Border cateran, who rose to power by his own strong hand, and who eventually raised Persia again to a position of great strength and influence in Asia, and, as you all know, the armies of Nadir Shah even reached Delhi; so I have some hope that a strong man may emerge out of that sea of corruption which Persia now is. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think at this late hour, after the very interesting discussion which we have had, and the very valuable remarks which have been made by Sir Hugh Barnes, Sir Edmund Barrow, and Lord Lamington, I can do no more than ask you to join with me in tendering a vote of very hearty thanks to Sir Percy Sykes for the very lucid and graphic narrative he has given us to-day of the really marvellous events in which he, with his associates, participated. (Applause.)

Digitized by Google

ANNIVERSARY MEETING AND ANNUAL REPORT

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, June 15, 1922, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Carnock presiding.

The Hon. SECRETARY (Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate) read the Annual Report of the session 1921-22.

It not unnaturally occurred to me, before making my Report for the year which is just now drawing to a close, to reread my Report for the year which preceded it; and, as I did so, it struck me as a curious coincidence that the two final lectures of each Session, that of 1920-1921, and that of 1921-1922, should deal with the very remarkable Mohamedan movement which has been one of the most vital issues of the war. Last year Sir Michael O'Dwyer ably handled this theme from the point of view of the Indian Moslem and of India's Mohamedan neighbours. For this afternoon Sir Valentine Chirol has adopted a title still more comprehensive—viz., "Storm-waves in the Mohamedan World." The other great storm-wave of the moment is the Bolshevik, and I would fain detect a subtle force somewhere which might break the one upon the other. That solution of the problems twain we may perhaps leave to time, if not to our statesmen.

A triumvirate of Secretaries of State is an honour of which this Society may justly be proud, and still prouder if that triumvirate could move Islam to crush Bolshevism, or at least to checkmate it. Over and over again we have been assured that Bolshevism is at war with every Moslem instinct and prejudice, and yet the Turk dallies with them still, and may at any moment end the dalliance in a warm embrace.

The Allied Powers of the West of Europe, victorious in the Great War as they can claim to be, are now threatened by this joint storm-wave.

I think we must all realize from our study during the past few years of events in Asia Minor, the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt, that the position of Great Britain in the Middle East is a difficult and even a precarious one. Lord Curzon of Kedleston, speaking from the Chair, on October 20, 1920, spoke solemnly and earnestly to this Society on the importance of its responsibilities and

Digitized by Google

the possible wide scope of its work in this sphere of action. There can be no doubt about the presence in our ranks of the "galaxy of talent." The point that has not yet been worked out is the best method of applying that talent in the interest of the Empire.

At the end of last Session we were indifferently housed; but since then, thanks to the obliging attitude of the Royal Asiatic and the Persia Societies, we have acquired a more spacious office in which Miss Kennedy can find elbow-room, and our recently elected Honorary Librarian, Mr. Roland Michell, can find space for our books and journals. I think that this is just the psychological moment to remind you all that the Society wants books, journals, reviews, photographs, prints—in fact, everything that concerns its sphere of work. My experience during the past year, so encouraging in many respects, is tantalizing in this, that I know that the books of two very distinguished members of long standing were allowed to slip through our fingers—to slip through, so to speak, by just a few inches. One, I found, had just sold his surplus books, and the other had just given away a complete set of his copies of our Journal. I had to comfort myself with their assurance that "had they only known," etc., and the assurance was quite sincere, but "too late."

You will readily excuse me if I enter into no details regarding our lectures and lecturers. If you took the latter and passed their united careers in review, you would realize what a handful—you can count them on your ten fingers—of Britons can achieve. As for the lectures, the Journal is in your hands. The Journal, moreover, contains a good deal of interesting matter in addition to the lectures. The hall of the Royal Society and the theatre of the Royal United Service Institution have, during this Session, furnished us with admirable lecture-rooms.

We have increased the membership of the Society this year by 171, and among them are many men of high achievement and distinction. I mention no individual names. I am only going to say a few words of one member, of whom Lord Curzon specially spoke in October, 1920, as "brought up in the spirit and inspiration of the Society"—I mean Lord Ronaldshay, who for six years before he was Governor of Bengal was Chairman of the Council of this Society, or rather its President; for it was not till 1918 that Lord Curzon was invited to be Honorary President, and it was then that the title "Chairman of Council" was introduced. Lord Ronaldshay has recently returned to this country, and has been greeted by His Majesty the King in a manner which reflects the very high opinion entertained both by the Government of this Realm and by the Nation of his Lordship's success as an administrator at a time of exceptional difficulty.

When Lord Curzon spoke twenty months ago, the Central Asian

Digitized by Google

Society numbered over 400. It now numbers 600, most of them men in the spring or summer of life, many of whom may hope in their good time to rival, or even outrival, Lord Ronaldshay. The Council has invited Lord Ronaldshay to be a Vice-President, and to be the Society's guest at the Annual Dinner, at which Lord Peel will take the Chair. Four of the members of the British Legation at Kabul have just joined this Society, as well as some members of the recent Mission under Sir Henry Dobbs. We are thus well in touch with Kabul; and to Kabul to-day may, perhaps, be applied the term forty years ago, applied, however erroneously, to Herat—viz., "the key of India." I hope that the members of the Afghan Legation in London will understand that they will be welcome at our lectures.

I am not quite sure that this Society yet fully realizes the channels of progress and preferment that are open to it through our close connection with three great Departments of the Government, the Foreign, the Colonial, and the India Office. The Colonial Office suggests to me that we ought to be in closer touch with the institutions of His Majesty's Overseas Dominions. The "Anzac" destiny is bound in with ours. I have written to the Indian soldier whose name is indissolubly connected with the Australasians and New Zealanders who fought in the war, and have invited him, firstly, to join the Society, and, secondly, to indicate the channel by which we may get into touch with the "intelligenzia" of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand.* The Cape, too, will not be forgotten, and no one can bring us into touch with that better than Mr. Robert Williams, to whom the Society is already indebted for more than one act of kindness and generosity.

Early this year the Council decided that the Society should be given an opportunity, if it so willed, of forming a Dinner Club. A Subcommittee composed of General Sir Edmund Barrow, Sir Edward Penton, and Captain G. C. Stephenson, with Sir Michael O'Dwyer as Chairman, was delegated for the purpose of bringing this project to maturity. The first meeting of this Club was held on May 4. At least fifty members attended. The unanimous opinion of all present was that the Dinner was a complete success, and it was felt that the Subcommittee had arranged everything admirably. It is proposed to continue these dinners during the coming Session, as announced in Part III. of the Journal of 1922.

* General Sir William Birdwood's reply reached me a few days after this Report was read. He wrote: (1) "I shall be glad to join the C.A.S."; and (2) "I think the best thing I can do is to send your letter to Lieut.-General Sir H. Chauvel, who commanded not only all the Australian and New Zealand troops in Palestine, but also the whole of Allenby's mounted division. I am sure that he personally will take much interest in such matters, and may be able to get others to do so."—A. C. Y.

Digitized by Google

Since my last Report we have lost fourteen members, three by death and eleven by resignation. Sir Frederic Fryer leaves behind him a deeply respected memory. The presence at his Memorial Service of Sir Charles Yate, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and Captain Stephenson, who represented the Society, was a mark of high esteem and sympathy which his family cordially appreciated.

Finally, we can look back upon this year as a year of good sound progress. Some geographers found their feelings seriously upset by the intelligence that "The Cape to Cairo Railway" figured on the Society's lecture list, and their protests against the association of Africa with the Middle East were strenuous. Students of the past, however, and up-to-date practical administrators of Egypt, of the Sudan, Uganda, and of North-East Africa, showed conclusively that Asia to the north and east and Africa to the south and west of the Suez Canal, that thoroughfare so vital to the unity of the British Empire, cannot possibly be dissociated. If the British power ever trembles in the balance on that Canal, the Anzacs and the Cape Colonists will flock to our support by that very railway, and by the subsidiary branches connecting it with the Indian Ocean at Mombasa, Dar-es-Salam, and Port Sudan.

The Chairman of our Council proposes to submit to you the following names for election:

As Vice-Presidents:

The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

General Sir Charles Monro, Bart., G.C.B., etc.

As Members of Council:

The Right Hon. Sir Arthur H. Hardinge, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

Sir Edgar Bonham-Carter, K.C.M.G., C.I.E.

Lieut.-Colonel F. E. Fremantle, M.P.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The report which Colonel Yate has just read us shows us that the Central Asian Society is now established on a thoroughly firm basis. I am sure that we, its members, can look forward to a prosperous future, and I trust to an ever-extending field for its activities. The report has one or two omissions, omissions which naturally Colonel Yate himself was unable to fill. I allude to the great services which Colonel Yate as our joint · on. Secretary has rendered to the Society, and to his constant and unremitting efforts to further our interest, both by procuring for us a large number of new members and also by arranging a series of most instructive and interesting lectures. (Applause.) The Members of Council have had ample opportunities of appreciating the value of Colonel Yate's services, and I am sure you will agree with me that we

Digitized by Google

owe him a great debt of gratitude. He has been most ably seconded in his work by his coadjutor, Captain Stephenson, who has also been very active in procuring for us a number of new members. I cannot too highly praise the untiring devotion which Miss Kennedy, our Assistant Secretary, has given to her varied and exacting duties. (Applause.) The financial situation of the Society, I am glad to say, is on a good basis; and this fortunate position is owing to the very careful and prudent administration of our funds by our Hon. Treasurer, Sir Edward Penton. (Applause.) We also owe our thanks to Mr. Mitchell, who has kindly undertaken the post of Honorary Librarian, and I hope that the collection of books, to which we have just received a very generous contribution from Lady Trotter, will multiply and expand under his guidance. I have now to submit for your sanction and confirmation certain appointments, or elections rather, as regards the Vice-Presidents and the Members of Council. We had, of course, the lamented death of Sir Frederic Fryer, which made a vacancy in the Vice-Presidents, and Sir Evan James has expressed his wish to retire from the post. We therefore in their places propose Lord Ronaldshay, late Governor of Bengal, and General Sir Charles Monro, late Commander-in-Chief in India. Of course, the Vice-Presidents are ex officio Members of the Council, and I hope the two gentlemen that I have named will also favour us with their attendance whenever they are able to do so. I presume I may take it that you confirm the election of Lord Ronaldshay and Sir Charles Monro. Then we have to elect four new Members of the Council to replace those who retire by rotation. Captain Ormsby-Gore retires, Mr. Tucker also retires, and Mr. Moon retires; but the Council would be grateful if you would sanction his re-election. As new members we propose Sir Arthur Hardinge, who was once Minister in Persia, also our late Ambassador in Madrid, Sir Edgar Bonham-Carter—whose services in the Soudan and Egypt are well known to you all—and Colonel Freemantle, M.P. Is the meeting agreed?

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will re-elect as our Honorary Treasurer Sir Edward Penton.

This was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN: We co-opted as a Member of the Council since our last Anniversary Meeting Colonel Stokes, whose services in Persia have made him a very first-class authority on all Persian matters, and he is really a great addition to our Society. The Council did me the honour to ask me to continue as Chairman for another year. It was with diffidence I met their request, and I therefore solicit your suffrages in conforming with it. In about ten minutes Sir Valentine Chirol will give us his lecture. Meantime, I think that closes the business.

Digitized by Google

After a short interval the meeting was resumed, the business before it being to hear and discuss an address by Sir Valentine Chirol on " Storm Waves in the Mohamedan World."

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The lecture which Sir Valentine Chirol has kindly consented to read to us to-day closes the session until we resume our autumn meeting. I do not think that we can terminate the present session in a more auspicious manner than in welcoming among us so distinguished and expert an authority on all Eastern questions—as regards the Far East, the Mid-East, or the Near East—as Sir Valentine Chirol. The subject that he is going to deal with this afternoon is one of the utmost importance to our Empire; and I know, as we all know, that Sir Valentine Chirol has devoted to it a profound and prolonged study. We will therefore listen with intense interest to what he has to say to us on so important a subject. (Applause.)

STORM WAVES IN THE MOHAMEDAN WORLD

BY SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

The world is nowhere yet really at peace, but of the powers that fought us in the Great War, Turkey is the only one which has not yet bowed to the consequences of defeat. She asked for an armistice and obtained it, but peace negotiations hung fire. The situation was complicated by the landing of Greek forces in Asia Minor, originally sanctioned and desired by the Allies, and a stubborn resistance is still being put up, not by the Sultan's Government at Constantinople, but by a rival Turkish Government with its headquarters at Angora, which disposes of considerable military forces under the command of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, one of the ablest Turkish Generals, and has behind it a large measure of support from a population stirred up to an unprecedented degree of racial and religious passion by ten years of nearly continuous warfare. The Angora Government, composed largely of the same elements, formerly known as the Committee of Union and Progress, which plunged Turkey into the Great War in alliance with Germany, appeals both to the Mohamedan and national pride of the ruling race, and relies also on a more or less formal alliance with Soviet Russia, of which the mainspring is a common hostility, though on widely different grounds, to Western civilization. The most singular result of this renewal of Turkish resistance is the wild outburst of passion amongst a large section of the Mohamedans of India, who have not shrunk from the most lawless forms of agita-

Digitized by Google

tion in order to compel the British Government to reverse its policy towards Turkey as laid down in the Treaty of Sèvres, signed nearly two years ago, but still inoperative. There are about 66 million Mohamedans in India, a very important if relatively small minority in a total population of 320 millions, with great historical traditions, and forming the largest Mohamedan block in the world. Their sudden change of front in support of Turkey imports a fresh element of disturbance, not merely into a difficult political situation in India, but into the whole relations between East and West, already in a state of dangerous flux.

I thought, therefore, it might be interesting to place before you this afternoon a survey, however brief, of the history of those relations, with special reference to the part which Turkey has played in the Islamic world, and to the influence which our possession of India has exerted upon British policy towards Turkey.

Our minds are apt to be still dominated by Mr. Rudyard Kipling's saying that

> "East is East and West is West,
> And never the twain shall meet,"

as if the West were a planet set for ever on its own superior course and the East its satellite, ordained equally for ever to move on inferior lines that could not conceivably converge or clash. This may have seemed true in India at a particular time when Western ascendancy appeared to be widely acknowledged and deeply rooted there. But it was, I think, a somewhat narrow generalization, which has certainly ceased to be true, and over the long range of history has never been fundamentally true.

Our Western civilization, as far back as we can trace its origins, was hammered out from its very inception in constant contact, if often in violent conflict, with the East—*i.e.*, with so much of the Eastern world as the Western world then knew. West and East exchanged, not only heavy blows, but vital ideas. In peace and in war they acted and reacted upon each other socially and politically, morally and materially; and if we take a broad survey of the results, we must admit that on the whole the honours were fairly well divided. Greece and Rome, having withstood respectively the violent assaults of the Persian and Carthaginian East, gave birth to Western art and literature, to Western conceptions of public law and private rights. The Roman Empire, even more than the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, projected Western influence into the East, but from the East it received Christianity, which, though often obscured and perverted to unworthy uses, henceforth provided the ethical basis of Western civilization. It was Christianity, the gift of the East, that enabled the West to absorb, without irreparable injury to its better self, all the flotsam and jetsam—much of it essentially Eastern—with which

Digitized by Google

Europe was strewn after the invasions of the barbarians. There is scarcely one European nation in whose blood there is not some Eastern strain dating back to the welter of those ages. The ex-Emperor William himself, on one memorable occasion, exhorted his troops to remember their Hunnish ancestors, and Russia has never ceased to betray her Asiatic origins.

The sixth century, however, introduced an entirely new factor into the relations between East and West with the first emergence from the deserts of Arabia of the one great religion of the world which armed itself from its birth with a sword. So sharp was the sword of Islam wielded by the Arab followers of the Prophet that it carried them in the course of a century westward along the southern shores of the Mediterranean to the Pyrenees, and once even into the heart of France, and eastward through the outlying provinces of the old Byzantine Empire into Persia and the adjoining regions of Central Asia. The Arab conquerors never dropped the sword altogether, and there was almost constant warfare on the expanding borderlands of their vast dominions. But as they were brought into contact with the Western culture that had permeated many of the countries subdued by them, the receptive genius of their Semitic race yielded to its influence, and a *modus vivendi* grew up and took shape in a new Saracenic civilization, which under the Mohamedan Caliphs of Damascus and Baghdad, of Cairo and Cordova, kept the torch of ancient learning alight, when it was almost extinguished during the dark ages in Europe, until the Italian Renaissance kindled it afresh and with increased splendour in Europe.

Where during the four or five centuries which shed such imperishable lustre on Islamic history was Turkey? She was yet unborn. The Ottoman Empire only came into being in the thirteenth century with a new race of Eastern conquerors who picked up the Koran on their way from their heathen homelands in Central Asia to the No Man's Land, into which the slow disintegration of the Byzantine Empire and the more rapid decay of the Arab states successively carved out of it were converting a large part of Western Asia and South-Eastern Europe. With the growth of Turkish power, Islam fell under its blighting influence. For the leadership of Islam passed from a Semitic race intellectually highly gifted and with an innate capacity for progress to a Turanian race—virile indeed, but dull-witted, narrow, and rigid, to whom the Mohamedan creed appealed mainly as an instrument of domination based upon the sword.

The first Turkish wave of conquest, out of which the Seljuk Empire arose, never reached Europe. It destroyed Arab civilization in Mesopotamia and Syria, and the horrors which marked the capture of Jerusalem in 1076, in striking contrast to the reverence and generosity displayed by the Caliph Omar when the Arab followers of

Digitized by Google

Mohamed first entered the Holy City, stirred Europe to the fierce reprisals of the Crusades, which once more deepened the gulf between Christendom and Islam. It was only with the second wave of Turkish conquest that the Ottoman Turks, so called from their famous leader, Othman, who established himself as Sultan at Brussa within a few miles of the Sea of Marmora, first came to the front as a horde of mercenaries, upon whom their religion at first sat so light, that they were ready to hire themselves out to the highest bidders, whether Mohamedans or Christians. They served in turn the Mohamedan Seljuks and the Christian Emperors of Byzantium, and the Bulgars and Serbs who were already disputing its inheritance. One of the earliest Ottoman Sultans married the daughter of a Byzantine Emperor, and allowed her to retain her own religion, but had no scruple in breaking the alliance of which she had been the price. The Ottoman Turks crossed the Bosphorus as hirelings. They remained as masters. They made Adrianople their first European capital until they were firmly enough established in Thrace to lay hands upon Constantinople itself in 1453. Then, with a fresh momentum, the tide of Ottoman conquest rolled irresistibly forward towards Central Europe, and was only stemmed at last under the very walls of Vienna.

Not until the Ottoman Empire had been thus built up on the ruins, it should be remembered, of earlier Mohamedan states in Asia, no less than on those of Christian states in Europe, did the relations between the West and the East assume a character of irreconcilable antagonism, which the precarious continuance of commercial and even of political intercourse hardly mitigated until Turkey ceased to be a menace to European civilization and began to offer a tempting field to the ambitions of her European neighbours. It was not merely that the Turkish lust of conquest seemed insatiable, nor that with the incorporation of Egypt into his dominions in 1516 the parricide Selim I. added to the title of Sultan that of Caliph, which he wrung from a descendant of the Abbaside Caliphs who had found an obscure refuge in Cairo. This first attempt to convert the Turkish scimitar into the divinely appointed sword of Islam bore little visible fruit until our own times. The Turk was ready enough even to ally himself more or less openly with this or that Christian power against a common enemy—witness, for instance, the frequent co-operation of the " most Christian Kings " of France with the Ottoman Sultans against Austria. Nor did the Turk refuse to concede to infidels limited rights of trade and residence within his territory under the name of capitulations or under special charters such as that of the English Levant Company. But he remained a barbarian. He copied the splendour of Byzantium and excelled its profligacy. He borrowed freely from Arabic and Persian to build up a Court language less

Digitized by Google

primitive than his rude Central Asian tongue, but he contributed little to literature, nothing to science, and, plagiarizing the nobler arts of Persian and Arab civilization, he steadily debased them.

The first Ottoman Sultans were great soldiers and leaders of men and not devoid of rough, rudimentary statesmanship. It is claimed for them that they even displayed a fine tolerance in their treatment of the conquered Christian peoples, leaving them free to practise their own forms of religion under their own ecclesiastical authorities. There is, however, another side to that policy. The ruling race enjoyed *quâ* Mohamedans under the Sacred Law many privileges, and above all immunities from taxation, which would have lost their value had all the conquered peoples been compelled to become Mohamedans. It would have killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. The material interests of the ruling Turk were best served by tolerating large Christian populations to remain *taillables et corvéables à merci* for his benefit, and, as his power waned, his hand pressed more and more heavily upon the subject races whom he had originally despised, but now began to fear. He reverted more and more to Central Asian type under the thinnest veneer of borrowed culture. The cleavage between the West and the East, of which Turkey was for a long time the one fearful embodiment in the eyes of Europe, deepened as never before in history, until the barrier which she opposed to all beneficent intercourse between East and West was turned by the marvellous enterprise of Western navigators who opened up new ocean highways to another Eastern world hitherto almost unknown to Europe.

Nothing that the Turks ever did in the heyday of their power was to have such momentous consequences for our own race as their conquest of Egypt. For their possession of Egypt and their piratical sea-power all through the Mediterranean closed the last avenue through which Europe had kept up, mainly from Genoa and Venice, a precarious but lucrative trade with the mysterious countries of the distant Orient. The seafaring nations of Western Europe were driven to seek a way round over the hitherto untravelled ocean. The Portuguese were the first to turn the Cape of Good Hope, and they established the first European settlements on the south-western shores of India at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Spaniards and Dutch, French and English, joined in turn in the great adventure, and fought on land and on sea for the new markets of the Indies; but we outstayed all our competitors, and the East India Company laid, in pursuit of the trade denied by the Turkish belt, the foundations of a British Eastern Empire far greater than any over which even the most magnificent of Ottoman Sultans ever reigned.

The opening of new ocean routes to India and the Far East not merely outflanked the Turkish obstruction to intercourse with the

Digitized by Google

East, but it brought the West for the first time into contact with another East, alien indeed also, but entirely different from the East which Greeks and Romans had known or which had confronted Europe either in the dark ages when Islam had first sprung out of Arabia or in later times when the flood of Turkish invasion was rolling up the Danube. In India the West found itself in presence of a Hindu civilization more ancient and far more rigid than its own. Later on it was to force its way into contact with other Eastern civilizations, the Chinese civilization and the Japanese—widely different again, but not less ancient and peculiar; but, with the rapid development of British dominion, it was India that became the centre of stability of our own Empire in the East, and even of Western influence throughout the Eastern world.

It would be interesting to try to trace the impression which India made on the minds of the first adventurous Englishmen who settled on her far-flung shores. But they had come there solely to trade, and they stuck to their last. The Moghul Empire still held the greater part of India under Mohamedan domination, but it was already on the downward grade, and differed in many respects from the type of Mohamedan domination which Europe had come to associate with Ottoman rule. Islam had first reached India direct from Arabia in the seventh century, but only in the remote north-west corner, now known as Sind, and it was from the great reservoir of hungry humanity which supplied the Turkish conquerors of Western Asia and South-Eastern Europe that successive floods of Mohamedan invasion began to pour forth out of Central Asia, through the northern gates of India, in the eleventh century, and ultimately submerged the whole of India except the extreme south.

At first the Mohamedan conquerors had been like the Turks, mere barbarous raiders, to whom India, split up into a multitude of rival states and principalities, fell a facile prey. But in the course of time they yielded in some measure to a more highly civilized environment, and just when Queen Elizabeth was granting to her London "Merchant-venturers" the charter out of which the East India Company grew up, the latest Mohamedan dynasty to set up its domination on the ruins of its many predecessors was represented by a ruler of real constructive genius such as the Turks never produced. The great Moghul Emperor Akbar realized that, though the sword could achieve the political unification of India, Imperial unity could never be permanently achieved except on a national basis, and unless, therefore, the rigidity of Islam relaxed sufficiently to admit of a religious and social fusion with the enduring forces of Hinduism which still moulded the beliefs and customs of the vast majority of his subjects. With that object in view, he evolved a new creed compounded of Hindu as well as Mohamedan elements, in which,

Digitized by Google

like our Henry VIII., he would have combined the headship of a national Church with that of an All-Indian state. It is a singular coincidence that, whilst the Ottoman Sultan had picked up in Cairo the empty shell of the old Arab Caliphate, something of the spirit of fearless inquiry and freedom of thought which had quickened Islam under the Abbaside Caliphs at Baghdad, long before the Turks came and levelled the great city and its Arab civilization to the ground, should have been revived, if only for a brief spell, in the splendid Hall of Disputations at Fathehpur-Sikri, where Akbar conversed on ethics and religion with Christians and with Jews, with Hindu pundits and Mohamedan divines. But no other Mohamedan ruler of non-Semitic descent ever had the boldness to question the finality of divine revelation as contained in the Koran, and he was far ahead of his time and of his people, whether Mohamedans or Hindus. His creed did not survive him, though something of his broad tolerance survived under the Emperors Jehanghir and Shahjehan.

Under Aurangzeb, Indian Mohamedanism bore once more, like Turkish Mohamedanism, the deadening imprint of Central Asia. It was wrapped up more and more as its political ascendancy declined in outward forms and observances, in arrogance, intolerance and ignorance, whilst the masses, then, as now, only a minority, converted to the Mohamedan conquerors' creed, still clung to many of the superstitions and even to the caste prejudices which they were supposed to have abjured with Hindu polytheism. The Moghul court and the great majority of Indian Mohamedans professed the orthodox doctrines of Sunnism, as both Turks and Arabs do, but an influential minority were then, as they are now, Shiahs who regard the Sunnis as heretics. The culture of which their greatest rulers have left splendid monuments behind them was chiefly derived from Persia, whose language and literature and art were held in high honour by the Mohamedan ruling classes. Not until the second half of the last century was there any intercourse between the Mohamedans of India and of Turkey, beyond such as occurred during the pilgrimage to the Holy Places, and in occasional missions of courtesy exchanged between Delhi and Stamboul. In its first onslaught Islam destroyed the last remnants of Buddhism, and it swept away one Hindu kingdom after another, even to the great Vijiyanagar kingdom in the south, which only fell in the middle of the sixteenth century. But it never seriously shook the ancient social and religious fabric of Hinduism, and when Aurangzeb's gloomy fanaticism reverted to the older methods of oppression, the Mahratta Shivaji was already raising the standard of Hindu revolt against the decaying Moghul Empire, torn by internal dissensions and reduced to seeking aid from the new forces which for the first time in the

Digitized by Google

annals of India had reached her inviolate shores from Europe across the vast expanse of the ocean.

For more than a century trade had remained the only purpose and the sole interest of the Englishmen in India, who had gone there neither as conquerors nor as missionaries, but as traders. Even when they could no longer remain altogether indifferent to the reaction upon their trade of internal conditions which threatened to plunge the whole of India into chaos, the East India Company at home set its face sternly against any sort of interference in Indian quarrels which might compromise it with one or other of the warring factions, and above all against military intervention, which would swallow up the large profits of its one legitimate business—viz., trade. It was not till India became one of the chief theatres of conflict between Great Britain and France during their long struggle throughout the eighteenth century for the mastery of the seas, and the genius of Dupleix threatened the East India Company with destruction as the first step towards the creation of a French Empire in India, that the British people as well as the Company awoke to the fact that Great Britain would have to take up the inheritance of the moribund Moghul Empire or see it pass into the possession of her great European rival. The choice was quickly and effectively made. I need not dwell upon the expulsion of the French or the rapid expansion of British dominion in India, or on the steady transformation of the East India Company from a trading corporation into a great agency of Government subjected to the increasingly close control of the British Parliament and the British Crown. Within less than a hundred years from the battles of Plassey and Buxar, British dominion was firmly established over the whole continent from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, either under direct British administration or in virtue of treaties by which a large number of native princes and rulers gave their allegiance to the British Paramount Power in return for the maintenance of their local autonomy and dynastic rights.

It was whilst British rule was moulding India into a new shape that Great Britain lost her dominant position in another continent through the successful revolt of the Colonies that became the United States of America. No longer the foremost power in America, she became a great Asiatic power, and the axis of her foreign policy had to be shifted from West to East. For as soon as we awoke to the value of India, our rivals in the world also awoke to the fact that there might perhaps be found the most vulnerable point in our armour. Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, his overtures to Tippu Sahib, the last Mohamedan potentate to defy British paramountcy in India, the schemes which he from time to time dangled before Russia for the invasion of India by combined

Digitized by Google

Russian and French armies, all came to naught. But the safety of India was henceforth a constant preoccupation of British statesmanship; and though British sea-power could be relied on to guard her shores against all attack, Russian expansion in the East pointed at least to the possibility of overland invasion across Persia and Afghanistan.

In the general scheme of international values, Turkey had in the meantime undergone a complete change. It was no longer her strength but her weakness that threatened to disturb the balance of European power. The decline of the Ottoman Empire had been as rapid as its rise. Not only had its European frontiers steadily receded after a succession of disastrous wars, but its subject races, whose sense of nationhood had never been entirely destroyed, were growing dangerously restive under the lash of the ruling race, more and more ruthlessly applied as corruption increased at Constantinople under effete and profligate Sultans and Sultanas, and anarchy spread throughout the provinces. The French Revolution and the convulsions through which Europe passed during the Napoleonic wars stimulated the spirit of revolt which Catherine the Great had been the first to encourage deliberately from outside. The Serbs rose in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and the Greeks, in the second, with greater success, since their War of Independence ended by the establishment of a sovereign state, small indeed and feeble, but the first one to be entirely detached from the Ottoman Empire. The Rumanians, whose fetters had always been looser, enlarged their autonomy. The dissolution of Turkey for the benefit of her subject races had begun.

British statesmanship, whose liberal traditions inclined it to favour these movements, was held in restraint by the growing dread of Russia, whose ambitions, embracing Asia as well as Europe, filled the British rulers of India with increasing alarm. England had the choice between two policies. The one was to wash her hands of Turkey, encourage the building up of independent states in South-Eastern Europe, and come to a definite understanding with Russia in regard to Asia. The other was to protect Turkey from dismemberment as a bulwark against Russian aggression on condition that the Turkish system of government should be completely reformed, and made tolerable for the Christian as well as Mohamedan subjects of the Sultan. Successive British Governments hesitated between the two policies. The Tsar Nicholas I. made important overtures to Lord Aberdeen for the liberation of European Turkey, on the understanding that neither power was to take permanent possession of Constantinople, and he offered Egypt and Cyprus to Great Britain in fulfilment of assurances already frequently given that Russia entertained no designs upon the British position in India.

Digitized by Google

But a masterful British Ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, profoundly distrustful of Russia, persuaded British Ministers that Turkey had really begun to tread the path of reform and progress. The Tsar's overtures were rejected, and we drifted into the Crimean War. The Ottoman Empire was given a new lease of life, and admitted by the Treaty of Paris of 1856 into the comity of European nations. But the internal situation in Turkey soon drifted from bad to worse, and whilst spasmodic risings continued to take place amongst the subject races, the much-talked-of reforms resolved themselves into an orgy of foreign loans which landed the Ottoman Government in bankruptcy. By the middle of the seventies, European Turkey seethed with revolt, and two Sultans were deposed in quick succession by Palace revolutions on the approved Turkish model. A conference of the Great Powers at Constantinople in 1877 was rendered abortive mainly by the mutual distrust of England and Russia, against which Lord Salisbury, who was the British representative, vainly struggled for a time. Russia, whose expansion in Asia the Crimean War had rather stimulated than checked, once more took the law into her own hands, and the Russian armies finally reached San Stefano, close under the walls of Constantinople. Once more Great Britain intervened and saved Turkey at the imminent risk of another war with Russia. The treaty imposed by Russia on Turkey at San Stefano was revised at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, whence Lord Beaconsfield claimed to have brought back "peace with honour" as well as a defensive alliance with Turkey safeguarding her Asiatic dominions and handing over Cyprus to Great Britain as a military base in the Eastern Mediterranean.

During all those first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, when Great Britain had almost continuously befriended Turkey and twice at great cost to herself saved her, what had been the attitude of the Mohamedans of India? In 1832, one of them, Jaffur Shereef, wrote his well-known work *Kanoon-i-Islam*, or "The Customs of the Mussulmans of India, comprising a Full and Exact Account of their Various Rites and Ceremonies," which from cover to cover makes no single reference to the Turks or to the Caliphate of Constantinople. This is fairly strong evidence that they still knew nothing and cared nothing about Turkey. How indifferent they were to her fate and to British policy towards her was shown still more clearly when, little more than a year after the end of the Crimean War, waged to save Turkey, Mohamedan fanaticism joined hands with the reactionary forces of Hinduism in the great Mutiny of 1857. Not a thought had the Indian Mohamedans, who then raised the old cry "Din Din" ("Our Faith, Our Faith"), for the Ottoman Sultan and Caliph in far Stamboul, but only for the restoration of Mohamedan

Digitized by Google

rule in India itself, of which the old King of Delhi, a descendant of the Moghul Emperors, still perpetuated the tradition.

Not till more than twenty years later, when we were again on the brink of war with Russia in support of the Ottoman Empire, did anything happen to bring Turkey within the immediate range of Indian experience, and it is one of the curious ironies of history that Lord Beaconsfield, who had just made Queen Victoria Empress of India, should himself have unwittingly prepared the soil which the Caliphate agitation has recently sown with a rank crop of disloyalty, when in 1878 he despatched an Indian force for the first time into European waters in anticipation of an Anglo-Russian conflict. That spectacular demonstration was perhaps primarily meant to magnify the position of India in the Empire, but it was also meant to magnify Turkey in the eyes of India, and to arouse Indian Mohamedans in particular to a sense of brotherhood with the Mohamedan people in whose defence England was prepared to go to war for the second time with Russia. We did not, after all, go to war with her, and the Indian troops were recalled from Malta to take part in a protracted war with Afghanistan, which was to teach that other Mohamedan country, by other and very different methods, that we and not Russia were its appointed friends. Long before it was over, the pendulum of British policy swung again violently with the downfall of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration in 1880 and Mr. Gladstone's return to power. The great Liberal Minister, whilst in opposition, had passionately denounced Turkish misrule, for which the only remedy, he declared, was to turn the "unspeakable" Turk, "bag and baggage" out of Europe. In office he had to content himself with far less drastic methods of keeping, or trying to keep, the Turk under restraint. But the Disraelian policy as well as Disraeli, was dead when Lord Salisbury succeeded Mr. Gladstone in 1885 and frankly admitted that in backing Turkey we had backed the wrong horse.

Europe, on the other hand, had now to reckon with a Sultan of undeniable capacity. Physically a coward and living in perpetual dread of conspiracies such as he had himself owed the throne to, Abdul Hamid II. was an astute and masterful ruler, who, having abolished the sham Constitution by which he had tried to throw dust in the eyes of Europe before the disastrous war with Russia, proceeded first of all to restore the autocracy of the Sultanate, which had been overshadowed under his feeble predecessors by a powerful bureaucracy. During his reign the Sublime Porte became a mere appendage of the Palace. But his heart was soon set on bigger things. When he was a child a pious *fakir* greeted him once, it is said, as *Ameer el Muminin* (Prince of the Faithful), who would one day not only reign as Sultan, but also resuscitate as Caliph the

Digitized by Google

ancient power and glory of Islam. The prophecy may well have sunk deep into his superstitious mind. The Caliphate had been with most of his predecessors little more than an empty title. Abdul Hamid resolved to make it a living reality. In the revival of the semi-spiritual authority vested in the Caliph and its extension as far as possible to the world of Islam beyond as well as within his own dominions, he saw vast possibilities of compensation for the woeful loss of temporal power which the Ottoman Sultanate had suffered. That was the fundamental idea of Pan-Islamism as Abdul Hamid conceived it, and he carried it out with immense perseverance and resourcefulness.

Circumstances favoured him. True, the Ottoman Caliphate had never secured recognition from all Mohamedans. The Sherifian Sultans of Morocco regarded themselves as Caliphs within their own dominions. The Shah of Persia was a Shiah for whom the Sunni Turks were abominable heretics. The Ameer of Afghanistan styled himself King of Islam. The only religious movements which had stirred the dormant waters of Islam earlier in the nineteenth century had both been Puritan movements, and the Wahabees in Arabia, as well as the Senussis in North-Eastern Africa, had loudly denounced the corruption and licentious despotism of Constantinople. It was in the Sultan's name that Mohamed Ali, the great Pasha of Egypt, had driven the Wahabees out of Mecca, but he himself had not hesitated shortly afterwards to turn his arms against the Sultan, and his victorious armies had been stayed only by foreign intervention within ten days' march of the Bosphorus. Much more recently, the first Nationalist Movement in Egypt under Arabi had been anti-Turkish before it became anti-European. The Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire had, to say the least, no love for the Turks, and even in the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina, of which the Guardianship constituted one of the Sultan's chief titles to the Caliphate, Turkish authority was precarious and detested. Nevertheless, the psychological moment was not ill-chosen for Abdul Hamid's great enterprise. The world of Islam had been slowly aroused from its long torpor, not only by the intellectual and economic impact of the West, but by increasing fear of complete political absorption. It saw the independence of one Mohamedan state after the other shrink or disappear entirely. France was strengthening her hold over a large part of North Africa. Great Britain had occupied Egypt. Russia was spreading all over Central Asia. Persia was being squeezed between the Russian and the British millstone. Turkey was the one Mohamedan power left to hold up its head, even though a diminished head, against the inrush of the West. Was it not a sign of predestined salvation that a Sultan should have arisen who was prepared to give comfort and shelter to the whole Mohamedan

Digitized by Google

world in its dire distress under the broad mantle of the Ottoman Caliphate?

How broad that mantle was Abdul Hamid was at pains to show by collecting Mohamedans from all parts of the world around him at Yildiz Kiosk (the Palace of the Star). His confidential advisers and secretaries and spies were mostly Arabs and Kurds and Albanians, Mohamedans all, whether holy men or rascally adventurers, whom he found more receptive to the new gospel of Pan-Islamism under the ægis of the Ottoman Caliphate than his own Turks with their dull and narrow pride of race. Even the Prætorian Guard that garrisoned Constantinople and kept watch over his sacred person was chiefly drawn from the non-Turkish Mohamedan races of his Empire. He once appointed a Tunisian to be Grand Vizier, and after that warning to the Stamboul Pashas they were quick to understand that if they wanted ministerial loaves and fishes they could only get them as the humble instruments of their master's will, which, after he had once made a terrible example of Midhat Pasha, held every provincial governor equally in its grip. Under such a régime there could be no question of internal reforms such as the Berlin Treaty had prescribed, and least of all for the benefit of the Christian subject races. As far as European Turkey was concerned, he could exploit not only the jealousies of the Great Powers, but the bitter feuds of the rival nationalities, Greek, Bulgar, and Serb, who cut each other's throats in Macedonia as cheerfully as any Turk's. But when the Armenians in Asiatic Turkey invoked the Berlin Treaty against intensive Turkish misrule, he proceeded to adopt a yet more drastic policy—the sinister policy of systematic massacre, which his successors were to carry to still more ruthless lengths, and are still carrying on at the present moment—and he knew he could adopt it without much risk of chastisement. Germany had stepped into our shoes at Constantinople after the days of Lord Beaconsfield as the special friend and protector of the Ottoman Empire, and under William II. Germany had no scruples. The ex-Kaiser had made up his mind at the beginning of his reign that Turkey was a necessary "bridgehead" towards German world-dominion, and having practically no Mohamedan subjects of his own in the Greater Germany which he was building up beyond the seas, he could afford to look upon Pan-Islamism with complete equanimity, and even with favour, as a potential menace to those of Germany's rivals who had large numbers of Mohamedan subjects, and most of all, therefore, to Great Britain. So he sent out German officers to reorganize the Turkish armies, and German engineers to build the Hejaz Railway, which was to make the Turkish overland line of communication with the Holy Places safe against British sea-power, and served also as a splendid advertisement for the Caliph, whose agents collected subscriptions for its con-

Digitized by Google

struction from Mohamedans in all parts of the world. Whenever, too, the unseemly question of Turkish reforms was raised, German diplomacy could always be relied upon to throw the so-called "European Concert" at Constantinople hopelessly out of tune. To so understanding a friend Abdul Hamid could refuse nothing, and in return for the Baghdad Railway Concession the Kaiser not only paid a second state visit to Constantinople in 1898 and clasped the "Red Sultan's" hand, still dripping with Armenian blood, but proceeded from Jerusalem, where he masqueraded for a few days as a Crusader, to Damascus, and at Saladin's tomb paid homage to his friend and ally, the Sultan Abdul Hamid, whom 300,000,000 Mohamedans revered as their sacred Caliph. This public recognition of the Ottoman Caliphate, the only recognition bestowed upon it by any European power before the Great War, was the high-water mark of Hamidian Pan-Islamism.

It was just then that its influence made itself, for the first time, felt on our Indian borderland. India, with its 60 million Mohamedans, had not escaped Abdul Hamid's attention as a suitable field for Pan-Islamic propaganda, and as far back as 1884 a newspaper called the *Pek-i-Islam*, edited by a Punjabee Mohamedan dismissed from the Indian public service, was issued from the Sultan's printing press at Yildiz for secret circulation in India. But Abdul Hamid's emissaries made no substantial headway until in 1897 the folly of the Greeks gave him an opportunity of punishing a Christian nation single-handed, for the first time in the last two centuries of Turkish history, and the victories of his armies in Thessaly reverberated along the whispering galleries of the East to the greater glory of the Ottoman Sultan and Caliph. Then it was that Abdul Hamid's name came to be invoked in the Friday service in an increasing number of Upper India mosques, and fanatical *mollahs*, extolling the renewed splendour of the Caliphate, helped to stir up the North-West Frontier tribes to the great rising which cost us the protracted Tirah campaign. Still, though Indian Mohamedans began to take a pride in Abdul Hamid as a great potentate in the Mohamedan world, their loyalty to the British *Raj* remained unmoved. They had hitherto held aloof from the political movements which were already agitating the Western educated classes of the Hindu population—for one reason, because they had been much slower than the Hindus to avail themselves of the opportunities of Western education which British rule had opened up to Indians of all races and creeds. One of the few Indian Mohamedans of light and leading to recognize its value for his co-religionists, if they were not to lag hopelessly behind the Hindus, Seyyid Ahmed Khan, had founded with great difficulty and in the teeth of bitter orthodox opposition a remarkable Mohamedan college at Aligarh, in which he sought to reconcile the

Digitized by Google

doctrines of Islam with Western knowledge, and to train up young Mohamedans to be true to their faith and at the same time useful citizens, loyal to the British *Raj*. He died in 1899, when Indian Nationalism was still in its infancy, and some Indians were beginning to respond, however faintly, to Abdul Hamid's Pan-Islamic propaganda. One of the last things he did was to publish a reasoned refutation of the Ottoman Sultan's claim to the Caliphate, which, like many other Mohamedans, he denied on grounds of purely Islamic doctrine. His influence had been constantly exerted to dissuade his co-religionists from joining the Indian National Congress, in which he suspected a scheme to establish the political ascendancy of the Hindu majority over the Mohamedan minority, under the guise of representative institutions and self-government. His views prevailed for some years after his death, and even at the time of Lord Morley's Indian reforms in 1909 the All India Moslem League, founded as a counterblast to the Indian National Congress, pleaded hard and not unsuccessfully for special safeguards for the Mohamedan community against Hindu supremacy in the enlarged Councils as the well-earned reward of its unwavering loyalty to the *Raj*.

The Turkish revolution of 1908 had, however, by that time swept Abdul Hamid from the throne and driven Pan-Islamism temporarily into the background. Even in Turkey there had grown up a small school of intellectuals whom Abdul Hamid vainly persecuted and drove into exile, and the concessions in Macedonia which, in spite of German support, were ultimately wrung from him under pressure from Russia and Austria, and most of all from Great Britain, estranged from him the army, which he had always distrusted, and especially the purely Turkish elements in the army. From the beginning it was an essentially military revolution, though the Union of Committee and Progress which ruled in the name of Sultan Murad V., whom thirty years' detention as a State prisoner during Abdul Hamid's reign had reduced almost to imbecility, at first deluded Europe and the subject races of Turkey themselves into the belief that a new era of liberty and fraternity had dawned in the Ottoman Empire. Disillusionment quickly followed when the Nationalism of Union and Progress hardened into a policy of intensive "Ottomanization," which was only a euphemism for tightening the grip of the ruling Turk on all the non-Turkish races of the Empire, Mohamedan as well as Christian. For it did not spare the Albanian and Syrian Mohamedans, and against the Armenians it soon resorted to the old Hamidian methods of massacre, pure and simple.

Upon Indian Mohamedans the Turkish revolution had a twofold effect. The deposition of Abdul Hamid alarmed the more conservative elements. But a new school of advanced Mohamedans had grown up who, though many of them came from Seyyid Ahmed's

Digitized by Google

old college at Aligarh, had entirely forgotten his teaching, and were drifting towards the extreme wing of Hindu Nationalism, already in thinly disguised revolt against the British *Raj*. These Young Indian Mohamedans recognized kindred spirits in the Young Turks, and soon sought and found contact with them. Their opportunity came when the Italian conquest of Tripoli, the one province left to the Ottoman Empire in Africa, was followed by the Balkan wars, which ended in the partition of almost the whole of European Turkey. More rapid communications, more frequent intercourse, and above all the luxuriant growth of the vernacular press, had brought India much closer to everything that happened in Europe, and Turkey now occupied in the minds of many Mohamedans a place undreamt of even ten years before. The resounding blows dealt to her in such quick succession would not perhaps even then have produced such a deep impression had not Indian Mohamedan sentiment been just at the same period deeply wounded by an event much nearer home. Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905 had been welcomed by the Mohamedans because it created a new province of Eastern Bengal in which their political ascendancy seemed to be definitely assured. But the partition had been undone at the King-Emperor's Durbar of 1911, and the transfer of the capital to Delhi had not made up to the Mohamedans for the disestablishment of the recently created province.

It was easy for anti-British agitators to represent this as another blow dealt to Islam in India itself by the same British power that oppressed Mohamedan Egypt, was selling Mohamedan Persia to the Muscovite, and had instigated the Balkan conspiracy against the very life of Mohamedan Turkey.

The leaders of this group, amongst whom a young Mohamedan, Mohamed Ali, who had studied at Oxford and returned, like many other Indians, embittered by failure, soon came to play a very prominent part, started collecting funds from their co-religionists for the Turkish sick and wounded, and proceeded to Constantinople with ambulance parties which Government freely allowed them to raise. There they were, of course, warmly welcomed by the Young Turk, and returned to India well primed by the Envers and Talaats and their German allies. But in spite of a pro-Turkish propaganda of which the anti-British tendency was only thinly veiled during the first weeks of the Great War under lamentations over the folly of England in challenging the irresistible might of Germany, the enthusiasm with which the vast majority of Mohamedans, like the rest of their fellow-countrymen of all creeds and races and classes, responded to the call of the Empire in August, 1914, was not chilled even when Turkey threw herself into the war as the willing ally of Germany. During the four years' war Indian Mohamedan troops

Digitized by Google

fought shoulder to shoulder with the British, and not less resolutely against the Turks in Mesopotamia and in Palestine than against the Germans on the Western front where the Indian army filled, in the critical winter of 1914-1915, a gap which the Kitchener armies and the Colonial armies were not yet equipped and trained to fill. In India itself, where Germany had reckoned upon wholesale mutinies and risings, there were only a few local disturbances, promptly and firmly quelled, and in the most serious ones, in the Punjab, it was returned Sikhs from Canada and not Mohamedans who played the leading part. Mohamed Ali and his brother Shaukat were interned, as they refused to give any assurances that they would desist from aiding and abetting the King's enemies. Others who were less openly disaffected were left free to join hands with the Hindu extremists, and it was during the war that the All India Moslem League, which had now passed under their control, combined for the first time with the Hindu extremists of the Indian National Congress in a vehement agitation for full and immediate Home Rule. But most of them professed to be at one with Government in the vigorous prosecution of the war, and they never stopped for a moment the steady flow of Indian recruitment, least of all amongst the Mohamedan fighting races.

Not till after the war was over and Turkey had to pay the penalty of defeat in common with her European allies were there any signs of a revulsion of feeling—somewhat hesitating and shamefaced at first. Turkish war-guilt was too recent and flagrant. The Indian war prisoners from Kut had suffered like the British war prisoners at the hands of their Turkish captors. Enlightened Mohamedans felt that the appalling massacres of Armenians and the ruthless persecutions of other Christian races, and even of Mohamedan as well as Christian Arabs suspected of sympathy with the Arab revolt against Turkey, had blackened the face of Islam. They knew quite well that Turkey had been waging no Holy War, and had not been the sword of Islam, but of Germany.

The one incident in the war which had perturbed the Indian Mohamedans had been the revolt of the Sherif of Mecca against the Sultan. Some of them professed to regard it as a menace to the religious interests of Islam. Very astutely, therefore, the agitation in favour of Turkey was at once placed on a religious rather than a political basis. It was the Sultan's independence as Caliph that had to be saved, for the sake not so much of Turkey as of the whole world of Islam, and how, it was argued, could it be saved if he was not to recover his dominions, since any curtailment of the Sultan's temporal power would impair the spiritual authority vested in the office of Caliph? These champions of the Caliphate were not all men of undoubted Mohamedan orthodoxy or of unblemished character,

Digitized by Google

and many of them detested the British *Raj* even more than they loved Turkey. But they knew what they were about when they labelled the movement they were engineering the Caliphate movement.

The Allies' long delay in imposing definite peace terms, the renewal of Turkish resistance, the interposition of the Greeks, the stories of the excesses which some of their troops committed, played into the hands of the Mohamedan extremists, whilst the cosmic wave of post-war unrest was beginning to sweep over India too, until the Punjab outbreak, with its terrible tale of anti-European outrages and the tragic episode of Amritsar, provoked amongst Mohamedans and Hindus alike an unprecedented outburst of racial feeling. Religion, still a vital force in the East, is easily harnessed to racial hatred. It was to the religious traditions of primitive Hinduism that Gandhi, with his mystic fervour and saintly asceticism, appealed when he started his strange gospel of *Swaraj* which was to restore India to the simple life of the Vedic scriptures, and it was because he allowed himself to be convinced that in the Caliphate movement the Mohamedans of India were giving a splendid demonstration of their religious faith that he threw over it the Hindu mantle of Non-Co-operation against a Satanic Government and the whole Satanic civilization of the West. The Hindu-Moslem fraternization which he preached, and for a time with some measure of success, assumed no more singular shape than his own close personal association with Mohamed and Shaukat Ali, who, unaccountably released from prison, had become the recognized leaders of the Caliphate movement. I have seen Gandhi and Shaukat Ali together, and in the course of a long conversation with them nothing impressed me more forcibly than the contrast between the frail and gentle Hindu, clad in simple home-spun, consumed, his worshippers said, with spiritual fire, and the great hulking Mohamedan in his ample robes, embroidered with the Turkish crescent, who seemed to sweat " the flesh and the devil " at every pore.

One can understand up to a certain point the sympathy of India's Mohamedans for their Turkish co-religionists, about whom they knew very little except that they were their brothers in the faith, and their concern for the Ottoman Sultan, whom they had at last come to regard as the legitimate head of Islam. They were quite entitled to fasten on to the pledges given by the British Prime Minister in Parliament with regard to the Turkish homelands, and to press for their fulfilment without regard to any earlier pledges of freedom and protection given by the Allies during the war to the subject races of the Ottoman Empire. The Government of India itself would have been quite justified in seeking to impress upon the Imperial Government the danger of estranging Mohamedan religious sentiment, if the

Digitized by Google

movement had been guided and restrained by responsible and reputable Mohamedans. But it assumed a very different complexion under the leadership of such men as the Ali brothers. What manner of men they were, Sir William Vincent, the Home Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, has himself admitted, rather late in the day. "When I think," said Sir William Vincent only a few weeks ago, in the Delhi Legislative Assembly, "of the treasonable practices of those two men during the Great War; when I think of the secret support and encouragement given by them to the King's enemies, and when hundreds of thousands of British and Indian soldiers were daily risking and sacrificing their lives; when I think of the poor *Muhajirin* (Mohamedans whom the Ali brothers persuaded to emigrate in thousands out of an infidel-ruled India into a Mohamedan Afghanistan) whose bones lie about the Khyber and on the road to Kabul because they listened to these two men, who themselves never did a *Hijrat* (or holy pilgrimage) farther than Paris and London; when I think of the money extorted from the poor Mohamedans of this country and squandered in Europe and elsewhere, of which no recorded accounts have been published to this day; when I think, lastly, of the unfortunate Hindus dishonoured and killed in Malabar, and the Moplahs themselves, innocent in a way because misled, driven to death and ruin at the instigation of Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali, and those who think with them, I marvel at the gross ignorance and folly of the Moslem population that recognized such men as leaders."

But may not one marvel equally at the supineness, to say the least, of a Government which so long tolerated the Ali brothers as the recognized spokesmen of Mohamedan India? They were interned during the war for notorious disloyalty, arrested again for treasonable correspondence with the enemy during the short Afghan war, and released once more without any guarantee that they would mend their ways. Yet Mohamed Ali was not only received by the Viceroy, then Lord Chelmsford, as the head of an All India Caliphate deputation, but was allowed to proceed in the same capacity to England, and plead the cause of Turkey before British Ministers in Downing Street. He got, it is true, a crushing reply from Mr. Lloyd George, but he returned to India with undiminished prestige to resume with his brother a lawless propaganda which constantly led to rioting and bloodshed; and when threatened with prosecution in the United Provinces, these two firebrands secured a further lease of impunity by inducing the present Viceroy, Lord Reading, then new to India, to accept, at Gandhi's instance, futile and obviously fallacious assurances as to the honesty of their intentions, until the formidable outbreak of Mohamedan fanaticism amongst the Moplahs of the Malabar coast and their own attempts to tamper with the

Digitized by Google

loyalty of Mohamedan troops at last brought their criminal activities to a term. Even then—such are the mysteries of the penal code—they escaped with a much lighter sentence, two years' imprisonment, than did Gandhi some months later, who was at least an honest fanatic, and, however paradoxically, always professed to abhor violence.

From whatever point of view one looks at the Caliphate movement, it is hard to understand the countenance lent to it by the Government of India, or for that matter by Mr. Montagu, as Secretary of State, to his own ultimate undoing, or to hold them free from blame for having helped to aggravate by their handling of it from the very beginning the difficulties with which they were confronted in the initial stage of the great constitutional changes in India, as well as the complicated problems of international policy with which the long-deferred Turkish settlement has confronted the Imperial Government. Gandhi's imprisonment has scotched the Swaraj or Hindu wing of Non-Co-operation. The imprisonment of the Ali brothers has hardly affected the Caliphate or Mohamedan wing, which has seen a substantial part of its programme publicly endorsed by the Government of India. The proposals made at the Paris Conference for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres have failed so far to arrest the Caliphate agitation. The Paris Conference, you know, proposed an armistice in Asia Minor as a preliminary to the withdrawal of Greece from the whole of Asia Minor and the retrocession to Turkey of a portion of Thrace sufficient to lend some strategical security to the Sultan's position in Constantinople, but it left untouched the actual *status quo* in the former Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. It is not, the Indian Caliphate organs declare, by any such proposals, which are merely a fresh insult to Islam, that the real independence of Turkey will be secured, but rather by the Turco-Soviet Treaties between the free peoples of Turkey and Russia who will stand and fall together; and Mohamedans will never be appeased until all trace of Western authority, civil and military, has disappeared from the Arab lands which were the cradle of Islam, to make room once more for the supreme overlordship of the Ottoman Caliph and Sultan. According to a telegram in yesterday's papers, the All India Caliphate Committee has once more declared in favour of "civil disobedience."

The Indian Mohamedans go, in fact, further in their demands for the restoration of the Sultan's authority in the former Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire than the Kemalists at Angora. The latter base their resistance mainly on Nationalist grounds, and Pan-Islamism is merely a second string to their bow, just as it was for the men who ruled Turkey during the war, when Pan-Turanianism came to the front with its wild dream of an immense Ottoman Empire

Digitized by Google

that was to embrace all Asiatic peoples and countries with which the Turks could claim, in the past or in the present, the slightest racial or historical connection, including India on the strength of a common Turanian ancestry with the Moghuls and other Mohamedan conquerors who had once ruled over India. The Turkish Nationalists welcome, of course, the support of their Mohamedan co-religionists wherever it is forthcoming. But even when they themselves revert, as the rulers of Constantinople reverted during the war on a grand scale, to the Hamidian policy of massacre in order to exterminate Christian minorities, they are careful to explain that these have got to be eliminated, not on religious grounds, but because their existence threatens the safety of the ruling Turkish race.

Can the alliance between Turkish Nationalism and the Indian Mohamedans who have sought to identify the cause of Islam with it endure? The Caliphate movement is no doubt largely controlled by the same revolutionary and destructive forces which the extremist wing of Indian Nationalism represents amongst the Hindus. But for the bulk of Indian Mohamedans, conservative and law-abiding, who have been carried away by it, it doubtless stands for a great religious cause. It may be regarded as a form of religious revivalism. It may also be inspired, as some Hindus are beginning to realize, by a distant hope of restoring Mohamedan domination some day in India, when it shall have joined hands across Asia with a Pan-Turanian Turkey. But it lacks the essential characteristics of a Nationalist movement. It does not derive in any way from the sense of common nationhood which the Nationalists in Egypt or in Arabia claim to have imbibed from the West, and which is already beginning to stir more faintly the Arabs of Tunis and Algeria and Morocco. Wherever the people are Mohamedans, religious antagonism stimulates their impatience of alien political domination; but the one peculiar link that seems to connect Turkish Nationalism with Indian Mohamedanism, besides the temporary conjunction of a spirit of revolt against the British *Raj* amongst Indian Mohamedan extremists and Kemalist bitterness against England as the only one of the Allies who cannot apparently be bought off with economic concessions, is a certain affinity of temperament due to the common Central Asian origin of the ruling race in Turkey and of the conquerors who brought Islam into India.

I have already trespassed too long on your indulgence, and I have hardly or not at all touched upon many other noteworthy movements in the Mohamedan world. No one has, I think, made of them a more careful and exhaustive study than that which a distinguished American writer, Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, has recently published under the title of "The New World of Islam." The conclusion at which he arrives is that, take them all in all, these movements are

Digitized by Google

destined to regenerate Islam and to endow it with a vitality with which the West will have very seriously to reckon when it once more puts forth its united strength as a "new world of Islam." With all due deference to so competent an authority, I venture to think that neither history nor the conflicting character of many of these movements supports such a conclusion. I do not underrate the potency of the underlying sense of religious brotherhood amongst Mohamedans of different races and sects and schools of thought, nor the old militant spirit, seldom more than dormant beneath a surface of passive fatalism. But the brotherhood of Islam has never been translated into united action since the followers of the Prophet founded kingdoms and empires altogether transcending the modest limits of the primitive tribal state from which they emerged. Even when Islam still bore the impress of its Arab origin, successive Caliphates rose and fell in strife and confusion. The Ottoman Empire was largely built up on their ruins, and surcharged Islam with the Central Asian stamp under which we have chiefly known it for the last six or seven hundred years. The outward observances of Islam have never effaced the difference between the Semitic mind, with its rich intellectual endowment and its potential capacity for progress, so brilliantly illustrated during the great period of Saracenic civilization, and the Turanian or Turkish mind, with its stolid obduracy to all the cultural influences which make up a vital civilization, and its inveterate tendency to relapse into Central Asian savagery.

One cannot view without some apprehension the muster of retrograde forces under cover of Turkish Nationalism at Angora and of the Caliphate movement in India, but it is essential to discriminate between them and the more progressive forces which over a much wider area, extending from Northern Africa to the Asiatic shores of the Pacific, are working, one must hope, towards a synthesis which shall bring East and West together in the interests of racial and religious peace, despite the profound differences that still divide them.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have listened with rapt attention to the brilliant historical sketch of Sir Valentine Chirol, who with his great knowledge and great ability has described the rise of Turkey to the hegemony of Islam, and also the later development of Pan-Islamism and its connection with Islam in India. I think most of you generally agree with the fidelity of his historical retrospect. If I may say so, there is just one point in which I think he has not done justice to the work of Islam in India. Islam came in undoubtedly as the religion of the conquerors, attracted by the wealth of India. But the Moghul

Digitized by Google

Emperors—at least, at the time of Akbar and his successors—did a great deal in India to establish the foundations of a regular administration, the foundations which we ourselves built upon and maintained. Also, the progress of Islam in India did a wonderful work for the lower and depressed classes in India by helping to raise their status. The fact that Islam in theory looks upon all Mohamedans as equal before God had a powerful effect as a solvent to the exclusiveness and rigidity of the Hindu caste system in India; and in these two ways, socially and administratively, Islam under the Moghul Emperors did a great work in India—a work which we carried on. I will say a few words about the development of the Pan-Islamic movement. It is curious to observe how the growth of the Pan-Islamic movement was fostered in her own interest by Germany as a means of causing embarrassment in the future to the British Empire; and it is curious to see history repeating itself, because at the present time Pan-Islamism, in so far as it is associated with the Angora Turks, is, if not encouraged, at least not discouraged by some of our recent Allies for perhaps exactly similar reasons—*i.e.*, as a means of bringing pressure to bear upon Great Britain and making her accept peace terms which would fall in more with the views of those Allies. As regards the Pan-Islamic movement in India, I agree with Sir Valentine Chirol's description of its origin by that astute diplomatist and politician, Abdul Hamid. He encouraged and developed it to prop up a shaking throne, and he found people ready to his hand in India to carry on this propaganda. But the movement in India—and I have seen it from the beginning—is really a fictitious one, which has spread, especially in recent years, because we did not adopt a firm or reasonable policy in dealing with it. We allowed free play to open rebels like the Ali brothers, and men like Dr. Kichlu, who returned from Germany to India in 1915, probably to act as a link between Germany and the Pan-Islamic movement—we allowed free play to these people to propagate their views and preach rebellion. In the circumstances it is surprising that among a credulous and ignorant people a movement which was represented as a religious movement, did not attain even greater success. To show how fictitious the movement was, I will quote the words of one of the leaders of the Pan-Islamic movement in India, Mr. Fazl Ul Hak, a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. Speaking at Dacca in December, 1920, of some of his brother-leaders, he said: "There are some of the leaders of this Caliphate movement who frankly confess to me that they do not care a brass farthing for the Caliphate, but that their whole object is to bring back the days of anarchist outrages and thereby pave the way for revolution in India." That momentous admission was made about eight months before the outbreak of the Moplah rebellion, and in a way it is prophetic. It

Digitized by Google

shows the object of these people is not to benefit Islam, still less to benefit Turkey; but to subvert British government in India. But the traditional loyalty of the average Mohamedan in India and his knowledge of the benefits of British rule enabled him to withstand the insidious propaganda which for years had been preached; and a wonderful example of Mohamedan staunchness and loyalty is the fact that during the war the Mohamedans, though only one-fifth of the population of India, supplied one-third of the combatant recruits who went to fight their battles against their Mohamedan foes. Another very significant fact is this. The Mohamedans of the Punjab contain some of the best fighting races; they form only one-sixth of the total Mohamedan population of India, about 11 millions; but they supplied 180,000 combatant recruits—that is, three-fourths of the total Mohamedan recruits raised in India. No people hold their religion more sacred, or are more careful in its observance. Hundreds to whom I spoke on their return from Mesopotamia and Palestine expressed their disgust for the Turks because of their laxness in religious matters. They rallied to our call, though we told them they would have to fight against the Turks in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and they were proof against the attempts made on their loyalty. Later on, the Gandhi movement developed; and Gandhi for his own purposes associated himself with the Caliphate propaganda, and thereby gave it a very powerful impulse; but these same Mohamedans remained true to their salt. I think it is very important in dealing with movements of this kind to remember the old line of poetry, "The shallows murmur, but the deeps are dumb." We hear a lot of the Ali brothers and other fanatical and seditious "leaders," and see the whole Mohamedan press stirred up on behalf of Turkey; but really, below the surface, we find the masses very largely untouched by this propaganda, and still retaining their old feeling of loyalty and respect to the Government which has respected and protected their religion. If we handle them in the proper way and save them from these covert and overt attempts to sap their loyalty and subvert British rule in India, there need be no doubt as to their attitude to us. One remark I would like to make about the alliance between Gandhi and the Caliphate leaders, because that alliance has enormously increased our difficulties. Gandhi has given his benediction to the Caliphate movement, and the Caliphate movement has supplied the element of physical force which supplements the "soul force" on which Gandhi professes to rely. Sir Valentine Chirol has the advantage of having seen Mr. Gandhi—an advantage which Mr. Gandhi offered to me, but which I declined. I told him in April, 1919, when he wished to enter the Punjab, that if he did not go back to Bombay he would be arrested. He went back to Bombay, and for

Digitized by Google

three years remained unmolested, doing all the mischief he could. Sir Valentine Chirol thinks he is an honest fanatic. Many people think so; but, after many inquiries from people in very close touch with him, both British and Indian, I believe him to be a most astute hypocrite. My last authority is an old friend, a very advanced Irish Nationalist. I met him in India two years ago; he had come to India for a particular object, and to carry out that object he had to get into close touch with Gandhi and the extremists. He came to see me, and I said: "Tell me your honest opinion of Gandhi." "Well," he said, "I came to India with the highest idea of Gandhi, looking on him as a man of the loftiest ideals seeking to secure the regeneration of his country. I have been in close contact with him for a fortnight; I have seen him with the mask on—and it is generally on—but I have seen him also with the mask off. Now, if you would like to have my final view, that man is the most consummate hypocrite that has ever deluded a credulous people or fooled a cowardly Government." (Applause.) Personally, I prefer to this canting hypocrisy the open hostility of the Ali brothers, which is a thing you can deal with. You can meet it by the law, or, if necessary, by resort to force; and I prefer that to the covert treachery of a man like Gandhi, who has peace on his lips, but who has been responsible for the loss of thousands of lives. I think the audience showed its entire accord with the remarks of Sir Valentine as to the manner in which this very dangerous movement had been allowed to develop and to cause bloodshed and so much injury and loss of life and property in India. Nothing could be a more complete exposure of the methods of the Ali brothers, of the Caliphate people, than the speech of Sir William Vincent from which Sir Valentine quoted. I have never heard a more eloquent description of their misdeeds; but, like Sir Valentine, I marvel that these misdeeds have been so long allowed to go on unchecked. Probably those who have been in India more recently than I can tell us there is another side to the case, and that there was some reason for allowing rebellion to be preached openly and leading thousands of people to ruin and death.

We ought to try and derive from the very instructive lecture we have heard this evening some lesson for the future. There is no doubt we have got on the wrong side of a large part of the Mohamedan world—not so much the masses, but the political and vocal Mohamedans. We have to put ourselves right. I think we have pursued a wrong policy in the past. We have made in times of crisis promises such as we ought never to have made, and have held out hopes which we are now quite unable to fulfil. Now a large portion of the Mohamedans are thoroughly suspicious of us, and even the further concessions given to Turkey at

Digitized by Google

the various recent conferences do not seem to allay their suspicions, because there is a section of those Mohamedans which does not want a settlement, but is intent on bringing about rebellion and revolution. But the point I want to bring out is the view of the average Indian and loyal Mohamedan. At the end of the war, when the Paris Conference began, I was asked to ascertain the voice of the reasonable Mohamedans. I had kept in close touch with them during the war, looked to them to maintain peace and order and furnish recruits, and had my best friends among them. When I was asked to report on their attitude as regards the peace terms to Turkey, I wrote: "The view of reasonable Mohamedans is this: the Central Powers have brought ruin on themselves and their peoples by an unjust war. Germany and Austria have been broken up, their dynasties are gone, their armies and navies are shattered. Bulgaria will be shorn for the benefit of Serbia, Greece, and Roumania. Turkey, who threw in her lot with our defeated enemies, must be prepared for a similar fate. Indian Mohamedans, while having a sentimental sympathy with the fallen Mohamedan Empire, yet feel that she has brought this on herself, but that the shadow at least of the Turkish Empire should be retained to save the face of Islam. Indian Mohamedans are prepared for a British Protectorate in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and for autonomy in Europe, Palestine, and Armenia. What they want to retain is Turkish sovereignty for Constantinople—at least nominally—as the seat of the Turkish Empire, and over the Turkish provinces and Asia Minor. They would even accept conditions and limitations being imposed on that sovereignty in the interests of good government. But to eject the Turks from Constantinople and the small surrounding areas in Europe would arouse resentment and might lead to fanatical and anti-Christian feeling."

I think that is a fairly accurate summary of the views expressed to me by the Punjabi Mohamedans three years ago; it is practically what now, after three years' delay, has been proposed in the recent conferences. Had these terms been proposed when the question was first raised three years ago, they would have been accepted by all Mohamedans; but now suspicions have been aroused, charges of bad faith have been brought forward, and we have to try and re-establish confidence. That can only be done by openly stating that those terms are what we consider best in the interests of the Allies and of Turkey after we have taken into consideration all the services of Indian Mohamedans during the war. In making these concessions, we should state that they represent concessions to the feelings of reasonable Mohamedans, especially those who helped us in the war, and who have the best right to be heard; but that we are not going to allow the Mohamedans of India or anyone else to dictate to us what the terms of settlement shall be. (Applause.)

Digitized by Google

Sir GRAHAM BOWER: My Lord,—I have the misfortune to differ from Sir Valentine Chirol in his opinions of both Islam and the Turks, but I readily associate myself with the feeling of gratitude which I am sure animates you all towards him for his eloquent, cultured, and able exposition of the case against Islam and the Turks. To me personally his address gives great gratification because I feel now that I know the case against the Turks, which has been stated with a culture, a knowledge, and an eloquence that cannot be surpassed. It is impossible for me in the few words that I can address to you to rival that eloquence or to compete with him by presenting an equally able, intelligible, and cultured exposition of the case for Islam and the Turks. But I may at once say that I differ from him both in the aims and in the history that he sets forth. First, then, as to aims. He regretted that the Sèvres Treaty was the one treaty which had not enforced the penalties of the war. Here we come to the root of the matter. I hold that the aim of a war is not to enforce penalties, but to secure peace; and I have behind me every authority on war from St. Augustine to the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Foch, who all declared the aim of war to be to secure peace, and if this is not the aim, war is not worth fighting. We were told during the war, "Never again"; we were fighting to secure peace. That was our aim during the war, and it should be our aim now. The test to be applied to every treaty made at Paris or elsewhere is, Does it or does it not secure peace? The next point I make is that the Turks have been indicted as conquerors in the past. True; but is there any other nation such an indictment could not be framed against? Have not the English done something in the way of conquest in their past history? Can you point to a single nation in Europe that has not at some time or other in its past history been a conqueror? What about England? What about France? What about Spain? What about Portugal? What about Germany? What about any country—Russia or any other? Have not all nations at one time or other been conquerors? If conquest is a crime, I am afraid England must stand in the dock. But there is another charge made against them; Islam and the Turks are accused of arrogance and intolerance. I deny that; I deny their arrogance and their intolerance. There is a book—I am at some little difficulty in addressing you, for although I am addressing the Central Asian Society, I am not sure that you know your Koran as you do your Bibles, and so you must pardon me if I make some reference to the Koran and quote chapter and verse. I will not assume that you know the Koran by heart. Now, the first point is the attitude of Islam towards Christianity, and on that point Mahomet himself is very clear. First as to the position as to Christ Himself; this is taken from the chapter entitled "The Table" from Sale's translation of the Koran: "And in the footsteps of the Prophet caused we Jesus the son of Mary to follow, confirming the law which

Digitized by Google

was before him: and we gave him the evangel with its guidance and light, confirmatory of the preceding law, a guidance and warning to those who fear God." Next we find in the chapter called "The Cow": "Verily those who believe, Moslems and they who follow the Jewish religion and the Christians and the Sabeites" (the Sabeit religion, I am told, was something like the Persian religion; they were something like the Parsees of to-day: they worshipped the stars and other heavenly bodies)—"whoever of these believe in God in the last day and doeth that which is right, shall have their reward with their Lord. Fear shall not come upon them, neither shall they be grieved." I do not know any other religion in the world which has such a tolerant attitude towards other and rival religions. And this is not merely an extract from a sacred book; you must remember that this book, the Koran, is not merely the sacred book of Moslems—it is the law, and Moslems observe the law—observe the law better and more faithfully than many Christians. Now, Mahomet may be said in his later years to have departed from this attitude towards Christianity. Well, at Medina, after the flight from Mecca to Medina, he found a Mohamedan thrashing a Jew; he stopped him, and he said: "Whoever ill-treats a Jew or a Christian will find me his accuser at the Day of Judgment"; and the sayings of Mahomet are almost as sacred as the word of the Koran. Now let us go a step farther. Mahomet died on the 8th of June, 632; Constantinople was taken on the 29th of May, 1453. Mohamed II., in taking Constantinople, recognized the Greek Patriarch as ruler of his own people in all matters relating to marriage, inheritance, and divorce. He practically set up an *imperium in imperio;* he gave the Greeks full freedom of religion, and he did the same with others, and the Turks have done the same to every ecclesiastical authority—to the Bulgarian Exarch, to the Armenian Catholicos—to everybody, in fact, at the head of a religion in Turkey. Philip Marshall, Professor of the University at Princeton, says the Patriarchs became even, in this sense, political authorities acting in place of the Ottoman authority, and to this extent may be considered as chiefs of their respective nations. The Turk granted an autonomy to each of the races of the people. Now, it is said that these nations have been oppressed. Who have been the prosperous people in Turkey? Who have made fortunes in Turkey? The Greeks, the Armenians, the Jews, the Christians; the Turk has not made much of a fortune. It is true that he fails alike as a merchant, as a financier, and as a politician; and anybody acquainted with Eastern finance would not be disposed to blame the Turk very much if he fails to compete in Eastern finance or Eastern politics with the various practitioners of those pursuits. He is a soldier and an agriculturist. As a soldier he is a clean fighter; as an agriculturist he is an industrious and honest man. But it has been said that there is this feeling; what does it come to? He was

Digitized by Google

a conqueror long ago; he is no longer a conqueror. The Turkish question may be summed up in two lines:

"Cet animal est très mechant
Quand on l'attaque il se defend."

For years past the Turk has been on his defence—on his defence against Russia, against Austria, against Germany, against all the Powers trying to stir up trouble in the Balkans, in European Turkey and Asia Minor; and they are at it now. We know something of the difficulties made by foreign agitation in a neighbouring country. I fancy Sir Michael O'Dwyer is a full-blooded Irishman—I cannot claim that honour, I am only half Irish, but I was born in Ireland, and in my native country I know something of what foreign agitators can do. I know something of what American money can do in Ireland; and if you have not one but five nations stirring up agitation in your country, how are you going to carry on the Government? Then, by way of settling it, we have let loose the Greeks! Now, I may say this—I have been two years in Greece, and I say that if there is one race that is detested above all others by the Turks it is the Greeks. The Greeks are hated by the Bulgarians; they are hated even by the Serbians who are their allies now. It is as if you set an Orangeman to govern the South of Ireland; Sir Michael O'Dwyer can tell us what the result would be! If you gave the Orangemen leave to conquer Ireland, what would happen? What has happened in Turkey? I have got here—I will not trouble to read it, but I have got here the report of the Carnegie Commission on the Balkan wars. An impartial inquiry was held by an International Commission as to the conduct of the various races in the Balkan wars. There are extracts from the report of that inquiry which I dare not read to a mixed audience—I dare not. But the horrors were such that they left bitter memories behind them, and when the Greeks landed at Smyrna the Turks knew what to expect. What did they get? The report of the Inter-Allied Commission at Smyrna has been suppressed; the report of Commission after Commission has been suppressed. News has come to England which has not been published, but we get sometimes a little news from other sources. This is the report of the Red Cross Commissioner in the Peninsula of Ismid; it is not a Moslem document. The Red Cross is not a Mohamedan society, it is a Christian society; and what does this Christian Red Cross commissioner say? He writes, in French: "La mission est arrivé à la conclusion que des éléments de l'armée grecque d'occupation pour suivaient depuis deux mois l'extermination de la presqu'ile. Les constatations faites—incendies de villages massacres, terreur des habitants coincidences de lieux et de dates—ne laissent place à aucun doute à cet égard. Les atrocités que nous avons vu ou dont nous avons vu les traces étaient le fait de bandes irrégulières

Digitized by Google

de civils armés (tcheti) et d'unités encadrées de l'armée régulière. Nous n'avons pas eu connaissance de cas où ces méfaits aient été empêches ou punis par le commandement militaire. Les bandes au lieu d'être désarmées et dissipées étaint secondées dans leur action et collaboraient la main dans la main avec les unités régulières encadrées."

We have it on the authority of Mr. Toynbee that a large number of villages have been destroyed in Asia Minor. In Thrace 80,000 people have gone, and are refugees in Constantinople. Is it any wonder that the unfortunate Moslems are defending themselves with desperation against their enemies? Surely this is not the road to peace, to justice, to humanity; and if our war was not waged to secure peace, justice, and humanity, then the men who have died all over the world have died in vain. (Applause.)

Sir Wolseley Haig: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will not trouble you very long. We have been favoured with a quotation from the Koran which is beside the point. I never understood the lecturer to say that Islam was intolerant: he said the Turk was intolerant. We know the history of the Arabs in Spain. They were tolerant, but the Turks are not. We have been told the Greeks are evil people. I did not understand Sir Valentine Chirol to say they were better than the Turks, but the Greeks did not massacre the Armenians, and the Turks did.

Major Melas: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is indeed a great audacity on my part to attempt to talk to you, knowing English as little as I do. Being unknown to you, I must present myself as the ex-secretary of King Constantine, which post I resigned when His Majesty refused to fulfil his obligations towards our Allies the Serbs. I then went to the front, in Macedonia, to fight on your side.

As a Greek soldier I feel I must protest highly against what has just been said about the Greeks by Sir Graham Bower. I am sorry I did not know what would be said here, and therefore I am not prepared to answer, and there would be much to be said.

Concerning what Sir Graham said on the alleged and long in advance planned massacre by the Greeks at the landing of the Greek army at Smyrna, which allegation is absolutely false, I could have produced a letter written in 1919 by M. Vénisélos to M. Clémenceau about that event. It has since been proved quite clearly that, on the contrary, it was a regular ambush of the Young Turks, encouraged by the intrigues of a certain Great Power who did not wish to see the Greeks occupy Smyrna. The Allies have proofs of it in their hands.

Received with rifle-shots fired from the barracks, the Governor's palace, and the adjoining Turkish houses, the Greek troops had to reply in the midst of a numerous crowd of people: 163 casualties were reported, 63 of which were fatal cases. Of the total number 78 were Turks, 62 Greeks, and the rest belonging to different nationalities.

Digitized by Google

All survivors were indemnified at once, and some Greek culprits severely punished, three of them even by death.

I ask you, can such incidents be compared with the known organized Turkish atrocities in cold blood, with massacres and deportations *en masse*, whose victims amount to hundreds of thousands during only these last five or six months? Can there be any comparison?

I have nothing here with which to answer the other allegations of Sir Graham Bower; I shall only say that he quoted from the Koran only one quotation which suited his views, whilst it is known that the Koran preaches the doctrine of war as a duty against all other religions.

About the Red Cross's report I do not know much; but as for the Carnegie one, I do know by whom and for what purpose it has been written.

I wonder how people can still be so mistaken, and how anyone can yet speak, at the very moment when such unheard-of crimes are committed by the Kemalists, in defence of those very Turks.

I only wished, my Lord, as a Greek soldier, to protest emphatically, and I shall always do so, against any comparison between Greeks and Turks.

The CHAIRMAN: I think at this late hour I will do no more than ask Sir Valentine Chirol to reply.

The LECTURER: I will say two words only. First of all, I entirely agree with my friend Sir Michael O'Dwyer as to the great part that the Moghul Emperors played in developing the administration of the country. I could touch only on one aspect of Akbar's constructive statesmanship, but I am quite aware that we owe a great deal to him in our system of revenue administration.

With regard to Sir Graham Bower's remarks, they were mostly, I fear, beside the point. I have never attacked Islam; what I deeply deplore is that the cause of Islam should be associated with the cause of Turkey. I think no greater mistake has been made by my Indian Mohamedan friends than to identify themselves, as they have done, with the Turks, who have acted as a blight upon Islam, and as a blight upon every country that has come under their rule.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure we are greatly indebted to the gentlemen who have taken part in the discussion. In a complex question like this there must be very divergent views, and we have had the various points of view very ably expressed. I do not know how we can sufficiently thank Sir Valentine Chirol for the most admirable, lucid, and eloquent address that he has given us. I think we have all been under the spell of his eloquence, and have highly appreciated the most informing review that he has given us of the whole of the problems in the Mohamedan world. (Applause.) Our most hearty thanks are due to him for his having been good enough to come here this afternoon.

Digitized by Google

THE ANNUAL DINNER

The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay was the guest of honour at the annual dinner of the Society held at the Imperial Restaurant on July 6, 1922. The Right Hon. Viscount Peel, Secretary of State for India, presided.

Viscount Peel, in proposing the toast of the guest of the evening, said he desired first to express both on his own behalf and on theirs great satisfaction that the President of the Society, Lord Curzon, was almost restored to health and would soon return to his duties at the Foreign Office. (Cheers.) He spoke as having been a humble member of the Central Asian Society for some years, and the name had always struck him as apt and showing admirable forethought. For the Society existed to attract attention to and study the great subjects of discussion the central parts of Asia provided. In the past few years those regions had provided abundant material for this purpose, and the Society had served the fare admirably. He was not quite certain what, in the view of the Society, Central Asia meant. He saw around him many distinguished Anglo-Indian soldiers and officials, and he did not think that when they embarked upon their duties and signed their covenants that they were under the impression that they were taking a plunge into Central Asia. But in the past few years the Society had discussed problems relating to India, China, Japan, Arabia, and Palestine, and at least on one occasion had gone outside the Continent of Asia altogether. Their guest had told him that though his original intention was to speak of some of the Himalayan gateways into Central Asia, he had been asked to go down into the plains of India. This being so he would say little himself in regard to India. But he would like to say that in regard to the problems of India he had been reading two notable volumes in the last few weeks. The first was the first volume of a history of Indian civilization by Mr. Chandra Das Gupta, a most competent man, whose second volume would compare the results of that philosophy with those that had been arrived at by thinkers in the West. The second work he had been reading was the vast history of India planned on a truly Cambridge scale in six gigantic volumes, the first of which he had been perusing. He had been told that it was difficult to collect the materials for this period because the Brahmans of old days were chiefly absorbed in things of the spirit, and were

Digitized by Google

detached from such external matters as wars, politics, or business. History had become a more and more extensive subject, and he thought a rather dangerous subject. He was not quite sure it ought to be taught in the schools at all—(laughter)—because people with political designs always were able to call ancient history in aid of their particular policy and ideas. He knew many cases in which the most destructive claims were founded on particular readings of historical discoveries and research, but he had never known any single national claim or policy which had been renounced because history in the past had pronounced most definitely against it. Their Chairman of Council, Lord Carnock, was a very distinguished representative of the old diplomacy. (Cheers.) He had confided to him just now that he was not an intense admirer of the new diplomacy. (Laughter.) In his day we used a great deal the phrase "spheres of influence," which Lord Carnock told him was a most useful diplomatic phrase for anybody or nation, and one that would cover almost any claim. For this reputable phrase we had substituted to-day the term "mandate," which nobody understood, though we had the great assistance of the League of Nations for the purposes of definition. In regard to another current phrase, it would be an interesting speculation to show the relation of "national homes" to the nations in which those homes were planted. (Laughter.) The subject would lend itself to much speculation and very learned analysis.

With their guest of this evening, just retired from a successful five years' Governorship of Bengal—(cheers)—he had three points of contact, and almost a fourth. He lived in London almost opposite to him; they were together for many years in the House of Commons; and in Scotland they each had for years an adjoining forest. Before going out to Bengal Lord Ronaldshay had travelled widely, observed carefully, and written voluminously. In the India Office Library there was a whole shelf which groaned under these gigantic works of their guest. He could assure him that they were perpetually consulted in the India Office, and that they formed the daily and ordinary reading of members of the India Council. (Laughter.) It would be interesting to hear what he had to say about India, but he was not sure it would not be even more interesting to hear what Lord Ronaldshay had to say of the changes he found at home after five years' absence. He found them much poorer than when he left England, with very heavy taxation and with their ranks thinned by the war; but he would also have found that we supported our difficulties by sustaining cheerfulness, and he found us in many ways little altered. The old thirst for honours seemed to be almost as strong as when he left five years ago. (Laughter and cheers.) He found us still talking with the same energy and enthusiasm as we

Digitized by Google

did twenty years ago about the reform of the House of Lords, and he found also the newspapers describing the House of Commons, in pre-war language, as a servile body. His Governorship had been passed in a time of extraordinary and exceptional interest in the history of India. It was one of his duties to introduce and establish the constitutional reforms in Bengal, those reforms of which many there to-night, including, he thought, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, had such a very high opinion. (Laughter.) He was the one man who could tell them exactly what diarchy meant, how it worked, and how convenient it was to have in your Cabinet some men responsible to yourself and others responsible to the elected Legislature. He had brought back with him a great reputation as a Governor, and he hoped many other activities in public life still stood before him. Recently he (Lord Peel) received a letter from a friend in India regarding a Governorship, and wrote: "Send us a Ronaldshay and then all will be well." For an individual in his own lifetime to be converted into a species was one of the most remarkable tributes that could be given to any man. (Cheers.)

Lord RONALDSHAY, who was enthusiastically greeted, said that it was quite true that when he received their kind invitation he had some doubts as to whether India came within the scope of the activities of the Society, and it seemed to him that it would be appropriate if he spoke of the Chumbi Valley and Sikkim and Bhutan, little known States which might claim to be gateways into Central Asia, and which ran along the Northern frontiers of Bengal. But when he mentioned his intention to a member of the Society it was received with such obvious disapproval that he asked what was expected of him. The answer was that he would be expected to talk about India.

They had heard a great deal in recent times of unrest in India, and he would be the last to deny that the relations between Government and the governed had not infrequently been the cause of considerable anxiety. During his five years in Bengal he was faced with two distinct movements, the object of which was the destruction of British rule in India. The first was the anarchical movement which worked secretly underground and which was consequently extremely difficult to deal with. The second was the more openly seditious attempt to overthrow the existing Government in India, which was known by its author as the Satyagraha movement, but which became more generally known to the public under the term of non-violent non-co-operation. This title unhappily it too often belied, for the non-violence was frequently conspicuous by its absence, and its activities were prone to break out in open violence. The first of these two movements had been in progress for some years when he went to Bengal. It had resulted in the assassination of a large number of

Digitized by Google

officials, mainly police officers, and also of non-officials, such as loyal headmasters of Indian schools and persons who had gone into the witness box and given evidence in anarchical cases. Attempts had been made upon the lives of the highest officials in the land, from that of a Lieutenant-Governor to those of a district magistrate and a district judge.

He claimed to be a man of peace, but no one responsible for the maintenance of law and order could very well sit with folded hands when faced with occurrences of that kind. It became obvious to him as soon as he reached Bengal that the paramount duty which awaited him was to stamp out, if possible, the anarchical movement. Their great difficulty was that they could not bring cases against these persons into court, for the simple reason that they exercised so great a power of terrorization that members of the general public were unwilling to come forward as witnesses and give evidence against them. Fortunately the war had produced in India something equivalent to the measure which in this country was euphemistically known as "Dora." The Defence of India Act, as it was called, enabled them under certain safeguards to proceed against and lock up persons with anarchical designs without first going through the form of procedure of a trial in the ordinary courts. During the earlier years of his time in Bengal it was his unfortunate duty to have so to intern rather more than 1,000 persons, mostly young men of the student class.

Of course the Bengal Government were violently and vehemently attacked both from the platform and in the press. They were told that they were a tyrannous Government cutting off in their youthful prime the lives of the flower of Bengal. No one was more conscious than he was himself that the action they were compelled to take was of a very drastic and unusual character which must inevitably excite criticism. But he and his advisers knew that they were proceeding upon evidence which was unassailable, and they expressed their willingness to submit every case of the young men interned under the provisions of the Act to an impartial tribunal. Such a tribunal was set up and consisted of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, late Judge of the Bombay High Court, and Mr. Justice Beechcroft, of the Calcutta High Court. These learned and distinguished judges spent two and a half months investigating every case of internment, and this was what they reported: "The total number of cases examined by us is 806. In six of the total number . . . we have advised Government that there are not sufficient grounds in our opinion for believing that the parties have acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety. In the rest we have advised that the parties have, in our opinion, so acted." The police of India were accustomed daily to abuse and vituperation of every kind from the Indian Press, but

Digitized by Google

he ventured to say that no police in the world under similar circumstances would have passed through such an ordeal with greater credit than the Bengal police did. (Cheers.) Some two years after the adoption of these measures anarchical crime in Bengal ceased.

Later, however, came the cult of so-called non-violent non-co-operation. Mr. Gandhi's object was precisely the same as that of the Bengal anarchist—namely, the destruction of British rule; but the movement was much more widespread, because Mr. Gandhi was shrewd enough to fasten on the many discontents which inevitably arose out of the aftermath of the great war. For instance, there was the Mohamedan grievance over the terms of peace with Turkey. More formidable still, there was the economic stress which the people in India, in common with every other people in the world, found themselves subjected to also as a result of the war. Mr. Gandhi and his followers were extremely shrewd in the efforts they made, with no little success, to capture the imagination and the sympathies of the uneducated masses. Therein indeed lay the great danger of the Gandhi movement. Many other political movements had risen and fallen in India in the past, but it was not often that a great political leader in India had succeeded to the extent Mr. Gandhi had in capturing the ignorant masses. The first of the cards played by his supporters for this purpose was the superstition of the average Indian peasant. Stories were circulated of the miraculous powers of Mr. Gandhi, until vast numbers of people actually believed that he was an incarnation of God. By way of example he would relate a story typical of the tales which were not only widely circulated but as widely believed. A villager in Bihar was invited by one of Mr. Gandhi's lieutenants to make a contribution to the non-co-operation war chest. He not only refused to part with his money, but he was unwise enough to say some sarcastic things about Mr. Gandhi and his programme. Later on, hearing of the supernatural powers which Mr. Gandhi was supposed to exercise, he became apprehensive, and in order to put himself right with the powers of the unseen world he invited a large number of Brahmans to a feast—a very ordinary way of purchasing immunity against divine wrath in India. The Brahmans came in large numbers, and the dishes were brought in. When the covers were removed, instead of the succulent delicacies which had been provided, the food was found to have been turned into blood. That story was told to a very large gathering of people in one of the open spaces in Calcutta, by a man who claimed that he was himself an inhabitant of the village in which this miracle occurred. That was one of many examples he could give of the stories that were told with the design of capturing the imagination of the masses.

Another card played was the economic card. Mr. Gandhi's followers preached through the length and breadth of the land the

Digitized by Google

imminence of a golden age when Mr. Gandhi would be king, when the British would be driven into the sea, and when neither rent nor taxes would any longer have to be paid. It was small wonder that he received reports from his officers in every part of the Presidency stating that this item in the non-co-operation programme was proving to be a singularly attractive one, and that there was a widespread tendency on the part of the cultivators to anticipate the date of the arrival of so glorious a golden age. His hearers might find it hard to believe that people could be so easily deluded, yet the fact remained that one of the most difficult problems with which he had to deal last winter was in persuading the peasant villager that he had still to pay his rent and his taxes; for it was firmly rooted in his mind that if only he could hold on a few days longer without paying them he would be tided over to this glorious era when rents and taxes would be no more. Another serious development of the past twelve or eighteen months was the formation of national volunteer corps to carry out the work of the non-co-operation party.

The non-co-operators did a great many foolish things. For instance, they were responsible for the Moplah rebellion, which, if it did nothing else, at least gave the Hindus furiously to think. But they reached the height of their folly when they decided to boycott the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. He used the term "folly" advisedly, because, although it was true that by so doing they added enormously to the anxieties and work of Government at a time when these were sufficiently great, he could not imagine anything that was better calculated to consolidate opinion in this country against them than the decision to boycott the Royal visit. (Cheers.) They began with sanguinary outbreaks in Bombay city on the day of the arrival of His Royal Highness, and there were threats of similar riots in other parts of India to mark the Royal progress. The volunteer corps were enlisted by Mr. Gandhi and his friends in order to ensure the carrying out of this cheerful programme. Hence it was that he and his colleagues in Bengal were confronted with a situation in which there was no option but to act, to strike and strike quickly, and at the same time as hard as they could at the volunteer corps. Accordingly the Bengal Government proclaimed these corps to be unlawful associations. Many of the corps defied the proclamation, and Government had no option but to proceed against them. During the few weeks which elapsed between the arrival of the Prince in Bombay and his anticipated visit to Calcutta, it was his (Lord Ronaldshay's) most unhappy lot to have to cast into prison in Calcutta alone some 3,000 or 4,000 members of these volunteer corps. He did not deny that that put him into some difficulty. In the first place his jails very soon overflowed, and he was confronted with the problem as to where the overflow was to be housed. He was fortunate in securing

Digitized by Google

large warehouse accommodation in the growing docks of Calcutta, and in housing about 1,000 persons there. Still the arrested persons came, and he found himself compelled to embark on the construction of a prison camp capable of holding at least 5,000 people. When the Government once decided to take drastic action of that kind they knew that they had to see the matter through. (Cheers.) The mistake the non-co-operators made was in supposing that Government had not foreseen the difficulties which would probably arise out of the policy which had to be adopted. It had to be shown to the non-co-operators that they had made a mistake, and he was thankful to say that by the time he left India the non-co-operation movement had undergone a very remarkable slump. (Cheers.) So far as the Royal visit to Calcutta was concerned, he had no hesitation in saying that the real feeling of the people of Bengal found adequate expression. There was some little hesitation on the part of the rather timid Bengali to come into the streets on the first day of the visit, but they found that nothing terrible happened to them when they did come out. So the crowds grew, and they came in their thousands and hundreds of thousands. He was told by those who had seen the great pageant on the maidan in Calcutta which had been organized for the previous Royal visit at the time of the Durbar, that there was not one whit less of a crowd on the maidan to welcome the Prince of Wales than that which assembled to greet his father ten years earlier. (Cheers.) He did not wish to indulge in odious comparisons, but he might at least claim for the credit of Calcutta that in Calcutta alone of the three Presidency cities the entertainments organized for the reception of His Royal Highness were not added to by the unrehearsed *tamashas* which greeted him both in Bombay and Madras.

We should be guilty of poor statesmanship, however, if we were satisfied merely with quelling disturbances as they arose, and took no trouble to try to understand the underlying causes of such disturbances. Indian unrest was a very complex thing, which derived its power from many sources. One was the Mohamedan discontent, and it was very notable that while the Mohamedans were entirely absent from the earlier anarchical movement in Bengal, they became one of the most formidable elements in the troubles of the last two years. To the economic stress of those years he had alluded already. There was another cause which required close attention. It seemed to him that a fundamental cause behind the anarchical and the non-co-operation movements was the revulsion amongst educated Indians against the civilization of the West. It was difficult to explain adequately in a few words what was the cause of this curious revulsion, but it undoubtedly existed. He thought the real cause of it was that the Indian outlook upon life was different from that of the Western world. The Indian was a contemplative, thoughtful,

Digitized by Google

idealistic person—they might say a spiritual person; and he was desperately afraid that his own distinctive outlook upon the universe was going to be crushed out of existence by the successful, the aggressive, and, as the Indian would describe it, the materialistic civilization which came from the West. That undoubtedly was a root cause of the present Indian discontent. He would try to illustrate the difference between East and West by an illustration taken not from the field of politics, but from the neutral field of art. The Indian artist was essentially an idealist, and when he gave expression in his art to the idea of divine omniscience painted or made a figure with a thousand eyes; if he wished to give expression to divine power, he created a figure with four or more arms. The Western critic who missed the inner meaning of these things was apt to describe such productions as monstrosities. For instance, John Ruskin wrote that Indian art "wilfully and resolutely opposed itself to all the facts and forms of Nature, and that if it attempted to represent any living creature it did so under some distorted and monstrous form." Ruskin did not grasp the fact that what were to him "the facts and forms of Nature" were to the Indian mere appearances and therefore illusory, and that the Indian was not attempting to make a photographic reproduction of what he actually saw in Nature: he was striving all the time to grasp and give expression to the reality which he believed to lie behind the appearance. This illustration from the field of art gave some idea of the difference of outlook between the Indian and the European. It was the perpetual clash of these different outlooks upon life, exacerbated by lack of understanding on the one side or the other, which was going on in every field of human activity in India that was producing so much heat at the present time. Therefore it was a matter of great importance that the Indian and the European should try more than had been the case in the past to understand one another's point of view. So long as we were charged with the duty of governing India we must unflinchingly compel respect for law and order, but in so doing we could at least endeavour to make it clear that our whole object was the preservation of peace, and that we did not desire to impose upon the Indian people an outlook upon life which they themselves rejected, that we did not desire to convert the vast Indian population, with a great and far-stretching civilization of their own behind them, into nothing but imitation Europeans. (Cheers.) If we could succeed in convincing them that this was not our object we should go very far to remove the bitterness of feeling which undoubtedly had existed of late between the two races in the country. He was compelled by circumstances to take drastic action on frequent occasions against Indian extremists—action which might naturally appear to them to mark him down as one who was not sympathetic toward their legitimate

Digitized by Google

aspirations. But side by side with action of that kind, he never lost an opportunity to make it clear to them that that was not the case, and that he had a most profound sympathy with the Indian point of view and with the aspirations which her people very properly and very naturally cherished. He felt that he had not been without his reward, for some of those Indians who had regarded his appointment to the province with dislike and misgiving had now heartily associated themselves in movements to commemorate in some permanent form his tenure of office. (Cheers.)

He was most grateful to Lord Peel for his kind expressions, and was delighted to see him in the Chair at the Central Asian Society dinner, having himself been one of the original members of the Society, and having been its Chairman for several years. He hoped the Central Asian Society might long continue to enlist into its ranks eminent statesmen such as the Secretary of State for India, even if India did not strictly come within the geographical limits described by the term of Central Asia. He was glad to have been instrumental in assisting to some extent the recent remarkable expansion which had taken place in the ranks of the Society, for he was successful in securing as members a not inconsiderable number of highly educated Bengali gentlemen. He had no doubt that the Society would always be glad to welcome to its ranks men of all races and varied creeds, provided they showed a genuine interest in the problems which it was the duty of the Society to help to solve. (Loud cheers.)

Lord CARNOCK, in proposing "The Health of the Chairman," said that he was confident the Society was well advised not to restrict its vision to the region which could be strictly defined as within the limits of Central Asia. Were they to do so they would be but a small and dull Society, and would miss the opportunity of hearing such interesting addresses on India and cognate subjects as those with which they had been favoured that evening.

The CHAIRMAN, in returning thanks, said that it was in no spirit of criticism, but rather one of respect and admiration, that he had alluded to the extent to which the Central Asian Society had developed its range and outlook. In fact it was with a feeling of great satisfaction that he saw that they had burst the narrow bonds that seemed at first to confine them and had flown over the whole of Asia. (Cheers.) Lord Peel humorously added that according to the newspapers that evening he was not likely to have any further opportunity of visiting them as Secretary of State for India. for they reported very grave dissensions in the Cabinet, and that its end was near, whether or not members of the Government kept gloves on or took them off. (Laughter and cheers.)

Digitized by Google

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE ARAB GOVERNMENT IN IRAQ

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN BAGHDAD

To understand fully the more recent developments in Iraq it is necessary to go back to the disturbances of 1920 and to trace briefly the changes which have taken place since that time. The events which led up to those disturbances and the history of the months from June to November, 1920, have been dealt with often enough, both in official documents and in non-official writings, to enable them to be passed over here, and the threads may conveniently be gathered up at the time when Sir Percy Cox arrived in the country as High Commissioner.

His first act was to take steps to lay the foundation of an Arab Government, and to that end he appointed a council to act as a provisional government until such time as the pacification of the country should be completed and it should be possible to hold elections to a national assembly. The Naqib of Baghdad was persuaded to become Prime Minister, and his prestige and the great respect in which he is universally held by both Sunnis and Shiahs did much to alleviate the council's immediate difficulties. Still, the road was by no means easy. Parts of the country were still in the hands of the military, and punitive columns were extracting rifle fines from recalcitrant tribes. In such districts British political officers still retained their executive powers, and the appointment of Arab executive officials was out of the question, while other parts of the country were almost completely out of hand. The Kurds on the north and north-east made no secret of the fact that they viewed with extreme disapproval any attempt to place them under an Arab Government, and the attitude of the Turks on the north-west frontier was not reassuring. In spite of these difficulties, however, a start was made, and Arab mutasarrifs and qaimmaqams were appointed to divisions and districts which were not in the hands of the military and where peace and order obtained. Later, as the military columns completed their work it was possible to appoint Arabs in all divisions and districts. In Mosul, however, it was not found possible to make the change for some months. A mutasarrif had been appointed to that division in the early days, but had been murdered on the day

Digitized by Google

of his arrival there, and though it is believed that there was no political motive behind this murder, yet the fact of its having occurred, combined with the attitude of the Kurds who form a very large part of the population of the Mosul division, and the activities of the Turks over the frontier and in the neighbourhood of Rawanduz, made it advisable to defer the appointment of another mutasarrif until the situation was clearer. In Hillah Division, too, though qaimmaqams were appointed to districts in May, 1921, it was the end of the year before it was found possible to find a person at the same time capable of performing the duties of mutasarrif of that troublesome division and willing to do so.

Meanwhile the home government's delay in forming a definite policy towards Iraq had led to unfortunate results. It was known that the existing government was only provisional, but it was not known whether the form of government to be set up finally was to be a monarchy or a republic, or even whether it was intended to have an Arab head of the state at all. There were some who considered it possible that there would be a national assembly and a Cabinet, but that the British High Commissioner would act as President of the Republic, so to speak. As a result neither the Arabs nor the British officers knew where they stood or what policy was to be advocated, and this it was which was largely responsible for the fall of Saiyid Talib Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, who had stood loyally by the government throughout the disturbances of 1920, though it must be admitted that there were few in the country who did not heave a sigh of relief when he went.

The Cairo conference did not do much to clear up the situation, and without instructions from home the High Commissioner was unable to give any indication of what was likely to happen. The first indication of any policy on the part of the British Government was the announcement that the Amir Faisal had sailed for Iraq, and Mr. Churchill's speech at home in which it was announced that the people of Iraq were to be allowed a free choice of king, but that the Amir Faisal appeared to the British Government to be a suitable candidate. The result was, of course, a foregone conclusion. Faisal was the British nominee, and Faisal was accordingly elected, as any other British nominee would have been. In order fully to understand subsequent events it must be realized here that Faisal did not come into Iraq on a wave of national enthusiasm, with the Iraqis clamouring for a king and for Faisal as the only suitable person to be king. It is as certain as anything can be that had Faisal not been the British nominee he would not have been elected. The justification for the action of the British Government lies, however, in the fact that there was no other candidate who could have commanded anything like universal support, and that the country was undoubtedly

Digitized by Google

looking to the British to give them an indication as to who was regarded as suitable. The Naqib of Baghdad was a very old man, not able to leave his home and possessing but little influence outside Baghdad, and it was not desirable to have as king a person whose span of life was almost run, and whose election made it certain that a change of king, with all the dislocation it entails, would have to occur in a year or two. The question of succession had to be considered also, and the Naqib's sons are not of the stuff that kings are made of and would not have carried the necessary weight. Saiyid Talib Pasha was known to be a candidate, but his past history was too notorious to make him acceptable to more than a very small section of the population, while the Sheikh of Mohammerah, though he might have gained the support of most of the Shiahs, would have carried no weight with the Sunnis, who form by far the majority of the population north of Baghdad and from whom almost all the officials in the country are drawn. He was further disqualified by the fact that he is actually a Persian subject. There was a possibility that the prestige of the Sherifian house might make Faisal acceptable to both Sunnis and Shiahs, and so help to drown feelings of religious antagonism in a sense of national unity.

Unfortunately Faisal, after his accession, did not act in such a way as to gain the confidence of the people as a whole and so consolidate his position. The blame, however, should not be laid on him alone. He brought with him from the Hedjaz three of the ringleaders of the disturbances of 1920, and a personal staff composed largely of the very persons who had let him down so badly in Syria and are now doing their best to repeat their success in Iraq. For some time after his accession it was obvious from his actions that he regarded himself as beholden to those who had risen in 1920, and under an obligation to reward them by such means as were in his power, while at the same time it was noticeable that this view of his received warm support from certain British officers with whom he was particularly intimate, stoutly though they denied doing so. This very naturally gave offence to the very considerable body of tribal opinion which had stood by government during the disturbances, and laid the foundation of the deep sense of distrust of Faisal as a king which now animates the tribes as a whole, though many of the sheikhs speak very well of him as an individual.

This same feeling was noticeable in the appointments made after Faisal's accession. Many of those qaimmaqams who had been appointed in the first place had been appointed either for political reasons or as experiments, and it was realized that a certain number of them would have to go as things grew more settled and as the work thrown upon the executive officials increased. Those appointed by Faisal's government were almost to a man extremists

Digitized by Google

and almost universally sublimely ignorant of the state of affairs in Iraq, and completely out of touch with the country and the people. Most of them, it was true, were Iraqis in that they came of Iraq families or had been born in Iraq, but they had been so long away from the country that they had forgotten almost all they ever knew about it, and had learned to view things from a Turkish or Syrian rather than from an Iraq point of view. Further, these men were all townsmen and ignorant of tribal customs and completely out of sympathy with tribal ideas and aspirations. These extremist effendis embarked on a policy of persecuting in every possible way the sheikhs who had stood by government, dubbing them "Ingliz" and not "Arab," and making things as uncomfortable for them as possible. The result of this is that the tribal leaders have been forced to unite against the townsman effendis and against the government which they represent, and the breach between townsman and tribesman is rapidly growing wider. It will now be clear, therefore, how Faisal has failed to consolidate his position among the tribes. Has he done any better in the towns? To reply to that question, it is necessary to consider Basrah, Baghdad, and Mosul separately. The other towns in Iraq are composed largely of tribal elements, and their views are controlled very largely by the tribes around them, while the holy cities of Kerbela and Najaf are guided largely by religious fanaticism and by the politics of Persia. Basrah is essentially a commercial city, and the Basrawi's politics entertain no thoughts of appointments to the offices of state or the favour of the court, but look simply and solely to the security of the communications of the country and the extension of trade connections. They realize that their ideals will most easily be obtained if there is in the country a strong government able to maintain order, and an army of occupation which will create a demand for imported produce. That being so, the Basrawi is strongly in favour of the retention of as great a British control as possible, while his natural jealousy of Baghdad serves to convert that desire into a thorough dislike of any Arab Government in Baghdad. Mosul was regarded for some time as the stronghold of the pro-Turk party, and there were many who thought, and not a few who hoped, that Faisal would gain no support at all in the northern town. Such thoughts and hopes received a rude shock, however, when the King paid a visit to Mosul in October, 1921. On this occasion he really made a favourable impression, and as a result the undoubted pro-Turk sentiments of many of the people of Mosul have been kept in check and Faisal has gained as a result. Baghdad exists for politics, and politics is almost the sole topic of conversation among Arabs who can read and write. As in other Eastern countries, education is regarded merely as a passport to an official appointment, and as a result the city is full of semi-educated persons clamouring

Digitized by Google

for appointments. These effendis at first welcomed Faisal with open arms. Promises were lavishly made by the new government that all foreign clerks would be dismissed and replaced by Iraqis, and there was opened up to the Baghdad effendi a vision of countless appointments waiting to be filled by Baghdadis, for it must be realized that where appointments are concerned the effendi regards Iraqi as meaning Baghdadi. All went well for a time. Gradually Indians were replaced by Iraqis in the government offices and the surplus effendis were being absorbed, when suddenly Faisal committed an act of folly which has destroyed for the time being whatever confidence the Baghdadis may have had in him. Whatever else the Baghdadi may be, he is certainly a constitutionalist and has very definite ideas regarding the prerogatives of ministers and their position vis-à-vis the King. When, therefore, five of the ministers resigned in April, 1922, as a protest against Faisal's continual interference in the affairs of the cabinet and his attempts to force his own views on them, their action was almost universally applauded and Faisal's action as universally condemned. It is likely to be a very long time before the King recovers to any appreciable extent the confidence which he has thus lost.

It will be seen then that during the past eight months the politics of Iraq have been largely centred around the person of the King, and it cannot be said that he emerges any too favourably from an examination of recent events. Signs are not wanting, however, that he now realizes this to some extent, and it is noticeable that he has recently been inclined to take a much stronger line with the extremist party and to work in closer co-operation with the High Commissioner. The burning question of the moment is the treaty which is being prepared between Great Britain and Iraq, and in Baghdad interest in the treaty is confined almost entirely to the question of the removal or retention of the mandate. The extremist party is making the most strenuous efforts to rouse popular opinion into demanding the removal of the mandate, whereas it is believed that the draft treaty contains no clause abrogating the mandate. The King appeared at first rather inclined to side with the extremists, but his attitude towards them has hardened very considerably of late. It is thought that any difficulties created by the question of the mandate will be got round by the adoption of some translation other than the word "intidab," which is now in use, and whose meaning is not sufficiently definite to be properly understood by the people of this country.

There are difficulties ahead, notably in connection with the Budget. A "Geddes Super-Axe" Committee has been appointed to inquire into the budgets of each ministry and try to reduce expenditure down to the amount of the anticipated revenue. The task will not be easy, but it has to be done as the home government has

Digitized by Google

declared that it will not give any grant in aid to make up any deficit in the accounts of the Iraq state for this year.

Reading this note must give the idea that Iraq is in almost desperate straits, and it is not to be denied that the past few months have been extremely critical. At the moment, however, there is justification for sounding a note of hope. The corner appears to have been turned, the situation seems to be more stable, and the fact that Ramadhan and the Id passed without any untoward occurrences gives some colour to the view held by many that the extremists have shot their bolt. The electoral law has now been published, and much depends on the result of the elections to the national assembly. Faisal has certainly been the central figure in the politics of the last eight months, but it seems likely that during the next eight months he will be considerably less prominent, and that events will centre more closely around the national assembly and the cabinet. If this is so, it will be all to Faisal's advantage, and he will have a much better opportunity of allowing his attractive personality to help him to worm his way into the affections of those with whom he comes into contact.

Digitized by Google

SOME REMARKS ON HELLENISM

WITH REFERENCE TO DR. G. N. BANERJEE'S "HELLENISM IN ANCIENT INDIA"*

By Lieut.-Colonel Sir R. C. Temple, Bart., C.B., C.I.E.

For the understanding of ancient Indian and Western Asian history the subject of Hellenism is of the first importance, and it says much for Dr. G. N. Banerjee's handling of it that his book has gone to a second edition in the year succeeding the appearance of the first. The subject is wide to a bewildering extent, and demands a matured knowledge of many of those studies that make up the "humanities." Dr. Banerjee has shown himself to be not afraid of tackling any part of it.

Taking Hellenism to be the spread of Greek culture, and the Hellenes to be the peoples who accepted the Greek mode of life, such culture could not be extended to India without contact, and contact between the Near East, as we know it, and the Greeks was early indeed.

The actual commencement of the ancient Persian Empire took place in the mid-sixth century B.C., at the time when India had not long emerged from the period without dates, and was the result of the defeat of the Median ruler of Ecbatana (Hamadan) by Cyrus the Great. The immediate consequence of this event was a coalition against Cyrus, consisting of Nabonidus of Babylon, Amasis of Egypt, Crœsus of Lydia, and the Spartans of Greece proper, which that master of affairs, military and civil, defeated in detail. The whole situation implies close contact between Greek and Asiatic, both Aryan and Semite, and African, which was even then no new thing, for the Median Empire had extended westwards to the Halys in Asia Minor. Then in the same century we have Cambyses with his conquest of Egypt and his adoption of Egyptian manners, and Darius with his conquest of the Ægean Islands towards the end of it. Thereafter there was a continuous struggle between Persian and Greek for the next two centuries till the arrival of Alexander the Great in the late fourth century B.C.

* "Hellenism in Ancient India," by Dr. G. N. Banerjee, Lecturer on Egyptology and Oriental History, Calcutta University. Second edition. Butterworth and Co.: Calcutta and London.

Digitized by Google

The nature of the Oriental armies and their commanders thus in contact with the West is material to the present argument. The Persian armies, led by the Achæmenids of the dynasty founded by Cyrus, was raised out of a manly, hardy, patriotic, and enthusiastic peasantry, thoroughly believing in itself and its leaders. After a time the inevitable decay in these moral qualities set in, and the Persian armies became manifestly inferior to the Greek, paving the way for Alexander's victories. On the initiation of Cyrus the earlier Achæmenid rulers thought and acted imperially. That is to say, their tendency was to behave humanely towards the conquered and to spread civilization. Darius was a born organizer, a believer in the destiny of his race, to which the great God, Ahuramazda, had given dominion "over this earth afar, over many peoples and tongues," whom he was pledged to govern aright and civilize. Indeed, at times he went too far in his concessions to local aspirations. Darius's system was to govern by satrapies, which were viceroyalties, each with its subordinate governments, and in the West there were city-states as well. Within the satrapies the subject races had much freedom of self-government, which created an immense variety of provincial administration, suited to local civilization, and indicated by every system of finance between the use of minted money and trade by pure barter.

The political effect of the Achæmenid Empire was to civilize, to improve communications, agriculture, finance, and trade, to foster industrial art, and to affect enormously the religion of the ancient world. The Achæmenids, like the Medes before them, were enthusiastic Zoroastrians, and their widely spread empire gave an opportunity for propaganda on an immense scale. The Zoroastrians, like the Brahmans, were natural missionaries, and in effective eclectic methods for diffusing their respective creeds, through priestly castes, there is not much to choose between them. Neither opposed the foreign gods, but both absorbed them: the Indian as emanations of his own Vishnu or Shiva, the Persian as servants of the Supreme Ahuramazda. But the Indian dealt with the peoples of a compact country, and so was able to dominate while absorbing; whereas the Persian dealt with a world-empire, and so was ultimately himself dominated through his absorption of the more gorgeous cults of the civilizations he encountered.

Now, it was Darius that first established direct contact with India, still in the sixth century B.C.—in the last two decades of it—not by way of conquest of set purpose, but by way of the natural expansion of a great empire in order to preserve the peace in its outlying provinces. In the same way, to the west he spread his dominions to Thrace and Macedonia and along the southern littoral of the Mediterranean to the territories of Kárta (Carthage). Such

Digitized by Google

armies, raised out of such a people, under such rulers, could not but seriously affect those with whom they came in contact, and Northern India must to some extent, from the earliest historic times, have become aware of Western Asiatics and their ideas and ways. The spirit in which Darius or his representatives worked in India is shown by the coasting voyage of exploration undertaken by Skylax of Karyanda from the Indus to Suez in 509 B.C., under his ægis.

In spite of his achievements, Darius received a severe check at Marathon in 490 B.C., and his successor Xerxes still severer defeats on the sea at Salamis in 480 and on land at Platæa in 479. But at this last battle Indian archers were present, and whatever may be the exact sense that we should attach to the term "Indian" here, this fact does argue more than a superficial contact between India and the West, even at that early date. From the time of Xerxes and his two crucial defeats the Greeks waxed stronger and the Persian power waned steadily, despite temporary spectacular successes, such as those of Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) in the mid-fourth century B.C., just before the final conflict with a united Greece under Philip of Macedon. But these were purely superficial victories, as they were won by Hellenic armies, under Hellenic generals (Mentor and Memnon of Rhodes), fighting for an Asiatic suzerain, to whom they were incontestably superior. So when the youthful Alexander succeeded to the aspirations of Philip—the founding of a Greek state out of the Persian (still Achæmenid) Emperor's Greek dominions—he found himself confronted by an empire, the helplessness of which before a Greek invasion had been abundantly shown, and throughout which Greek influence was no new experience.

Alexander was a Greek of the Greeks, saturated with Greek culture, a conscious world-conqueror for Greek civilization from the beginning, capable of carrying out his ideas, and only prevented from doing so to the full by being cut off at thirty-three, practically at the commencement of his astonishing career. So far as the Persian Empire was concerned, his influence was immense during his short life there, owing *inter alia* to his assumption of the dress and ceremonial of the Achæmenids, his establishment of autonomous Greek municipalities along his line of march, and the marrying of all his officers and some ten thousand Macedonians besides to Persian wives. He was Greek enough to follow the old Greek philosophic advice to be "himself the law," and to be officially proclaimed a god ruling by divine right, and eclectic enough to aim at the amalgamation of all his subjects rather than treat the Asiatics as servants of the Greeks.

At his death there were set up by his generals (*diadochoi*) the satrap or viceregal dynasties usual on such occasions in Oriental history, but within a decade of it one of them came to the front in the person of Seleukos Nikator, the only one of Alexander's generals

Digitized by Google

who had retained his Persian wife after his master's disappearance from the scene. He created and ruled successively from Babylon, Seleukia near by, and Antioch in Syria, an empire extending from Syria to the Indian borders, where he was checked by the great Indian pupil of Alexander, Chandragupta Maurya (Sandrakottos). But just before his death he extended his rule westwards to all Asia Minor and Thrace. Seleukos Nikator was a Hellenizer on a large scale, following Alexander's plan of founding Greek autonomous cities with country districts attached thereto under the suzerainty of the empire—a policy that diffused the Greek language, commerce, and civilization everywhere, as far east at least as the Indus, and created large and flourishing communities which attracted wealthy settlers, especially Jews, from foreign lands. His son and successor, Antiochos Soter, another great man, continued his father's work, and he it was who gave the Oriental Hellenistic civilization its form, as we know it, in the second century B.C.

But the Seleukid Empire had an inherent defect in the centrifugal tendencies of its numerous autonomous municipal centres, and these, combined with the attacks of outside enemies, made the lives of the later Seleukids one long battle for existence. Revolts, more or less successful, were rampant everywhere, leading up to the wholly or partially Hellenized Indo-Baktrian and Parthian kingdoms on the Indian frontiers, which played so prominent a part in ancient Indian history. Eventually the Seleukid, Antiochos the Great, came into conflict with the Romans in the beginning of the century before Christ, and from that time the empire was doomed, soon afterwards falling before the rising power of the whilom nomadic Central Asian Parthians, by that time a settled people of a high civilization and thoroughly Persianized.

Nominally Imperial, the Parthians held the country from the Euphrates to the Indus, but in reality they never created an empire, and ruled through vassal states of varying conditions of independence. They were also at continuous feud with Rome, and often proved a formidable enemy. Gradually their rule degenerated into a condition externally always on the defensive, while internally there was ceaseless civil war and strife. Local states within such an empire could not have been much interfered with. Politically and administratively the earlier Parthian rulers were thoroughly Hellenized in institutions, currency, and commerce, though in religion they were stalwart Zoroastrians. Some of them spoke good Greek, and on the whole their great service to civilization was that they acted as a buffer between Hellenism and the barbarism of the Central and Northern Aryan hordes for something like half a millennium—until well into the third century A.D. Nevertheless, the effect of their suzerainty was in the end to create a reaction against Hellenism, because Greek

Digitized by Google

culture and the Greek mode of life were inherently unsuited to a rough Oriental people of the Parthian and Central Asian type. So Hellenism gradually declined, until the destruction of Seleukia by the Romans sealed its fate. Then the Greek language gave way before the Aramaic of the Syrian Christians, and thenceforward Greek culture and literature were available to Persia only in an Aramaic dress. Hellenic influence fell away and finally passed cut of ken under the great Sasanid successors of the Parthians. In the days of the Sasanids, who were Persians *par excellence*, were waged two exhausting struggles—Persia *versus* Rome, and Zoroastrianism *versus* Christianity—for four long centuries, until the advent of the Arab Caliphate of Baghdad produced the absolute ascendancy of the Mohamedan faith in Persia in the seventh century A.D.

Contemplating such a story as this, as I read it in outline with reference to Hellenism, of the lands between Greece and India, and of the lands within their respective borders in ancient times, one cannot but say that *primâ facie* the reciprocal influence must have been very great. How far that influence can be said to have been actually felt as regards India is the riddle that Dr. Banerjee has set himself to solve, so far as a solution is possible. He has not shirked his task, and considers it from all points of view—architecture, sculpture, painting, coinage, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, writing, literature, drama, religion, philosophy, mythology, fables, and folklore. The view is comprehensive enough in all conscience, and its study is history *in excelsis*. Such a width of view involves an enormous amount of varied reading, and, what is more, an unusual capacity for absorption and assimilation of what is read. Dr. Banerjee has grasped his nettles with an unflinching hand, and has honestly attempted to crush out of them all that they have to give him. He has his opinions, but he states his grounds fairly, and though experts may find what appear to them to be flaws in apprehension and deduction, yet he is so transparently honest and fair that his views and efforts cannot but command respect. He is not afraid of cross-examination, and gives his authorities in a series of admirable bibliographies attached to each section of his work. These are not always as complete as they might be, but at any rate one does know exactly on what he bases the faith that is in him. In this way he has produced a work that is a credit to himself and his University.

Dr. Banerjee would be the last person to hold his present edition to be a final say on his subject. No doubt further editions will succeed it, and perhaps he will therefore take the following suggestions into consideration. The relations and mutual influence of nationalities in contact, but situated so far apart as were the ancient Greeks and Indians, are subject to that general law of evolution, whereby an individuality progresses mainly on a line of its own,

Digitized by Google

subject to the influence of every other line with which it may come in contact. Therefore, in effect, in this case, Indian institutions and thought would eat into those of the Greeks, and *vice versa*, and what one has really to look for is, firstly, the extent and nature of the contact, and, secondly, on what points each has in actual fact definitely affected the other. It is in this way that universal fashions in thought and practice have from all time been set up from age to age. Looking through the ages historically, it will be found that among nations in contact common fashions in thought, practice, and industrial art rise up, prevail, and die out from one age to another, and that this is the result of contact, which has acted either directly or indirectly through an intervening body. Much that is common to them all in India, Persia, Greece, and Rome, in what we call ancient days, is due to fashions prevailing among nations of "Aryan" civilization from time to time. This, it seems to me, is a point that searchers into the effect and scope of Hellenism should take into serious consideration.

Again, what manner of antagonists were they that carried on the agelong struggles outlined at the commencement of these remarks—these Greeks and Romans on the one hand, and these Persians and Persianized Parthians on the other; these Hellenes of Persia and Afghanistan and these "Aryans" of India proper? In the dim past, as afterwards right up to modern times, the great overboiling caldron of Europeo-Asiatic humanity was situated in Central Asia. Thence issued horde after horde in age after age to the west, south, and east, and their great characteristic throughout was their power of dominating absorption. They adapted themselves with remarkable rapidity to any civilization with which they happened to come in contact, and to such an extent that they often themselves soon became its chief exponents. Thus they overran from time to time, under different names, the East, West, and South, but always with the same effect, wherever they were not quickly ejected. They overran, became absorbed, and leavened their absorbers with their own thoughts, practices, and arts. In the East they met the Chinese and their already established civilization. In the West they met at first what we may call the Babylonian, Semitic, and Hamitic civilizations, and then the Greek and Roman. In the South they met what again one may call the Dravidian civilization. And it must be remembered that none of these were even then anything but a complex of various still older civilizations, which we can at present only call aboriginal.

The very ancient irruption into the West and South from Central Asia we are just now concerned with was that of the "Aryans." Without going too much into detail, in Persia these immigrants met an existing Babylonian-Semitic culture and absorbed it into their own. This they carried across westwards to Greece and Rome, coming into contact in the process with Hamitic, Egyptian, Mediter-

Digitized by Google

ranean, and Germanic types of mankind, and eastwards to India, where they met a culture of Dravidian and Sinitic, and—shall we say also?—of a Kolarian type. Everywhere the dominating factor was Aryanism deeply imbued with the local leaven. So that when the titanic struggles between Greek and Persian and between Persian and Indian arose, we find the same dominating temperament on both sides, affected by almost every kind of national idiosyncrasy in Europe and Asia. There was, indeed, very much in common between Greek and Persian, Persian and Indian, and Indian and Greek, as well as much that was antagonistic. What, therefore, appears now to be the result of mutual influence may well have been but a common inheritance. This is the direction in which it seems to me that further research will lead us.

In view of the above remarks, the following conclusions drawn from his research by Dr. Banerjee in his Introduction (p. 26) will show how far he has been guided by similar ideas, and how far he may be inclined to develop them in future. Says Dr. Banerjee: "Greece has played a part, but by no means a predominant part, in the civilization of ancient India. The evolution of Philosophy, Religion, and Mythology has gone along parallel but independent paths. India owes to Greece an improvement in Coinage and Astronomy, but it had begun both; and in Lyric and Epic poetry, in Grammar, the Art of Writing, the Drama and Mathematics, it had no need to wait for the intervention and the initiative of Hellenism. Notably, perhaps, in the plastic arts and especially in the details of some of the architectural forms, classical culture has acted as a ferment to revive the native qualities of the Indian artists, without robbing them of their originality and subtlety. But in any case, the fascinating story of the Greeks in India is not only full of suggestion, but is also a most interesting chapter in the history of the development of ideas. The question is not of interest solely to the Indianists and the Hellenists, but likewise to all those who occupy themselves in tracing the evolution of general history, and to those who above all love to follow, even in their more remote expansion, the antecedents of our modern culture and civilization, the different phases of our national development and progress."

One is tempted to quote again and again from Dr. Banerjee's suggestive pages, but I will content myself with one extract from his description of Indian in connection with Greek medicine. He says (pp. 202-203): "Even in modern days, European surgery has borrowed the operation of rhinoplasty, or the formation of artificial noses, from India, where Englishmen became acquainted with the art in the last century. The Indian rhinoplasty has attained some reputation, because of its early introduction and because of its influence upon the plastic operations of European surgeons, such as Carpue,

Digitized by Google

Gräfe, Dieffenbach, perhaps even Branca and Tagliacozza. Although the skin of the forehead was used as a substitute for the nose in the operations performed in the eighteenth century by the Indian doctors, still the connection with the old method, where the skin of the cheek was used, could not be doubted. Dr. Haas declared Susruta's description of rhinoplasty [about the time of Christ] as an insipid modification of a similar description in Celsus (7, 9), and referred to a remark in Chakradatta's commentary on Susruta, according to which the whole of the description in Susruta is said to have been *anarsa*—*i.e.*, not genuine. But the references in Celsus have only a faint resemblance to Susruta, and Dallana, Jaiyyata, Gayadása, and others—*i.e.*, the oldest commentators—have recognized that portion of Susruta as genuine."

Dr. Banerjee is here possibly on debatable ground, but his remarks will, nevertheless, be of special interest to many, who, like the present writer, were *ex officio* interested during the late European war in the maxillo-facial hospitals, that did so much to make the future life of many an unhappy sufferer from the various fronts more bearable than it would otherwise have been.

Digitized by Google

REVIEW

ON SECRET PATROL IN HIGH ASIA. By Captain L. V. S. Blacker, Queen Victoria's Own Corps of Guides. John Murray, London. 18s net.

This is a tale of strange post-war happenings on the far frontiers of Persia and Turkestan which for high adventure and hairbreadth episodes would have delighted the heart of Charles Lever—whilst retaining all the advantage of historical accuracy. Told in the language of the modern British officer, which, if not classical, is at least picturesque and sometimes most expressive, it deals with the progress of a detachment of Guides projected into that amazing theatre of confused military and political action, after the Armistice, which we know as Central Asia. It would have added much to our enlightenment if the author had been able freely and frankly to explain the meaning and object of the various "missions" which were despatched, like his own, to that remote region, and their relation to each other. But he warns us in the Preface that the time "is not yet ripe for a full and complete description of the events of June, July, August, and September, 1918, in Turkistan," which doubtless led up to the subsequent military alarums and excursions in which he played so distinguished a part. This is unfortunate. How many people have heard of the battle of Dushakh, for instance, where the 19th Punjab Infantry lost half their effective strength and all their British officers, whilst they and the 28th Cavalry swept 10,000 of the Red army off the field? Sir George Younghusband, in his Introduction, does not help us at all. He confines himself to a characteristic eulogy of his own beloved Corps of Guides. It is, however, not difficult to trace the threads of our vacillating policy towards Russia in Central Asia, and to detect the influence of the British Communist in assisting the spread of Bolshevism, until finally the whole energy of these missions was absorbed in the intricate business of preventing Bolshevik propagandists (including Afghans as well as representatives of nearly every Asiatic nationality outside India) from crossing the borderland into the Punjab. This, at any rate, was Captain Blacker's mission, and right well he and his detachment seem to have carried it out. The pursuit and capture of a band of Afghan propagandists, which involved much strenuous mountaineering and tough adventure in the roughest of

Digitized by Google

the Kuen Lun offshoots, is a thrilling tale, which, unfortunately, is badly illustrated by the War Office map at the end of the book. This part of the Kuen Lun has, in fact, never been satisfactorily explored or mapped. It leaves us to conjecture where those Afghans came from and what was their real objective. There is an easy pass from the eastern point of the Afghan province of Wakhan leading to the Taghdumbash Pamir and Tashkurghan, called the Beyik (? Payik), at the foot of which is a Chinese post (which consisted of a single kibitka and the keeper of a few bedraggled fowls in the days of the boundary demarcation), so that clearly the Afghan band was not so very far from its own boundaries when Captain Blacker dropped on to its trail. There was no room for propaganda so far—nor, indeed, was there any opportunity for mischief in the Kuen Lun. The propagandists were finally most gallantly run in at Yarkand, and there ended their abortive career. Not less entertaining and instructive were Captain Blacker's experiences subsequently on the northern Persian frontier. Indeed, the whole book is full of good yarns. One most satisfactory sign of the times is the thirst for geographical knowledge evidenced by the author and his Guides. All the map knowledge of Asia which we possess from Mesopotamia to the Chinese frontier, south of Russia and apart from India, is the result of the work of native surveyors of the Indian Survey Department working on the basis of triangulation carried out by their own officers or by such geographical experts as Deasy, Sir Percy Sykes, and (notably) by Sir Aurel Stein. Many of these native topographers have been army men, and many have earned distinctions for their courage and success, but I do not remember the names of any Guides amongst them. As much of this great extent of geographical reconnaissance has been gradually amassed under haphazard conditions, when such opportunities as campaigns, boundary commissions, etc., offered the chance, there is naturally many a wide gap still unfilled, chiefly in the regions of the Elburz mountains (Northern Persia), Badakshan (East of Balkh), Central Afghanistan (the Hazara country), and the Kuen Lun, although there is doubtless useful material not yet published which is still in the making. The Guides possess almost unique opportunities for exploration and reconnaissance, and from Captain Blacker's story they know how to use them to the best effect, working on such methods as modern geography requires. Both the topographers and their officers appear to be scientifically trained. This is a matter of lasting importance. Captain Blacker is much to be congratulated on obtaining permanently useful geographical results from his strenuous and most adventurous mission.

T. H. HOLDICH.

Digitized by Google

OBITUARY

SIR ALEXANDER M'ROBERT*

Sir Alexander M'Robert, Chairman of the British India Corporation, Cawnpore, died on June 22, at Downside, Aberdeenshire, aged sixty-eight.

Before going to Cawnpore in 1884 he held the appointment of Neil Arnott Lecturer in experimental physics at the Mechanics' Institution, Aberdeen, and was Lecturer in Chemistry in Robert Gordon's College, Aberdeen. He was invested with the Order of Honour of Afghanistan in 1918. He was President of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce for nine years, and represented that body in the Legislative Council of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for five successive terms. He represented the Chamber at the Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire at Montreal in 1903, London 1906 and 1912, Sydney 1909, and Toronto 1920. He was pioneer of the movement for providing sanitary dwellings for factory workers in India, and had travelled extensively all over the world. Sir Alexander was an LL.D. of Aberdeen University and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. He received a Knighthood in 1910 and the K.B.E. in 1919.

CAPTAIN ROBERT KEITH MAKANT, M.C.

Captain Robert Keith Makant, M.C., was educated at Harrow, where he represented the school both at cricket and football. The outbreak of war prevented his going up to Cambridge, and he joined the 1/5 North Lancs in October, 1914. After serving two years in France, where he won the Military Cross and a bar, he was wounded in 1917. In the early part of 1918 he was sent to Mesopotamia as A.D.C. to the G.O.C. 1st Indian Army Corps M.E.F. In April, 1919, he joined the Arab levies, acting in the capacity of adjutant at headquarters. The autumn of that year saw him nominated to the Kurdish levy at Sulaimani, South Kurdistan, and the work of organizing and training the force as second in command became the only immediate aim of his life. Handicapped by a natural inability to learn easily

* By kind permission of the *Morning Post*.

Digitized by Google

Oriental languages, he nevertheless took no advantage of interpreters, rightly judging that the surest way to gain the attachment of his men lay through direct intercourse with them. He lived in the strictest simplicity, and won the liking of both Kurdish officers and men by identifying himself with them in a manner which with another personality might have led to a loss of respect, but which with him had the reverse effect. He knew the south Kurdish country as well as any officer living, for it was his habit to spend days away hunting in the mountains with but a single orderly, living in the Kurdish villages and with their inhabitants, for whom he had a great affection.

The trend of political affairs in 1921 had almost resolved him to resignation, but his loyalty to his commanding officer, the late Captain FitzGibbon, M.C., and to the levy, induced him to return. On the death of Captain FitzGibbon he was for a time in command.

He was murdered on June 18 of this year by one of the most truculent leaders of a bad and treacherous tribe—for reasons which were probably purely political, and devoid of any personal consideration.

The Administration has lost in him one of its most loyal and efficient officers, and those who knew him and worked with him, one of their sincerest and staunchest friends.

E. B. S.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED, JUNE AND JULY, 1922.

Acworth, Captain J. P., 28th Cavalry F.F., Leicester House, Portland Road, Hove, Sussex.
Bampton, Major J. A. H., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
Bampton, R. E. Fitzsymons, Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.
Birdwood, General Sir W. R., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., A.D.C.Gen., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
Bois, Captain H. E., Iraq Levies, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Borrie, David, E.I.U.S. Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Bower, Sir Graham, K.C.M.G., Studwell Lodge, Droxford, Hants.
Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander F., R.N. (ret.), Hatherop Castle, Fairford, Glos.
Channer, Captain G. O. De R., 7th Gurkha Rifles, Quetta, Baluchistan.
Dew, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
Ditchburn, Major A. H., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Fagan, Sir Patrick, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Farrell, Captain W. J., M.C., Brookside, Newland Park, Hull.
Fraser, Major W. A. K., D.S.O., M.C., Military Attaché, British Legation, Kabul, Afghanistan.
French, J. C., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Gilkes, Captain G., R.F.A., G.H.Q. Allied Forces, Constantinople.
Greatwood, H. E., 123rd Outram's Rifles, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Bombay.
Hallinan, Captain T. J., R.A.M.C., 77, Southside, Clapham Common, S.W.
Harrison, Captain C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
McCleverty, Major P. H., 20th Infantry, I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S,W. 1.
Macdonald, Lieut.-Colonel F., I.A. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Maconochie, R. R., I.C.S., British Legation, Kabul, Afghanistan.
Mann, Alexander, 64, Lancaster Gate, W. 2.
Milnes-Gaskell, the Lady Constance, 47, Pont Street, S.W.
Moore, Major Arthur, 9, Chester Terrace, Eaton Square, S.W.

Digitized by Google

Morland, Major W. E. T., D.S.O., M.C., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
Norris, Captain David, C.B., C.M.G., R.N., Admiralty, Whitehall, S.W.
Oatway, Captain S. H., 93rd Burma Infantry.
Oddie, Philip, M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Richards, Captain E. I. G., Army Educational Corps, School of Education, Wellington, S. India.
Ridge-Jones, J., M.C., Civil Surgeon, Sulaimani, S. Kurdistan.
Scott, Lieut.-Colonel N., C.I.E., I.M.S. (ret.), Eastcott, Hatfield, Herts.
Trotter, Miss Angela, 18, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
Trotter, Miss J., 18, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
Vickery, Lieut.-Colonel C. E., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.F.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
Wickham, Captain E. T. R., British Legation, Kabul, Afghanistan.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

Digitized by Google

JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. IX.

1922

PART IV.

CONTENTS.

PERSIA AND THE GREAT WAR. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.
ANNIVERSARY MEETING AND ANNUAL REPORT.
STORM WAVES IN THE MOHAMEDAN WORLD. By Sir Valentine Chirol.
THE ANNUAL DINNER.
THE EARLY DAYS OF THE ARAB GOVERNMENT IN IRAQ. From a Correspondent in Baghdad.
SOME REMARKS ON HELLENISM. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir R. C. Temple, Bart., C.B., C.I.E.
REVIEW.
OBITUARY.
LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED, JUNE AND JULY, 1922.

PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google